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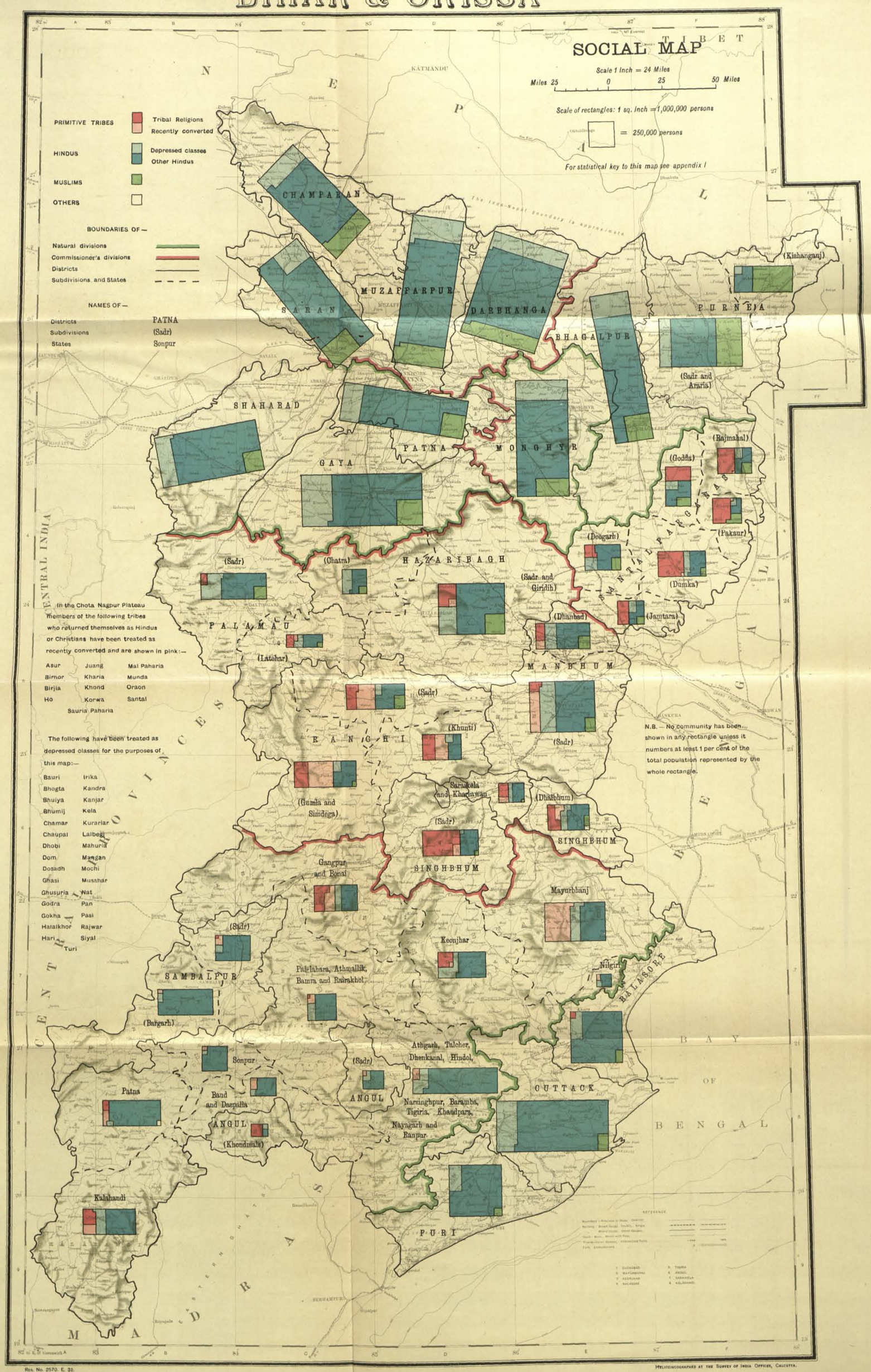

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Census of India, 1931

VOLUME VII

BIHAR AND ORISSA

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PART I.—REPORT

By W. G. LACEY, I.C.S.,

Superintendent of Census Operations,
Bihar and Orissa.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS report embodies the results of the census of Bihar and Orissa taken on the 26th February 1931. It forms a part of the seventh of the series of census reports for all-India, which commenced in the year 1872. The provincial report consists of three separate parts, of which this volume is the first. Part II contains the main census tables, and Part III, which is for departmental use only, contains a review of the progress of the operations from the administrative point of view.

2. Unlike many of its predecessors, the present work confines itself almost entirely to an analysis of the statistics furnished by the census, and, although some comment is made on the social, economic and other developments which the figures themselves appear to indicate, little or no attempt has been made to recaptitulate or add to the store of general information about the province and its peoples by which the earlier reports are enriched. The reason for this is two-fold. In the first place, when one has nothing original to say, the best course (as it seems to the author) is to say nothing. Thereby the report doubtless loses in interest much that it might have achieved if the gist of carefully selected passages on such subjects as ethnology, caste government, marriage customs, religious beliefs and so forth had been reproduced—with or without acknowledgment—from previous census reports or other treatises; but at least it can claim the merit of being a good deal shorter than it otherwise would have been. And this leads to the second reason why general descriptive matter has been rigorously excluded. Considerations of economy forbade the production of a bulky report; and I make no apology for holding that the main business of a Census Superintendent is after all to present and (in so far as he can) to interpret the census statistics; for which sole purpose an allowance of some 300 pages is by no means excessive.

3. Financial stringency was responsible not only for the curtailment of Part I of the report, but also for some truncation of the statistics tabulated in Part II. In particular, the occupational and caste tables were reduced in number and size, and the table showing particulars of the Christian population by sect and race was omitted. (Separate statistics for Roman Catholics are, however, given in the main table of Religion.) On the other hand, one new table (XVIII) was inserted, exhibiting in considerable detail the territorial distribution of the primitive tribes and the variations in their numbers during the last fifty years. The language table (XV) was considerably expanded in an attempt to show for the first time the prevalence of bi-lingualism in the province, and particularly in the cultural zones of the Chota Nagpur plateau. And, lastly, certain additions were made to Provincial Table II so as to make information available for each revenue thana regarding the strength of the depressed classes and the number of literate persons in each religious community. Another new feature of the present report is the social and linguistic maps contained in the front cover of this volume. It had been hoped to make these maps more elaborate and informative than in fact they are, but the shortage of funds frustrated this intention.

4. A very brief description may be given here of the manner in which the census was actually taken. There has been practically no change since 1921 in the main organization and machinery of the enumeration. Each district is divided into a number of charges, circles and blocks, the block being the smallest of these units and containing as a rule from 30 to 50 houses. An enumerator is placed in charge of each block, and his immediate superior is the circle supervisor. A circle usually comprises some 10 to 15 blocks. The number of circles included in a charge varies a good deal but seldom exceeds 20, and the charge is ordinarily co-terminous with the jurisdiction

of a police-station. In most cases the duties of charge superintendent were carried out by the local sub-inspector of police; the supervisors and enumerators were, almost without exception, non-officials. They are recruited from the most intelligent and literate portion of the population and are placed under a statutory obligation to perform their duties as census officers. At the present census there were 219,380 enumerators and 16,916 supervisors. Apart, therefore, from the charge superintendents (950 in number) and the various Government servants employed in the subdivisional, district and provincial offices, the enumeration staff in this province included not less than 2¼ lakhs of unpaid non-official workers, many of whom were actually put to some personal expense in carrying out the tasks assigned to them.

5. After the formation of blocks, circles and charges has been completed, the work of numbering the houses is taken up. Every house likely to be occupied on the night of the census is marked with a number and entered up in a list. Special importance attaches to the preparation of these lists, as they form the basis on which the number of census forms required is estimated. Thereafter the staff are trained in the correct manner of filling up the census schedules, which contain as many as 18 columns. The difficulty of securing uniformity as well as accuracy in these manifold entries is far greater than might be supposed. Then, some weeks before the night of the actual census, the writing up of the preliminary record is taken in hand. First on plain paper, and subsequently—after the enumerator's entries have been checked by the circle supervisor—in the printed schedules, the requisite particulars are recorded for all persons found in residence at the time when this preliminary enumeration is carried out. During this period charge superintendents and superior officers are required to be moving about continually, testing as many entries as possible and satisfying themselves that the instructions have been properly understood and put into effect. Consequently, the final enumeration on the night of the 26th February amounted to little more than a revision of the record already prepared. Between the hours of 7 P.M. and midnight on that date each enumerator visited all the houses in his block; persons who had left the place after the preliminary count were struck off, and newcomers were added to the record. In view of the immobile nature of the population in India it is generally found that at least 90 per cent of the original entries hold good. Special arrangements had to be made for the enumeration of persons travelling by road, rail, or water on the census night and for persons watching in their fields or assembled in fairs, camps and so forth; and precautions had to be taken to ensure that such persons were not counted twice over. In a few localities, which are particularised in the first chapter of this report, an absolutely synchronous count was not possible, and the enumeration was spread over a complete day or even longer.

6. At dawn on the 27th February the striking of provisional totals began. The enumerators added up the number of males and females in their blocks, and these figures were consolidated for the circles by the supervisors, who then despatched them post-haste to the charge superintendents. The charge totals were conveyed by train, motor car, bicycle, runner, telephone, or whatever other means might secure the greatest expedition, to the subdivisional headquarters, and thence a report was forwarded to the headquarters of the district. The district figures were reported by telegram to the provincial Superintendent and the Census Commissioner for India. As usual, there was keen competition among districts and states to get their figures in first, and I received the provisional totals of seven states and one district (Balasore) before retiring to bed on the 27th February. The achievement of Mayurbhanj State, whose figures were handed in at the incredibly early hour of 2-20 P.M. on that date, was particularly meritorious. The returns from the last district of all were received on the night of the 4th March, and the consolidated figures for the whole province were telegraphed to the Census Commissioner the next day. The provisional totals so telegraphed differed from the finally checked and published figures by 0.2 per cent.

7. The first stage in the abstraction and compilation of the statistics was carried out at the headquarters of each district. It consisted in copying out on to a separate slip of paper the entries relating to each one of the

42,329,583 persons in the province. Papers of different colours were used for the different religions, and sex was denoted by printed symbols. This work, which was performed by paid copyists, was accomplished in most districts in a period of six or seven weeks: when work was in full swing as many as 3,669 copyists were employed, and on the average they turned out about 420 slips each per diem. They were paid at piece-rates and worked long hours, but it was only an exceptional copyist who could earn as much as Rs. 20 in a month—from which it may be inferred that the rates of pay were not excessively liberal. None the less, they were appreciably more generous than on the occasion of the previous census. When the slips had been copied and arranged by sex and religion for each circle, they were despatched to the central offices, five in number, where they were sorted by hand for the different tables and the results compiled by districts. Altogether, nearly 1,500 sorters were at work in these offices, their remuneration being slightly in excess of that prescribed for the slip-copyists. The final tabulation of the figures was carried out in the headquarters office.

8. I may be expected to give here some indication of the extent to which the census figures can be regarded as accurate and reliable. It may at once be conceded that there are certain aspects of the returns for which no high degree of accuracy is claimed on this occasion—or, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been claimed on any previous occasion. Chief among these are the statistics relating to infirmities, occupation and age. In the various chapters of the report dealing with these subjects the difficulties in the way of securing correct information are frankly explained. To a lesser extent there are undoubtedly errors in the statistics dealing with such matters as literacy, civil condition and caste. As a general rule, however, I do not think that there is any good reason to regard the present census as more defective in these particulars than its immediate predecessors, though this possibility has not been left out of account in discussing, e.g. the surprising variations in the statistics of early marriage and the surprising absence of variation in the literacy statistics. So far as the figures of actual population are concerned, the exceptionally heavy increase recorded in the last decade may well give rise (indeed, has already given rise in some quarters) to a feeling of scepticism. Stories have been put in circulation of successful attempts made by one community or another to exaggerate its strength by means of fictitious returns. I have little hesitation in venturing the categorical statement that there is no substance in such allegations, and that there are no valid grounds for supposing that the recorded increase in population is not absolutely genuine. In the first place a comparison of the census figures with the natural growth of population as revealed in the independent record of vital occurrences furnishes striking evidence of the substantial accuracy of the former. This matter is discussed at some length in paragraph 19 of Chapter I. Elsewhere in the same chapter an attempt has been made to show that the economic conditions prevailing in this province during the last ten years are in themselves quite sufficient to account for the rapid multiplication of its inhabitants. In paragraph 11 of Chapter II the exceptionally heavy increase in the population of Patna City, which has attracted particular notice, is subjected to a detailed analysis, and it is shown that the present figures are susceptible of rational explanation. It is also relevant to observe that, in spite of the fact that some part of the increase in this province is due to the reduced volume of emigration to other parts of India, the rate of growth in Bihar and Orissa is only slightly in excess of that recorded for India as a whole. Finally, if deliberate falsification of the returns had been resorted to on an appreciable scale, it is almost certain that the increase in the female population would have been disproportionately high, for women are seldom produced before the enumerator and could therefore be "invented" with greater facility than men. But in actual fact one of the outstanding features of the present census is the relative decline in the number of females.

9. Little remains nowadays of the misgivings and distrust aroused among the people by the earlier censuses, and hostile interest has for the most part yielded place to apathetic resignation. On the present occasion, however, there were one or two factors which served to excite spasmodic

displays of interest in the operations. Among the more educated classes, particularly in urban areas, some appreciation was shown of the bearing of the census figures on the impending constitutional changes. The prospect of the creation of a separate Orissa province and the question whether such a province should include the whole or any part of Singhbhum district were responsible for a lively concern in the returns of caste, language, etc., in that locality. The anxiety of many of the lower castes all over the province to improve their social status by the adoption of more impressive caste names attracted considerable attention to the manner in which entries were recorded in this particular column of the schedule. And, lastly, for the second time in succession the census operations happened to coincide with a political campaign of non-co-operation. In this province no serious attempt was made to organize a boycott of the census, and comparatively little active opposition was encountered from individuals. But political principles were not infrequently advanced as a convenient excuse for declining to undertake the irksome duties of a supervisor or enumerator, and potential volunteers were discouraged from proffering their services on the ground that it was their duty not to assist the Government in any shape or form. This made the difficult task of enrolling the requisite number of workers still more difficult; and the same spirit of sullen unhelpfulness was manifested by considerable sections of the population throughout the conduct of the operations. Sometimes false rumours were set about regarding the objects of Government in holding the census. Cases were reported in which the numbers painted on houses by the census staff were obliterated. But refusals to answer questions put by an enumerator were very rare, and the direct effect of this political agitation on the accuracy of the census returns cannot have been appreciable. Indirectly its effect was more serious in that sub-inspectors of police (who, as already explained, occupied an important position in the hierarchy of census officials) were so pre-occupied with the civil disobedience movement that they had little time to spare for other duties. And for the same reason District Officers were unable to take such an active interest in supervising the progress of the census work as they would normally have done.

10. A few words may be added regarding the cost of the census operations. At the time of writing the accounts have not been finally closed, but the outstanding items (of which the most important is the cost of printing the report) are few and can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. The gross expenditure incurred by Government will, when the last bill has been paid, amount to approximately Rs. 4,69,500. Certain recoveries, however, were made from the States and from municipalities in British territory; and these, together with receipts from the sale of furniture, waste paper and the like, reduce the net cost to about Rs. 4,23,800. In estimating the cost per mille of the population it is fair to confine the calculation to British territory only, because, although the States were not invited to make any contribution towards superintendence charges or towards the preparation of the report itself, the recoveries made from them cover almost all the extra cost incurred over the actual enumeration of their inhabitants and the compilation of the figures. It may therefore be said that the cost to Government works out at Rs. 11-4-0 per mille of the population in British territory. At the census of 1921, if the same method of calculation be adopted, the corresponding figure was Rs. 10-4-8 per mille. It would therefore seem that the present operations were slightly more expensive. But the increase in cost is more apparent than real, being due to the different method of accounting adopted at the present census. Mention may be made of two important items which were affected by this change of procedure. (1) In 1921 charges on account of travelling allowance and contingent expenditure, incurred in district offices, were not ordinarily debited to the census grant at all, but were treated as a part of the cost of general administration. The reversal of this practice on the present occasion threw upon the census budget an additional liability of about Rs. 23,500. (2) Most of the printing work connected with the census is carried out by the local Government press, which in 1921 charged the Government of India nothing for this service over and above the actual labour cost. This time the ordinary overhead

charges were levied. Moreover, the 1921 accounts did not include the cost of printing the report itself. The result is that the present expenditure on printing is heavier by about Rs. 30,000 than it was ten years ago. If the unreal additions represented by these two items be left out of account, the cost of the operations in 1931 is less by about 7½ annas per mille of the population than it was on the last occasion—and this in spite of the fact that appreciably higher rates of pay were allowed to the copyists, sorters, compilers and other temporary employees.

11. One more point may be made clear in regard to the cost of taking the census. The figures so far quoted cover the entire pay of all permanent Government servants who were deputed to census work as whole-time officers, and in consequence they convey a somewhat exaggerated idea of the net *additional* expenditure incurred by Government on account of the operations; for in the case of such officers the additional expenditure is limited to the cost of the arrangements made for carrying on their ordinary work during their absence on deputation. It is not possible to give exact figures of the reduction in total cost that may be ascribed to this circumstance; but, judging from the figures worked out in 1921, it would be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 65,000.

12. It remains to convey my acknowledgments to those—and they are many—without whose assistance and co-operation this report could not have been written. As Mr. Tallents justly remarked ten years ago, so long as the census is run on its present lines, the first and greatest debt of thanks will always be due to the great multitude of enumerators and supervisors, of whose names there is no record and who at best can look only for a printed certificate as the reward of their labours. To the district census officers I am under a very special obligation. Owing to the breakdown in the health of my predecessor, from whom I took over charge in the middle of November 1930, there had been considerable dislocation of the time-table prescribed for the earlier stages of the operations. It was indeed doubtful at one time whether the arrears could be made up, and it is quite certain that they could not have been unless the district census officers had thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the breach and worked at extremely high pressure for the three months immediately preceding the date of the actual census. This period was one of great strain and activity at the headquarters office also. The Provincial Superintendent does not ordinarily require a Personal Assistant until the final enumeration has taken place and the work of abstraction and compilation is taken up, but the special circumstance prevailing when I took over charge made the immediate appointment of a Personal Assistant absolutely necessary. Babu Nand Lal Sinha, Deputy Collector, was selected for this post, and my debt of gratitude to him is large indeed. Gifted with an exceptionally quick intelligence, an appetite for hard work and the capacity to get through it with unusual rapidity, he found plenty of scope for the exercise of all these qualities in the situation which faced us at the time of his appointment. During that critical period, as well as later on when he was placed in charge of the provincial compilation office, I found his assistance invaluable. The names of the five deputy superintendents who held charge of the divisional sorting and compilation offices are given in the margin. Their task was arduous and difficult. Not only did they have to work extremely hard themselves, but they had to exact the maximum of work with the minimum of friction and discontent from a large staff of temporary, ill-paid piece-workers not readily amenable to discipline. Each of them gave of his best, and that very willingly, and I am deeply sensible of my obligation to them. I desire also to express my acknowledgments to the ministerial staff of my own office, and in particular to my Head Clerk, Babu Anadi Nath Mazumdar. He and his colleagues were frequently called on to work overtime and to forego the ordinary holidays, but they always met these and any other demands that were made on them with great cheerfulness, and were consistently diligent in the performance of their duties. To the various correspondents,

M. Saiyid Faruq Azam ...	Tirhut.
M. Saiyid Ali Ashraf ...	Patna.
Babu P. C. Roy Chaudhury ...	Bhagalpur.
M. S. N. Haider	Chota Nagpur.
Babu Ganesh Chandra Chandra	Cuttack.

mostly non-officials, who supplied me with information for the report I am very grateful. And this is a fitting opportunity to pay tribute to the initiative, keenness and efficiency displayed by the Feudatory States in carrying out the enumeration of their peoples.

13. Lastly, but very far from least, my thanks are due to the Press of the local Government. The census forms have to be printed in four languages and their number is legion. Of the general schedule alone more than 4½ million copies were printed, and the number of other miscellaneous forms required before the enumeration took place was not less than 1½ millions. At the same time arrangements had to be made in good time for delivering over 45 million printed slips immediately after the census date and a great variety of sorters' tickets, registers, etc., etc. At the best of times the Press is hard put to it to comply with these requirements in such a way as to enable the programme to be carried out without any hitch, but their task on this occasion was made infinitely more difficult by the dislocation of work already mentioned. But for Mr. Mackenzie's unbounded energy and resource a serious breakdown in the arrangements for holding the census in this province would have been inevitable. Mr. Mackenzie proceeded on leave in the latter part of 1931, and the volume of tables, which forms Part II of this report, was printed during his absence under the supervision of Mr. Duncan. The meticulous instructions (mostly inspired by the pressing need for economy) with which the manuscript of each table was burdened must, I fear, have tried his patience sorely, but he showed no sign of it, and I am greatly indebted to him for the scrupulous care which he invariably displayed in endeavouring to give effect to my uninformed directions.

W. G. LACEY.

REPORT

ON THE

CENSUS OF

BIHAR AND ORISSA, 1931.

CHAPTER I.—Distribution and Movement of the Population.

SECTION I.—Introductory Remarks.

Changes of area and jurisdiction since 1921.

THE area dealt with in this report is the Province of Bihar and Orissa, including the Feudatory States associated with it. Since 1921, when the last census was taken, there have been no changes of importance in the constitution of the province. Its area, according to the latest statistics available, is less by 107 square miles than the area recorded at the previous census. This is mainly due to the circumstance that during the last decade the district of Balasore suffered a loss of 30 square miles through coastal erosion, while Manbhum district was found, as the result of a cadastral survey, to be 52 square miles short of the area formerly attributed to it. For the rest, there were a few minor adjustments of inter-provincial boundaries between this province on the one hand and the United Provinces and Bengal on the other hand; but most of the areas so transferred were uninhabited, the only exception of note being the transfer from the Santal Parganas (Bihar) to the district of Malda (Bengal) of thirteen inhabited *mauzas* which in 1921 had a total population of about 7,000 persons.

Apart from these inter-provincial adjustments, there have been one or two small modifications in the district boundaries. An area of 6 square miles was ceded to Patna district by Shahabad, and the Santal Parganas recouped the greater part of what it had surrendered to Bengal by appropriating 27 square miles from the district of Purnea. Within the individual districts the most important changes have been the formation of outlying subdivisions in Palamau and Singhbhum. These were the only two districts in the province which had hitherto been administered entirely from district headquarters. In Palamau the revenue thanas of Balumath, Latehar and Mahuadanr have now been constituted into a separate subdivision with headquarters at Latehar; while in Singhbhum the new subdivision (Dhalbhum) owes its birth to the rapid development of Jamshedpur city, which was naturally selected as the subdivisional headquarters.

Wherever changes of jurisdiction, inter-provincial or otherwise, involve a transfer of population, necessary adjustments have been made in

those tables which show the variations in population at successive censuses, so that the figures given in Imperial Table II and Provincial Table I represent the persons enumerated at each census within the limits of the province (or smaller unit) as now constituted.

Natural divisions of the province.

2. For administrative purposes the twenty-one districts of Bihar and Orissa are grouped into five commissioner's divisions. But naturally the province consists of three well-defined parts, each of which is more or less homogeneous in itself and differs very widely from the other two, both in respect of physical features and in respect of the people who inhabit it. These three sub-provinces are Bihar proper in the north, the coastal districts of Orissa in the extreme south-east, and the Chota Nagpur Plateau covering the whole of the intervening country. The salient characteristics of each of these great tracts have been fully described in previous census reports and need only be recapitulated very briefly here. Bihar proper comprises the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, and is bounded on the north by the lower spurs of the Himalayas. It is a purely agricultural tract and, thanks to the good offices of the Ganges and its tributaries, is quite exceptionally fertile. This part of the province is more densely populated than any other part. The Chota Nagpur Plateau provides a great contrast to Bihar. It forms the north-eastern portion of the table-land of Central India, and its undulating surface varies from about 500 to 3,000 feet above sea-level. Such jungles as the province can boast are mostly to be found here, and cultivation is for the greater part confined to the valleys, where laborious terracing is frequently necessary. The plateau has great mineral wealth, which is still largely undeveloped. It is sparsely populated and is the home of many non-Aryan tribes. Between this table-land and the Bay of Bengal lies the third tract—Orissa. It is a low-lying strip of country, formed by the deltas of the Mahanadi, Baitarani and Brahmani rivers, and is peculiarly liable to disastrous floods. Orissa has always been very much isolated, the communications between it and the rest of the province being very poor.

In the Imperial and Provincial tables, which form the second volume of this Report, the districts of the province have been grouped together by *administrative* divisions. But in the present volume, where the main results of the census are analysed and discussed, conclusions of greater value are likely to be arrived at by regrouping the districts and states according to the *natural* divisions in which they lie. For this purpose Bihar proper may conveniently be sub-divided into North Bihar and South Bihar, the Ganges being taken roughly as the dividing line between the two. We thus have altogether four natural divisions, the composition of which (as also the relation which they bear to the administrative divisions) is set out in the following statement:—

District or State.	Administrative Division.
North Bihar.	
Saran	Tirhut.
Champaran	
Muzaffarpur	
Darbhanga	
Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur.
Purnea	
South Bihar.	
Patna	Patna.
Gaya	
Shahabad	
Monghyr	Bhagalpur.
Orissa.	
Cuttack	Orissa.
Balasore	
Puri	

District or State.	Administrative Division.
Chota Nagpur Plateau.	
Hazaribagh	Chota Nagpur.
Ranchi	
Palamau	
Manbhum	
Singhbhum	
Santal Parganas	Bhagalpur.
Angul	Orissa.
Sambalpur	
Athgarh	Feudatory States.
Talcher	
Mayurbhanj	
Nilgiri	
Keonjhar	
Pal Lahara	
Dhenkanal	
Athmallik	
Hindol	
Narsinghpur	
Baramba	
Tigiria	
Khandpara	
Nayagarh	
Ranpur	
Daspalla	
Baud	
Bamra	
Rairakhol	
Sonpur	
Patna	
Kalahandi	
Gangpur	
Bonai	
Saraikela	
Kharsawan	

In all the maps of the province which are to be found in this volume the boundaries of the natural divisions and of the administrative (or commissioners') divisions are shown separately; but in the subsidiary tables appended to each chapter the districts and states are always arranged by natural divisions. In regard to the states it should be remarked that for administrative purposes the old distinction between the "Chota Nagpur Feudatory States" (consisting of Saraikela and Kharsawan only) and the "Orissa Feudatory States" (comprising the other twenty-four units) has been abolished, and they are now all known as the "Orissa Feudatory States". At the same time, Saraikela and Kharsawan are not only cut off almost entirely from the larger group of states by the intervening British district of Singhbhum, but ethnographically, linguistically and in various other respects they are clearly distinguishable from the others. In this report, therefore, the former distinction has been retained, and separate statistics have been tabulated throughout for these two units under the designation of "Chota Nagpur States".

De facto and de jure populations.

3. A word of explanation may be given here regarding the meaning of the word "population". In India, as in England, the census aims at recording the actual, or *de facto*, population of the country on the night when the enumeration was carried out. It does not concern itself, as is done in some countries, with the resident, or *de jure*, population. No person is asked to state his ordinary place of abode. Wherever he happened to be between the hours of 6 P.M. and midnight on the 26th February 1931, there was he brought to account and in the population of that place he is numbered.

In India, however, where (in comparison at least with western countries) the population is still extremely immobile, the difference between the actual and the resident population is never large. It happens that in Bihar and Orissa this difference, such as it is, reaches its maximum at about the time of year when the present census was taken. After the winter rice crop has been harvested, an appreciable percentage of the agricultural population is in the habit of migrating to Bengal or elsewhere in search of temporary employment. They return either when the spring crops are ready for cutting or with the breaking of the monsoon. Thus the province is usually at its emptiest in February. This is a constant feature of every census, but on the present occasion the date of the final enumeration was somewhat earlier than usual (in 1921 it had been the 18th March), and the census returns must therefore be regarded as exhibiting the population of the province at slightly below its normal census strength.

Non-synchronous tracts.

4. It has just been asserted that every person was enumerated in the place where he happened to be between 6 P.M. and midnight on the night of the census. This statement must, however, be qualified, for there are a few localities in Bihar and Orissa where a synchronous count was not possible. Certain wild tracts of country, where human habitations are few and inaccessible, dense jungles infested by dangerous animals—these and similar phenomena, coupled usually with a dearth of persons in the immediate locality qualified to act as enumerators, provided insurmountable obstacles to the completion of the final count within the prescribed hours. The most important of these tracts was the Khondmals subdivision of Angul, 800 square miles in extent. In Mayurbhanj State the Simlipal hills and their immediate neighbourhood, covering an area almost as large, were similarly treated. The districts of Puri, Shahabad and the Santal Parganas contained much smaller blocks of such country. Altogether the "non-synchronous tracts" in the whole province covered some 2,100 square miles, or about 2 per cent of the total provincial area. The aggregate number of persons enumerated in these localities was only about 307,000, or less than 0.75 per cent of the population of the province; and it may be safely assumed that, if it had been possible to carry out the normal procedure for the enumeration of these special tracts, the difference in the figures would not have been appreciable.

Reference to statistics.

5. The main statistics discussed in the present chapter will be found in the following tables contained in Part II of the Report:—

Imperial Table I.—Area, Houses and Population.

Imperial Table II.—Variation in population during the last fifty years.

Imperial Table III.—Cities, towns and villages classified by population.

Provincial Table I.—Area and population of districts, subdivisions and revenue thanas.

Supplementary statistics will be found in the following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter:—

I.—Density, water-supply and crops of districts in 1930-31.

II.—Variation in relation to density since 1881.

III.—Distribution of the population by thanas classified according to density.

IV.—Variation by thanas classified according to density.

V.—Comparison with vital statistics.

VI.—Variation in natural population.

VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.

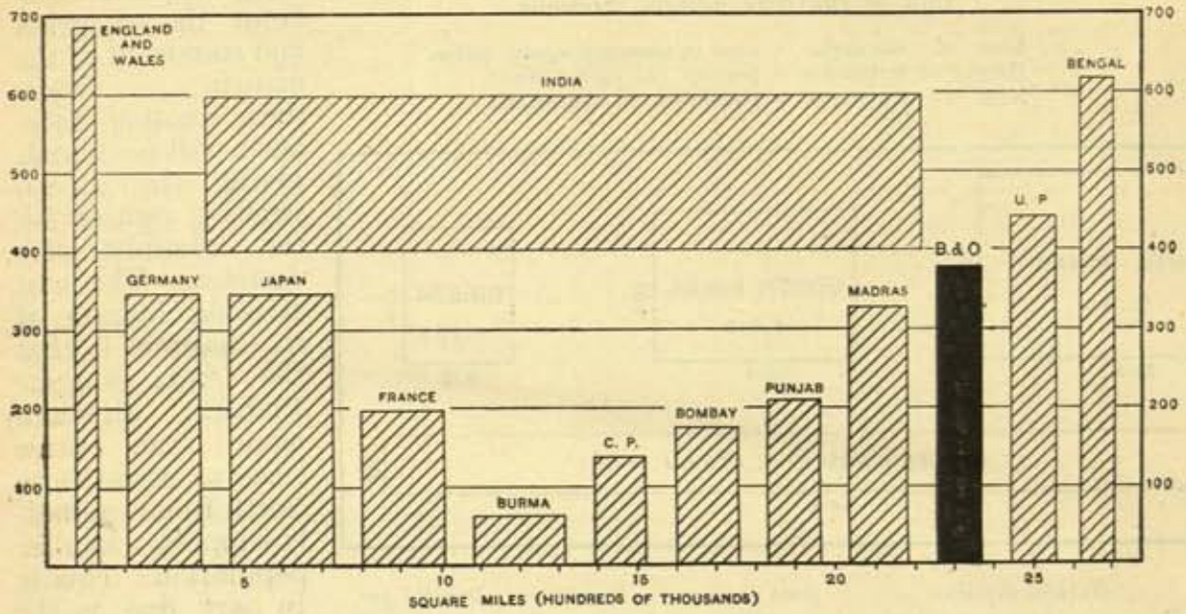
SECTION II.—Distribution of the Population : General Survey.

Bihar and Orissa compared with other provinces and countries.

6. Bihar and Orissa, with an area of 111,702 square miles, has a population of 42,329,583 persons. Over the whole province the number of persons per square mile averages 379. These figures are compared with those of certain other countries and provinces of India in the following diagram and statement, the countries being arranged in descending order of density and the provinces in ascending order. Except in the case of Germany, where the last census was carried out in 1925—27, the statistics here given were all recorded in the year 1931 or in the preceding year :—

Diagram showing the comparative area, density and population of Bihar and Orissa and certain other countries and provinces.

Base of rectangles = area.
Height of rectangles = density.
Area of rectangles = population.



Country or province.	*Area in square miles.*	*Population (000's omitted).*	*Density per square mile.*
England and Wales	58,343	39,948	685
Germany	181,723	63,181	348
Japan (Empire)	260,644	90,396	347
France	212,659	41,835	197
India	1,808,677	352,838	195
United States of America (Empire)	3,685,382	137,008	37
Burma	233,492	14,667	63
Central Provinces and Berar ...	131,095	17,991	137
Bombay	151,673	26,399	174
Punjab	136,964	28,491	208
Madras (excluding Cochin and Travancore)	143,870	47,194	328
Bihar and Orissa	**111,702**	**42,330**	**379**
United Provinces	112,191	49,615	442
Bengal	82,955	51,087	616

The United States of America have not been included in the diagram, because there is not sufficient room. The width of the rectangle representing that country would measure nearly 7.4 inches, or rather more than twice the width of the rectangle for all India. On the other hand, the population of the States is relatively so small that the height of the rectangle would be only one-seventh of an inch, or not much more than half the height of the Burma rectangle. It will be seen that Bihar and Orissa supports a total population somewhat larger than that of either England and Wales or France. But, whereas its area is nearly twice that of the former country, the area of France is nearly twice that of Bihar and Orissa. In point of density the province approximates most nearly to Germany and Japan. It

is twice as thickly populated as the rest of India. Only two provinces have a greater density than Bihar and Orissa, and only three have a larger population, though in respect of area it comes low down in the scale.

British territory and Feudatory States.

7. The total area and population of Bihar and Orissa is distributed between British territory and the Feudatory States as follows :—

		Area.	*Population.*	*Density.*
British territory	...	83,054	37,677,576	454
Feudatory States	...	28,648	4,652,007	162

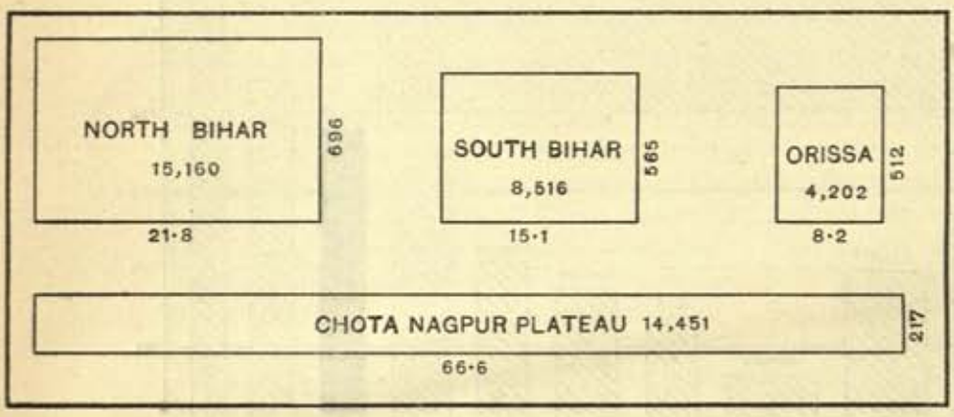
It will be seen that the area occupied by the States is rather more than one-quarter of the whole, but their population is not much in excess of one-tenth.

Distribution by natural divisions.

8. The distribution of the population between the natural divisions of the province is very irregular, as is clear from the diagram and statement in the margin. Below them, another statement will be found, giving the corresponding figures for the administrative divisions. The most striking feature of the diagram is that the Chota Nagpur Plateau, although more than three times as extensive as North Bihar, actually supports a smaller population. This is in part due to the inclusion in the plateau of the sparsely-peopled Feudatory States. But, even if we take into account only the eight British districts contained within this natural division, its mean density is still as low as 258, or barely half that of Orissa, which is the least thickly populated of the other natural divisions. As between North Bihar, South Bihar and Orissa, there is considerable disparity in size, but not so much in density. The first-named is at once the largest and the most densely peopled of the three. Indeed, with the single exception of East Bengal, there is no natural division in the whole of India where the density per square mile is so great as in North Bihar. It exceeds even that of England and Wales, where 79.3 per cent of the total population is urban, whereas the corresponding figure in North Bihar is only 2.9 per cent. The whole province of Burma, with an area more than ten times as large as North Bihar, does not support a population as numerous as that supported by this single natural division.

Diagram showing the comparative area, density and population of the four natural divisions.

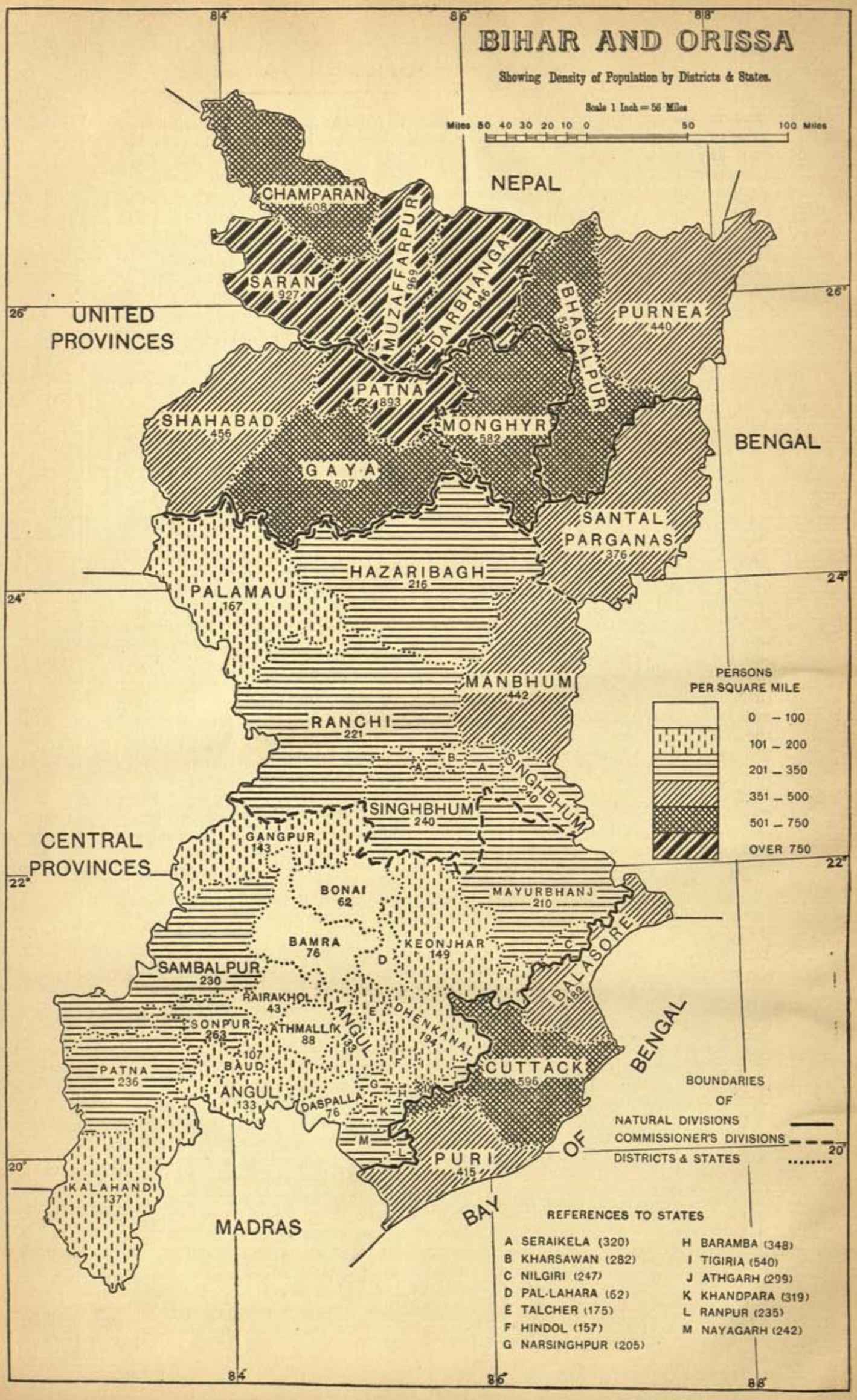
Base of rectangles = area in thousand square miles.
Height of rectangles = persons per square mile.
Area of rectangles = population in thousands.



Natural division.		*Area in square miles.*	*Population.*	*Density per square mile.*
North Bihar	...	21,796	15,160,449	696
South Bihar	...	15,081	8,515,579	565
Orissa	...	8,201	4,202,461	512
Chota Nagpur Plateau		66,624	14,451,094	217
Administrative division.		*Area in square miles.*	*Population.*	*Density per square mile.*
Patna	...	11,154	6,228,425	558
Tirhut	...	12,598	10,739,274	852
Bhagalpur	...	18,583	8,759,801	471
Orissa	...	13,706	5,306,142	387
Chota Nagpur	...	27,013	6,643,934	246
Feudatory States	...	28,648	4,652,007	162

Distribution by districts.

9. The average population of a British district in Bihar and Orissa is 1,794,170 persons, and the average area is 3,955 square miles. In point of size Ranchi district heads the list with an area of 7,102 square miles, but in spite of its vast extent the population of this district is well below the average number, being only 1,567,149 persons. Darbhanga on the other


BIHAR AND ORISSA
Showing Density of Population by Districts & States.
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 608
SARAN 927
MUZAFFARPUR 969
DARBHANGA 946
BHAGALPUR 529
PURNEA 440
PATNA 893
SHAHABAD 456
MONGHYR 582
GAYA 507
SANTAL PARGANAS 376
HAZARIBAGH 216
PALAMAU 167
MANBHUM 442
RANCHI 221
SINGHBHUM 240
GANGPUR 143
BONAI 62
MAYURBHANJ 210
BAMRA 76
KEONJHAR 149
SAMBALPUR 230
RAIRAKHOL 43
SONPUR 263
ATHMALLIK 88
ANGUL 133
DHENKANAL 194
BALASORE 492
PATNA 236
BAUD 107
ANGUL 133
DASPALLA 76
CUTTACK 596
PURI 415
KALAHANDI 137
PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
0 – 100
101 – 200
201 – 350
351 – 500
501 – 750
OVER 750
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (320)
B KHARSAWAN (282)
C NILGIRI (247)
D PAL-LAHARA (62)
E TALCHER (175)
F HINDOL (157)
G NARSINGHPUR (205)
H BARAMBA (348)
I TIGIRIA (540)
J ATHGARH (299)
K KHANDPARA (319)
L RANPUR (235)
M NAYAGARH (242)
84°
86°
88°
26°
24°
22°
20°

hand is smaller than the average district, having an area of 3,348 square miles only, but it can still (as always heretofore) boast a larger population than any other district in the province. At the present census for the first time it topped the 3,000,000 mark. No other district has yet accomplished this, but nine districts now contain a population of between 2 and 3 millions each. With the exception of Cuttack (2,176,707) and the Santal Parganas (2,051,472), all these districts belong to North or South Bihar. It may be of some interest to see how this province compares in these matters with the other major provinces of India. In the statement that follows the "most populous" district means the one containing the *largest* population and not the *most densely* populated one:—

Name of province.	Most populous district.		Area of largest district.	Average area of districts.	Average population of districts.
	Area.	*Population.*			
Bihar and Orissa ...	3,348	3,166,094	7,102	3,955	1,794,170
Madras ...	17,186	3,607,948	17,186	5,472	1,797,696
Bengal ...	6,237	5,130,262	6,237	2,769	1,702,911
Bombay ...	3,989	1,302,527	13,636	4,414	781,397
United Provinces ...	4,534	3,567,561	5,612	2,213	1,008,516
Punjab ...	2,614	1,378,570	9,858	3,423	813,133
Burma ...	5,136	637,580	16,037	4,549	344,791
Central Provinces ...	9,717	1,527,573	9,717	4,542	704,896
Assam ...	5,478	2,724,342	8,092	4,271	713,647

Turning now to the comparative density of the various districts in Bihar and Orissa, we find that Darbhanga, although pre-eminent in absolute numerical strength, must be content with second place when numbers are considered in relation to area. The most thickly populated district of the province is Muzaffarpur, which supports no less than 969 persons to each square mile—an astonishing figure, especially when the predominantly rural character of the population is borne in mind. Only 28 out of every 1,000 persons in Muzaffarpur district live in towns. Two other districts (both in North Bihar) have a mean density of more than 900 persons per square mile, and close behind them comes Patna with 893. At the other end of the scale there are six British districts with a population of less than 250 persons to the square mile. All of these, as might be expected, are to be found in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the most sparsely populated of them all being Angul (133). But among the Feudatory States there are several with an even lower density than this. Rairakhol, for instance, has only 43, while there are five other states in which the figure varies between 50 and 100. The map on the opposite page shows the density of population in each district and state of the province.

In considering these figures it is necessary to bear in mind the various factors, other than actual area, which play an important part in determining the population of a district. In an agricultural province such as Bihar and Orissa it is obvious that much depends on the fertility of the soil and the relation which the cultivable area bears to the gross area of any given locality. The nature of the crops sown, the extent of irrigation facilities (natural or artificial), the volume and distribution of the rainfall—these are among the factors which directly influence and limit the growth of population. Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter gives such information regarding these matters as can conveniently be tabulated. In the margin a statement has been inserted showing the districts arranged in order of actual mean density. The density of each has then been re-calculated with reference only to the area fit and available for cultivation (irrespective of whether it is actually cultivated or not), and against each district the place which it would occupy in the revised gradation list has

Districts in order of actual density.	*Actual density.*	*Density calculated on cultivable area only.*
1. Muzaffarpur ...	969	1073(1)
2. Darbhanga ...	946	1029(2)
3. Saran ...	927	1015(3)
4. Patna ...	893	1014(4)
5. Champaran ...	608	741(6)
6. Cuttack ...	596	819(5)
7. Monghyr ...	582	723(7)
8. Bhagalpur ...	529	588(14)
9. Gaya ...	507	637(10)
10. Balasore ...	482	622(11)
11. Shahabad ...	456	667(8)
12. Manbhum ...	442	660(9)
13. Purnea ...	440	481(16)
14. Puri ...	415	590(13)
15. Santal Parganas ...	376	547(15)
16. Singhbhum ...	240	464(17)
17. Sambalpur ...	230	298(21)
18. Ranchi ...	221	320(20)
19. Hazaribagh ...	216	610(12)
20. Palamau ...	167	355(19)
21. Angul ...	133	442(18)

been noted. The order of the first seven districts is practically unchanged, but on the new basis of calculation Bhagalpur would drop from eighth to fourteenth. Hazaribagh on the other hand would ascend seven places in the scale, its revised density figure being nearly three times as high as the original one. The position of Angul at the bottom of the list would be taken by Sambalpur, the only district which supports less than 300 persons per square mile of cultivable area. It should not of course be forgotten that this rough-and-ready criterion ignores the industrial and urban element of the population, and those few districts, such as Singhbhum, Manbhum and Patna, where this element is considerable are flattered by the revised figures of density.

Distribution by revenue thanas.

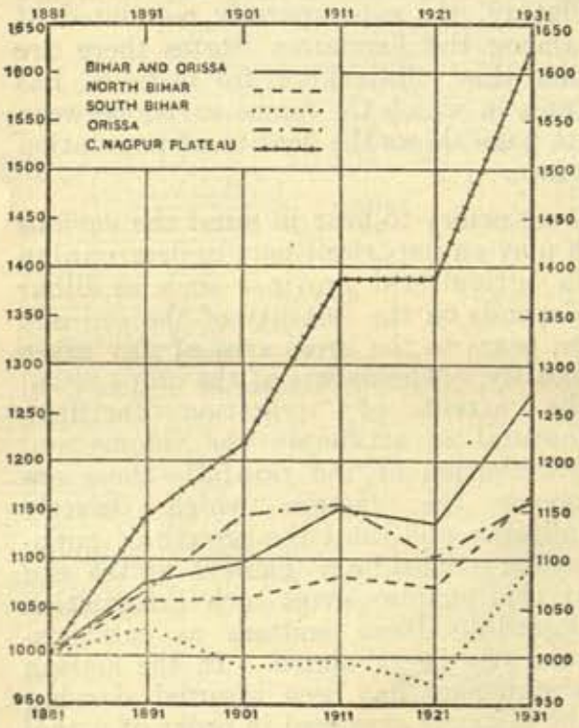
10. Our analysis of the distribution of the population may be carried one step lower down—to the revenue thana. The twenty-one British districts of the province are split up into 247 thanas. On the average each of these has an area of 336 square miles and a population of 152,541 persons. In Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter the thanas have been classified according to density, and the manner in which the population is distributed between the various classes has been set out in detail for each district and natural division. It may be noticed that thanas with a density of below 300 persons per square mile account for about one-half of the total area of the province and for about one-quarter of its total population.

SECTION III.—Movement of the Population : General Survey.

Growth of population during the last fifty years.

11. The year 1872 witnessed the first scientific attempt to hold a census of the population of this province, and the results of that enumeration are recorded in the first of the present series of census reports. Admittedly it was much less accurate than the subsequent censuses, and, partly for this reason and partly because it appears unnecessary to extend the present survey over a longer period than half a century, no reference will be made here to the statistics recorded in 1872. Imperial Table II shows the population of districts and states at each successive census since 1881; and the proportional figures of variation from decade to decade, together with particulars of density, are exhibited in Subsidiary Table II at the end of this chapter. The diagram in the margin illustrates the progressive variation during the same period in the population of the province as a whole and of each natural division. In the course of these fifty years Bihar and Orissa has increased its population by 26.8 per cent. A small portion of this increase should, however, be discounted on the ground that the standard of accuracy in the census of 1881 was somewhat lower than in the succeeding operations and the actual population in that year was consequently greater than the recorded figures indicate. Excepting 1911—21, each decade has seen a greater or less increase in the population of the whole province and of three out of the four natural divisions. In South Bihar, however, there was a substantial fall in 1891—1901 as well as in 1911—21. The disparity between the general rate of increase in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and the rate elsewhere is the outstanding feature of the diagram.

Diagram showing the variation per mille in the total population of the province and of each natural division since 1881.



12. The nature and causes of the movement of the population revealed by the previous censuses have been fully discussed in the earlier reports, and a very brief recapitulation here will suffice. **Variations at previous censuses**

Between 1881 and 1891 there was an increase of 7.5 per cent in the total population. This is a larger variation than any recorded during the next thirty years, and, as already mentioned, some part of it must be ascribed to defective enumeration in 1881—particularly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and (albeit to a lesser extent) in North Bihar. The substantial increase in Orissa was probably more genuine; that part of the province was still making good the ground lost in the great famine of 1866. South Bihar suffered seriously from a malignant form of fever, which reduced its natural rate of increase.

The next decade saw an increase of 1.8 per cent in the population of the province. During this period, unlike the preceding ten years, the true growth of the population in the Chota Nagpur Plateau was probably greater than it appeared to be, owing to the extensive emigration that took place from this part of the province. Orissa continued its development at much the same rate as before, undisturbed by serious visitations of flood or famine; while North Bihar remained practically stationary. The fall in the population of South Bihar is attributed to serious outbreaks of the plague.

In 1901—11 the provincial population increased by 5.1 per cent. The Chota Nagpur Plateau, as usual, showed a far more rapid growth than any other natural division. Both parts of Bihar suffered from a succession of bad harvests in the middle of the decade and from indifferent public health, while the progress of Orissa was checked by floods, disease and scarcity. In each of these three divisions the rate of increase was below 2 per cent.

The decade 1911—21 is completely overshadowed by the great influenza epidemic of 1918. When the census of 1921 was taken, the population of the province was found to be 1.2 per cent less than it had been ten years earlier. Yet for the first seven years of the decennium the history of the province had followed a normal course, inclining indeed towards prosperity rather than the reverse, and it was estimated in the last census report that, if a census had been taken in March 1918, it would have revealed an increase of about a million and a half over the population of 1911. But in the year 1918 alone over half a million deaths were directly attributed to influenza, which furthermore undermined the health and impaired the fecundity of many millions more. On top of this, there was a serious failure of the monsoon in the same year, and famine conditions prevailed in parts of the province. Distress was general and acute. The price of common rice more than doubled itself in twelve months. At the same time the general rise in the cost of living occasioned by the war had begun to make itself felt, and the unprecedented increase in the cost of cloth in particular inflicted untold hardship on the people. Some indication of the general condition to which they were reduced is afforded by the fact that the birth-rate fell from 40.4 in 1917 to 30.4 in 1919. Curiously, it was Orissa, where the ravages of the influenza epidemic were less severe than elsewhere, that recorded the largest decrease in population during the decade. This was because Orissa suffered more acutely than any other part of the province from the agricultural distress occasioned by the failure of the rains in 1918, and was moreover visited with disastrous floods in the following year. The recuperative power of this division, which depends almost exclusively on a single rice crop, is low compared with that of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and the signs of recovery which had begun to make themselves evident at the end of the decade in the other three natural divisions of the province were still wanting in Orissa.

13. The census which forms the subject of this report records an increase of 11.5 per cent in the total population of the province since 1921. During **Variation since 1921.**

the last fifty years, and probably for very much longer still, there has been nothing comparable to this rapid growth in numbers. It is true that, according to the census statistics for 1881, the population had increased during the previous decade by 18.4 per cent; but it has already been explained that the 1872 figures were unreliable, and Sir Edward Gait, writing thirty years later, expressed the opinion that the true increase for that decade had been less than 2 per cent.

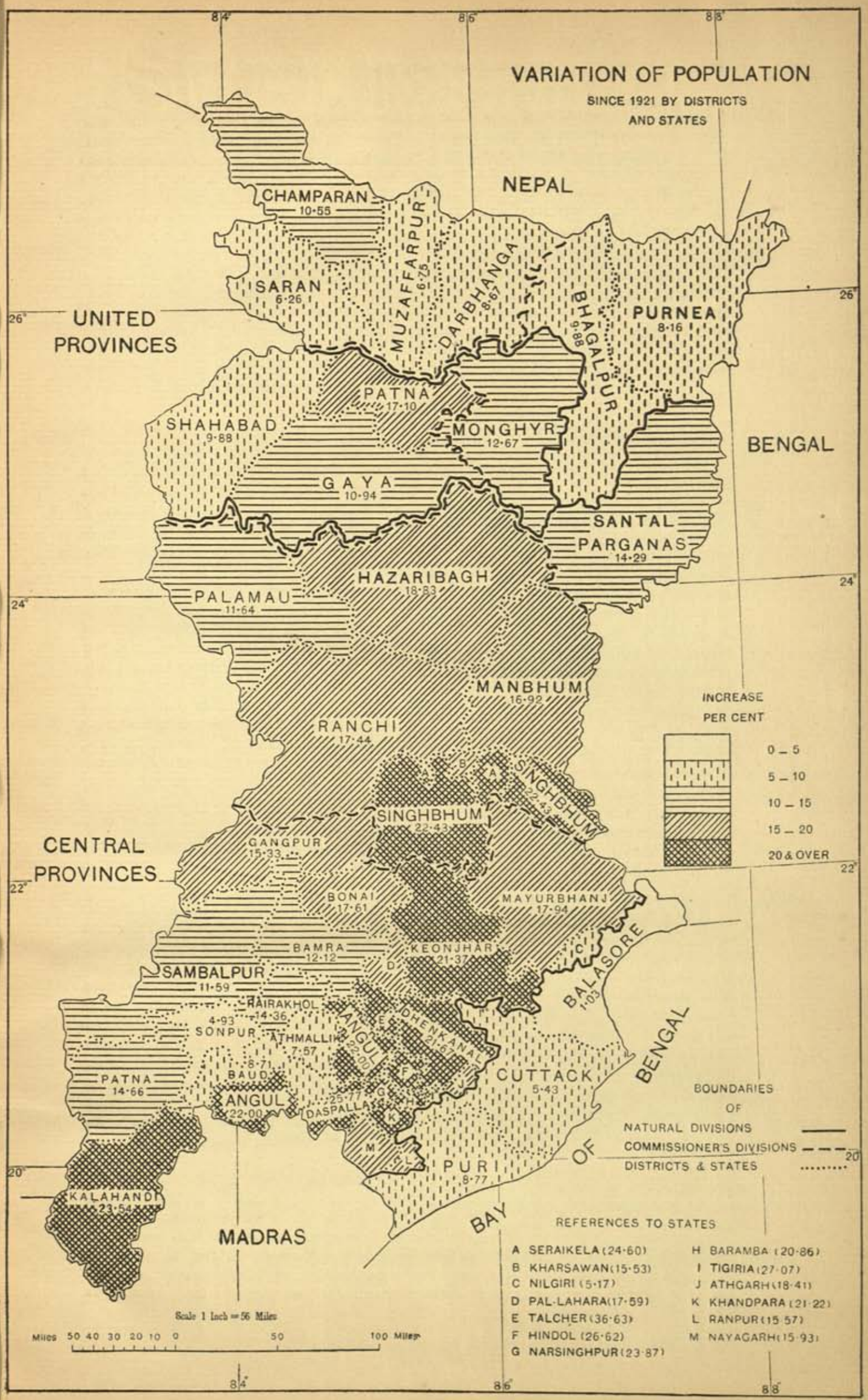
The actual number of souls added to the population of Bihar and Orissa in the last ten years (after allowing for minor adjustments of inter-provincial boundaries) is 4,374,496. This number is divided between British territory and the Feudatory States as follows:—

			Actual increase in population.	*Percentage of increase.*
British territory	...	...	3,682,158	10.83
Feudatory States	...	...	692,338	17.48

The percentage of increase in the Feudatory States is remarkably high, but scarcely higher than in the rest of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, throughout the whole of which the population increased by 16.7 per cent. A reference back to the diagram on page 8 will show the comparative rates of increase in the four natural divisions during this decade. The map opposite illustrates the percentage of variation by districts and states. There is not a single British district nor an individual state which did not contribute something towards the general increase. In Balasore district the percentage was smaller than anywhere else, being only 1.03. Singhbhum, with an increase of 22.43 per cent, heads the list of British districts, but is left far behind by the small state of Talcher, which emerged at the end of the decade with a population 36.63 per cent greater than what it had at the beginning. Coming down to the revenue thana unit, the figures of actual and proportional variation in each of the eight classes of thanas (*see* paragraph 10 above) are given in Subsidiary Table IV at the end of this chapter. It will be seen that, for the province as a whole, every class registered a substantial increase. Indeed, a scrutiny of the figures of individual thanas reveals the fact that, small as these units are, in only nine out of 247 was there any reduction in numbers. The greatest increase recorded by any one revenue thana was 36.34 per cent. This occurred in Mandu thana in the district of Hazaribagh. (Provincial Table I gives full details of the population of revenue thanas at each of the last two censuses.)

Migration.

14. Before examining in further detail the variations in the population of the province since 1921, it will be advantageous to consider the principal factors which influence the growth of population and to see how these factors operated during the last decade. And first we may consider briefly the effect of migration, a subject which is dealt with more fully in Chapter III. It is clear that, if in any given period the number of persons emigrating from the province exceeds the number of immigrants into it, the population is really multiplying at a more rapid rate than the census figures indicate; or in other words the increase in the *natural* population is greater than the increase in the *actual* population. And the converse of course holds good too. Now Bihar and Orissa has always hitherto sent abroad to seek their fortunes many more persons than it has attracted from outside, and the number of emigrants (1,954,868) recorded in the census of 1921 was nearly five times larger than the number of immigrants (422,244). During the last decade this process was checked for the first time. The variation in the *natural* population of the province since 1921 is shown in Subsidiary Table VI at the end of this chapter. While there has been a fall of about 185,000, or nearly 10 per cent, in the number of persons born in this province and enumerated elsewhere, the number of "outsiders" enumerated in Bihar and Orissa has increased by 87,600, or more than 20 per cent. The result is that, although


VARIATION OF POPULATION
SINCE 1921 BY DISTRICTS
AND STATES
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 10·55
SARAN 6·26
MUZAFFARPUR 6·75
DARBHANGA 8·67
BHAGALPUR 9·88
PURNEA 8·16
PATNA 17·10
SHAHABAD 9·88
MONGHYR 12·67
GAYA 10·94
SANTAL PARGANAS 14·29
HAZARIBAGH 18·83
PALAMAU 11·64
MANBHUM 16·92
RANCHI 17·44
SINGHBHUM 22·43
GANGPUR 15·33
BONAI 17·61
MAYURBHANJ 17·94
BAMRA 12·12
KEONJHAR 21·37
SAMBALPUR 11·59
BALASORE 1·03
RAIRAKHOL 14·36
SONPUR 4·93
ATHMALLIK 7·57
ANGUL 22·00
DHENKANAL 21·67
BAUD 8·71
PATNA 14·66
ANGUL 22·00
DASPALLA 25·77
CUTTACK 5·43
PURI 8·77
KALAHANDI 23·54
INCREASE PER CENT
0 – 5
5 – 10
10 – 15
15 – 20
20 & OVER
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (24·60)
B KHARSAWAN (15·53)
C NILGIRI (5·17)
D PAL-LAHARA (17·59)
E TALCHER (36·63)
F HINDOL (26·62)
G NARSINGHPUR (23·87)
H BARAMBA (20·86)
I TIGIRIA (27·07)
J ATHGARH (18·41)
K KHANDPARA (21·22)
L RANPUR (15·57)
M NAYAGARH (15·93)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

the emigrants are still in a large majority, the disparity has been considerably reduced, and the growth in the natural population of the province is only 10.4 per cent as compared with a growth of 11.5 in the actual population. It is noticeable, however, that this development is confined to British territory. In the Feudatory States an exactly opposite process may be discerned. There, owing to the sparsely-populated character of the country and the scope for further exploitation of its resources, the balance of migration in the past has been in favour of the States. Now, with the rapid growth of the internal population and the spread of education and enterprise, more and more persons are tempted to venture outside the States' boundaries in search of a livelihood, while the inducement to foreigners to settle in the States is not so strong as formerly. In consequence, the excess of immigrants over emigrants was reduced during the last decade from 154,000 to 108,000, and the growth in the natural population of the Feudatory States was even greater than the census figures suggest.

Agricultural conditions.

15. It goes without saying that, in a province which depends directly on agriculture for the support of 80 per cent of its inhabitants, the climatic conditions during the last ten years and the nature of the harvests are of overwhelming importance. Generally speaking, these were favourable. In six years out of the ten the rice crop, with which the economic prosperity of the province is so largely bound up, was at least up to normal, and the year 1922 was memorable for a bumper harvest estimated at 20 per cent above par. From 1923 to 1927 (excepting 1924) the harvests were somewhat disappointing, but even in these years there was no serious failure of any important crop, and the condition of the agricultural population was never such as to give rise to serious anxiety. The reserve stocks of grain were usually adequate, and agricultural labourers found little difficulty in obtaining employment. In 1925 and 1926 Orissa suffered severely from floods. Other parts of the province were not altogether immune from visitations of this nature, and in particular considerable distress was caused thereby in Saran district in 1921, while the over-flooding of the Son river in 1923 was responsible for a general destruction of crops over an area of 600 square miles.

This very brief survey of agricultural conditions during the last decade will be supplemented in the pages that follow, where the vicissitudes of each district are dealt with in greater detail.

Cost of living.

16. At the beginning of the decade the post-war increase in the cost of living generally, combined with the acute distress occasioned by the influenza epidemic of 1918 and the failure of the monsoon in the same year, had raised the price of food-grains to an unprecedented height. For the first three years of the intercensal period they declined steadily in price. Then came a reaction, and from the beginning of 1924 to the end of 1927 prices were once more on the up grade. But the last three years of the decade witnessed another fall, much more sharp than before, and by the end of 1930 the extremely low level to which the price of food-grains had dropped was beginning to cause embarrassment to agriculturists. Apart from food-grains, the price of the indispensable commodities of ordinary existence, such as other articles of food, fuel and lighting, clothing, etc., declined consistently throughout the decade, and more steeply during the last year or two.

A rural wage census of Bihar and Orissa, carried out in 1924, affords an interesting insight into the extent to which wages had adjusted themselves to the changes in the cost of living. The last census of this nature had been held in 1916; and, although the Great War had been in progress for two years by that time, it had not yet had any appreciable effect on the general level of prices out here, so that the index figures of 1916 may be taken to represent the "pre-war" cost of living. The

corresponding index figures for 1924 revealed an all-round increase of about 60 per cent in rural areas, and this tallied almost exactly with the increase in the wages paid to unskilled labour. The skilled workman, on the other hand, was able to command in 1924 an average wage about 100 per cent higher than he received in 1916, and he may therefore be regarded as having improved his position considerably. It must be remembered, too, that there is always a pronounced lag in the process of adjusting wages to a new level of prices. Consequently, during the years succeeding 1924, when the cost of living was falling ever more rapidly, the unskilled workman as well as the skilled scored heavily, though the day of reckoning was bound to come later on.

Public health.

17. The public health during the decade was on the whole extraordinarily good. The statement in the margin gives the total number of deaths reported from certain diseases during each of the last three decades in the whole province. Separate statistics for each year of the decade 1921—30 will be found in Subsidiary Table X at the end of Chapter IV. "When in doubt, call it fever" is the motto of the village chaukidar, whose business it is to report the fact and cause of every death occurring within his beat. So the deaths brought to account under this head are commonly due not only to genuine fevers of every description but also to such diseases as dysentery, pneumonia, phthisis and many others. It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the proportion of "fever" deaths that may be laid at the door of malaria, but probably it is something between one-fifth and two-fifths. Even so, malaria is undoubtedly responsible for more deaths than any other single disease, and by lowering the vitality of the people and impairing their reproductive powers it indirectly does even more harm. The number of deaths ascribed to "fever" during the decade 1911—20 was greatly swollen by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, and a more just impression of the improvement in the *general* state of the public health during the last twenty years will perhaps be obtained by comparing the figures for the first seven years only of each decade. From 1911 to 1917 deaths from "fever" numbered 4,838,387, while the corresponding number for 1921—27 was 4,310,030, representing a decrease of something over ten per cent.

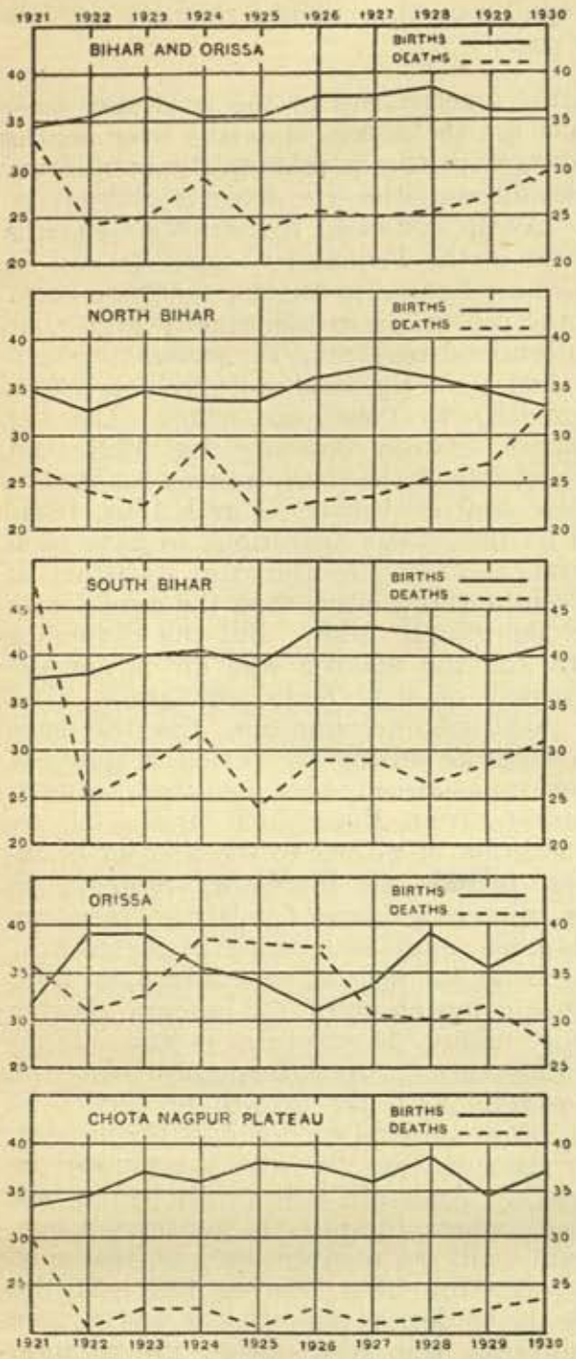
	1921—30.	*1911—20.*	*1901—10.*
Fever ...	6,120,565	7,953,940	7,160,983
Cholera ...	633,149	893,303	933,136
Plague ...	112,552	420,137	545,450
Small-pox ...	132,098	88,762	160,978

Cholera has always exacted a heavy toll in Bihar and Orissa, but the total number of deaths for which this disease was responsible during the last decade was 30 per cent less than in 1911—20, and would have been much smaller still but for the severe epidemics experienced during each of the last three years. The annual mortality from plague decreased from 42,000 to about 11,000, and the progressive improvement in the figures since the beginning of the century gives reason to hope that this dreadful scourge is dying out altogether. The districts of Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau have long been comparatively immune from it, but it still retains a foothold in Bihar proper. It has been noticed that plague usually breaks out with special violence every fourth or fifth year; it is particularly encouraging, therefore, to find that the last visitation of this kind occurred as long ago as 1922-23. Small-pox is the only important disease which proved more destructive of human life during 1921—30 than in the previous decade. This was due to two serious outbreaks in 1926 and 1927. In the former year Orissa was the chief sufferer, but the second epidemic was felt with some severity throughout the province.

Accuracy of vital statistics.

18. Further references will be made later on to the state of the public health in individual districts during the course of the last decade, but the short summary already given of this and of the other principal factors which have a direct bearing on the movement of the population may serve

Diagram showing the yearly number of births and deaths per mille in the province and in each natural division from 1921 to 1930.



as a background for considering the variations in the recorded birth and death-rates since 1921. These statistics are given in Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII at the end of Chapter IV, and are illustrated in the marginal diagram. It is necessary, however, to use these statistics with caution, for they are by no means scrupulously accurate. As already mentioned, it is the village chaukidar who in rural areas is primarily responsible for reporting all vital occurrences. He is often illiterate and not always as diligent as he might be, and the information reported by him is subjected to little check. Every week, or every fortnight, he hands in his *hath chitta* at the local police-station, where the figures are compiled by a writer constable in the form of monthly returns and forwarded to the Civil Surgeon of the district. In urban areas the original reporting agency is the beat constable instead of the chaukidar, but in other respects the procedure is the same. Various attempts have been made from time to time to assess the margin of error ordinarily present in the vital statistics thus recorded, and the result of these tests was summarized as follows in the All-India Census Report of 1921:—

"(1) In rural areas the omissions in the record of *numbers* vary up to about 20 per cent.

(2) The record of births is normally less accurate than that of deaths.

(3) In urban areas the standard of accuracy varies greatly according to the attention given by the local authorities. It is usually lower than in rural areas but it has been considerably improved of recent years.

(4) The records of the causes of mortality are defective. Plague, cholera and small-pox are now often fairly correctly recorded when the epidemic is established. Other distinctions (e.g., deaths from respiratory diseases) are sometimes roughly made, but the bulk of deaths, the specific cause of which is not recognized locally, are ascribed to "fever". Age categories

are, outside a certain limit, a matter of guess work but the errors are probably of the same kind as those in the census tables.

(5) Except for progressive improvement in urban areas and occasional break-downs during epidemics the errors are more or less constant from year to year."

Comparison with census figures.

19. Bearing in mind the admitted inaccuracies of the vital statistics, it will be of interest to examine how far the excess of births over deaths reported during the decade corresponds with the increase in the population as recorded at the census. The relevant statistics are given in Subsidiary Table V at the end of this chapter. As the system of registration of births and deaths is not universally in force in the Feudatory States, it will be necessary to confine our analysis of these figures to British territory only. The rate of increase, according to the census, is so abnormally high that doubts have not unnaturally been entertained regarding the extent to which the figures may be relied on, and at first sight the vital statistics lend some measure of support (though not much) to these suspicions. The net excess of births over deaths reported between January 1st, 1921, and December 31st, 1930, in the British districts of the province was 3,254,095. The net increase of population in these districts between March 18th, 1921, and February 26th, 1931, is shown by the census operations to have been 3,682,158. The rate of increase, even according to the vital statistics, is 9.57 per cent, and, although this is substantially lower than the census rate of 10.83 per cent, it is still quite abnormally high. But the difference between the number of persons born and the number who die is not the only factor which determines the growth of a *de facto* population. The balance of migrations must also be taken into account, i.e., the difference between the number of persons who emigrate during the period in question and the number who immigrate. Now it has already been seen that, between 1921 and 1931, the number of emigrants from Bihar and Orissa fell by about 185,000, while there was an addition of 87,600 to the number of its immigrants. These figures, however, include the Feudatory States. As Subsidiary Table VI shows, the corresponding figures for British territory alone are *minus* 204,462 and *plus* 113,656, and the increase in the *natural* population of the British districts during the decade was only 3,357,269. This is very much closer to the figure given above of the excess of births over deaths, viz., 3,254,095. Unfortunately, however, it is not safe to assume that in any given period the difference between the number of births and deaths will always correspond exactly with the growth or decline of the natural population. This proposition would hold good only if the number of emigrants who die abroad corresponded exactly with the number of immigrants who die within the province. And such will hardly be the case with a province like Bihar and Orissa, where (despite the contrary movement in this last decade) the emigrants still out-number the immigrants so heavily. We may perhaps assume, therefore, that during 1921—31 the number of emigrants who died outside the borders of the province was greater by 50,000 than the number of immigrants who died inside its borders. Admittedly the figure is an arbitrary one, but, seeing that the great bulk of the emigration from Bihar and Orissa is casual or periodic in character and that comparatively few of these persons remain on foreign soil for the term of their natural lives, it is submitted that there is no *prima facie* reason to regard the figure as an under-estimate. Working, then, on this hypothesis, we might expect the figure representing the excess of births over deaths during the last decade to be 50,000 greater than the figure representing the growth of the natural population during the same period. Actually, as we have just seen, it is about 100,000 less. This difference of 150,000 may be regarded as the true measure of the discrepancy between the census figures and the vital statistics.

As regards this discrepancy, the first observation to be made is that it is after all a small one. Even if it could be supposed that the vital statistics are absolutely correct and that the population of the British districts of the province has been over-stated by 150,000 as the outcome of

the census operations, the actual rate of increase during the last decade would only have to be modified from 10.83 to 10.39 per cent. But we have already seen that no claim to meticulous accuracy has ever been advanced on behalf of the vital statistics; the method and the agency employed for their compilation preclude it. The census record, on the other hand, was prepared by a staff which, whatever its imperfections may be, did at least receive a good deal of special instruction and training in the duties they had to carry out, and their work was supervised and checked much more closely. As between the two sets of figures, it will probably be conceded that a much stronger presumption of accuracy attaches to the census record. The conclusions quoted in paragraph 18 above—conclusions based on careful investigation into the correctness of vital statistics reported at various times and in various places—indicate that omissions may be as numerous as 20 per cent and (a very important point) that the record of births is ordinarily less complete than that of deaths. If we assume that the omissions in this province during the last decade amounted to only 2 per cent in the case of births and 1 per cent in the case of deaths, the whole of the discrepancy between the census record and the record of vital occurrences disappears and there is an almost exact correspondence between the two sets of figures. Should any larger margin of error be attributed to the vital statistics, the conclusion would be that the census has under-estimated the true growth of the population during the period.

The foregoing analysis of the two sets of figures has, it is hoped, served a two-fold purpose: first, in establishing the substantial accuracy of the population statistics recorded at the census and rebutting the suggestion that the rate of growth has been exaggerated; and secondly, in demonstrating that the margin of error in the vital statistics is so small that these figures may be used with some confidence in tracing out the vicissitudes of the intercensal period.

Birth-rate during the decade.

20. For the province as a whole the average annual birth-rate throughout the last decade works out at 36.5 per mille. This is a much lower rate than usual. The average for the preceding decade had been 39 per mille, while for 1901—1910 it had been as high as 41. These figures demonstrate forcibly the truth that a high birth-rate is not necessarily conducive to a rapid increase in the population. The important thing is the rate of survival, and this of course is governed by the number of deaths no less than by the number of births. The first decade of the present century, despite its prolific outturn of human lives, could only show an annual survival rate of 6 per mille. In the next decade this dropped ostensibly to 4, but actually it should have been *nil*, for the havoc wrought by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 caused a complete breakdown of the machinery for reporting vital occurrences, and there were wholesale omissions in the record of deaths during that period. The decade 1921—30, with its comparatively low birth-rate, can yet point to an annual survival rate of 10 per mille. It is not easy to account altogether for the falling-off in the number of births. At the beginning of the decade the explanation is undoubtedly to be found in the debilitating effects of the influenza scourge and the general scarcity and distress which followed on its heels. Recovery from such a serious set-back to the well-being of the people as this constituted is always a slow business. And there is reason to believe that the influenza proved particularly fatal to females between the ages of 20 and 30. The result of this would be that for several years to come the number of women at the child-bearing age would be disproportionately low, and this circumstance may account in large measure for the failure of the birth-rate of rise to its normal level even after conditions of apparent prosperity had been re-established. It is possible too that the reproductive powers of many persons who survived the epidemic were permanently impaired. There is nothing to support the theory that among the masses of the people artificial means of restricting or controlling the number of births are yet being adopted to an appreciable extent, though this practice may be gradually finding acceptance with limited sections of the more highly educated classes. It is noteworthy that the past decade was free from those violent fluctuations in the birth-rate which characterized the preceding ten years. Throughout the whole period it never rose above 38.5

per mille and never fell below 34.5, whereas in 1911—20 it had varied from 43 to 30.5. This consistency is in itself a healthy sign.

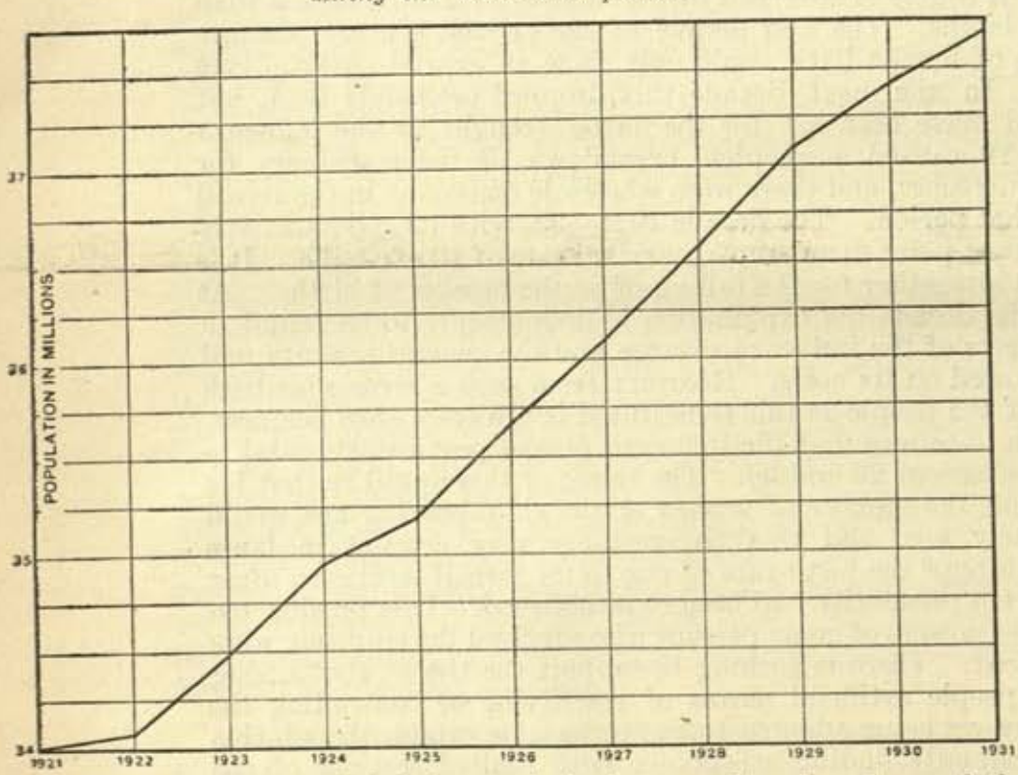
Death-rate during the decade.

21. By implication it has already been seen that, if the birth-rate during the last ten years was abnormally low, the death-rate must have been much lower still. And indeed it was. The average number of deaths each year was only 26.5 per mille, compared with 37 in each of the two preceding decades. In the first twenty years of the century the lowest rate recorded for the province as a whole in any one year was 28.5, but this record was lowered again and again during 1921—30. The diagram on page 13 shows that the highest death-rates were recorded in the first and last years of the decade. For the remainder of the period (excepting a sudden jump in 1924) the line maintains a remarkably consistent level in the neighbourhood of 25. The comparatively high mortality of 1921 (though at the time it was regarded, in the light of earlier experience, as an unusually healthy year) was due more to cholera than to any other single disease, and South Bihar suffered with especial severity from this outbreak. But, generally speaking, the years that followed were to witness an all-round improvement in the state of the public health. To cholera again, and this time with less reservation, must be attributed the temporary set-back of 1924 and the progressive deterioration in the closing years of the decade.

Progress of population during the intercensal period.

22. In the diagram below an attempt has been made to depict the progress of the population during the period that has elapsed since the last census. Each year's growth is represented by the excess of the reported births during that year over the reported deaths, *plus* an allowance for the inward balance of migrations and for omissions in the record of vital occurrences. This allowance has been assumed to be proportionate to the general increase each year, as there is not sufficient data to determine accurately the annual variation caused by these two factors. It will be observed that, after a modest beginning, the line of progress takes a sharp upward turn in the second year, and, with but a single check, continues on almost exactly the same gradient until the end of the eighth year. It is hardly surprising that, after such a sustained effort, there is a perceptible diminution in the rate of increase during the two last years of the decade.

Diagram showing the estimated yearly progress of population during the intercensal period.

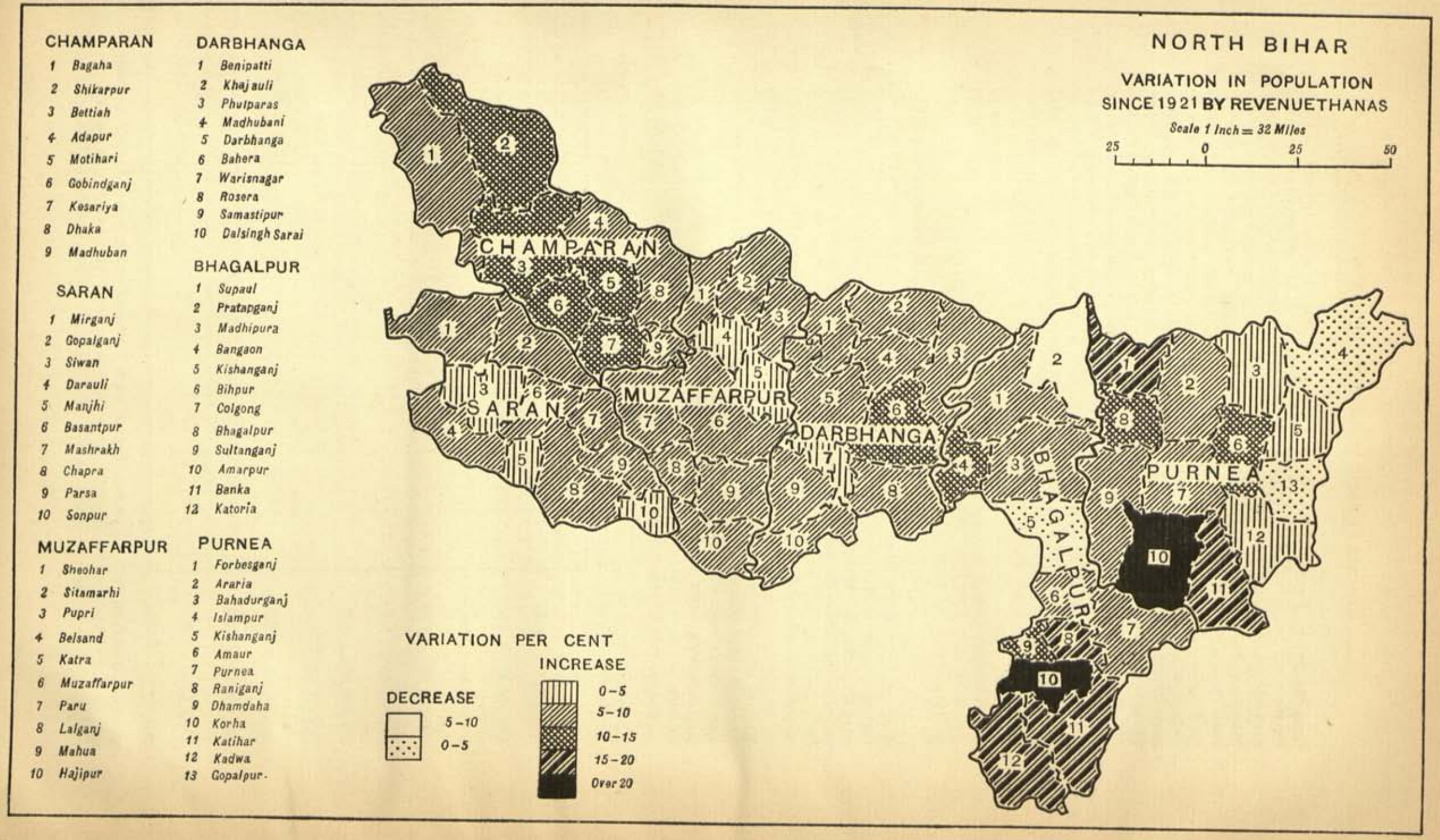


Estimated population at the commencement of each year.

1921 ...	33,995,418
1922 ...	34,065,169
1923 ...	34,484,804
1924 ...	34,945,398
1925 ...	35,199,296
1926 ...	35,658,725
1927 ...	36,104,060
1928 ...	36,587,336
1929 ...	37,086,728
1930 ...	37,423,059
1931 ...	37,677,576

Causes of rapid increase summarized.

23. A brief recapitulation may be given here of the principal factors which appear to have been responsible for the unparalleled increase in the population since 1921. In the first place, there is the natural rebound


NORTH BIHAR
VARIATION IN POPULATION SINCE 1921 BY REVENUE THANAS
Scale 1 Inch = 32 Miles
25 0 25 50
CHAMPARAN
1 Bagaha
2 Shikarpur
3 Bettiah
4 Adapur
5 Motihari
6 Gobindganj
7 Kesariya
8 Dhaka
9 Madhuban
SARAN
1 Mirganj
2 Gopalganj
3 Siwan
4 Darauli
5 Manjhi
6 Basantpur
7 Mashrakh
8 Chapra
9 Parsa
10 Sonpur
MUZAFFARPUR
1 Sheohar
2 Sitamarhi
3 Pupri
4 Belsand
5 Katra
6 Muzaffarpur
7 Paru
8 Lalganj
9 Mahua
10 Hajipur
DARBHANGA
1 Benipatti
2 Khajauli
3 Phulparas
4 Madhubani
5 Darbhanga
6 Bahera
7 Warisnagar
8 Rosera
9 Samastipur
10 Dalsingh Sarai
BHAGALPUR
1 Supaul
2 Pratapganj
3 Madhipura
4 Bangaon
5 Kishanganj
6 Bihpur
7 Colgong
8 Bhagalpur
9 Sultanganj
10 Amarpur
11 Banka
12 Katoria
PURNEA
1 Forbesganj
2 Araria
3 Bahadurganj
4 Islampur
5 Kishanganj
6 Amaur
7 Purnea
8 Raniganj
9 Dhamdaha
10 Korha
11 Katihar
12 Kadwa
13 Gopalpur
CHAMPARAN
SARAN
MUZAFFARPUR
DARBHANGA
BHAGALPUR
PURNEA
VARIATION PER CENT
DECREASE
5–10
0–5
INCREASE
0–5
5–10
10–15
15–20
Over 20

from the heavy losses sustained at the close of the previous decade. This recovery was materially assisted by a succession of good, or reasonably good, harvests and by the complete absence of anything in the nature of the serious failure of any important crop. At the same time the general state of public health reached, and successfully maintained, a higher level than it has ever known before, and grave epidemics of disease were exceptionally rare. Wages and economic conditions generally had adjusted themselves fairly early in the decade to the high post-war level of prices, and the wage-earner profited greatly by the subsequent decline in the cost of living. The agriculturist was in a hardly less advantageous position, because the price of food-grains remained at a comparatively high level for some years after all other commodities had come down in value. Towards the end of the decade, however, it was already becoming apparent that the days of plenty were numbered, and the agriculturist began to feel the pinch sooner and more severely than anybody else. In the meantime, the general economic prosperity enjoyed by the province had operated to discourage emigration and to attract back to their own homes not a few of those who had been driven abroad to seek a living in less halcyon days. In this way, the actual population was swelled even beyond its natural growth.

A sacrifice to economy.

24. The distribution and growth of the population in the individual districts of the province will now be examined in greater detail. But, before this is done, it may be well to insert here a brief word of explanation about one matter to which frequent reference will be made in the following pages. Financial stringency made it essential to curtail as far as possible the cost of these census operations, and among other devices by which economy was sought to be effected the record of birthplaces was not compiled in as much detail as usual. Thus, for a person who was born outside the province in which he was enumerated, the *province* only (and not the *district*) of his birth has been placed on record. The result is that, although the total number of emigrants from Bihar and Orissa to other parts of India is known, the districts from which they emigrated is not; and it is therefore impossible to gauge with any accuracy the flow of migration as it affects individual districts or to determine the *natural* (as opposed to the *actual*) population of any district. Complete figures of immigration are, however, available; and these, in combination with the record of vital occurrences, will usually afford some indication of the volume of emigration during the last ten years. But the fact that the vital statistics are not altogether reliable makes it necessary to accept with some reserve any inferences arrived at in this way.

SECTION IV.—North Bihar.

Saran.

25. There are only two districts in Bihar and Orissa more thickly populated than Saran with its mean density of 927 persons to a square mile. There is nothing patchy about the distribution of its population, for the density figure does not fall below 800 in any single revenue thana. In spite of the heavy pressure on the soil in this district, the people of Saran are commonly supposed to be more prosperous and go-ahead than their neighbours. This circumstance may be ascribed partly to the greater volume of emigration which has for a long time been a characteristic of the district. Not only do the emigrants contribute substantially to the material well-being of their relatives and dependants at home by remitting

SARAN.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,486,468**	**+ 6.26**	**+ 2.21**	**927**
Sadr Subdivision	**973,116**	**+ 6.46**	**+ 2.21**	**921**
Chapra	366,953	+ 7.00	+ 3.15	1,037
Manjhi	130,863	+ 2.21	+ 5.59	878
Parsa	233,687	+ 9.08	+ 0.54	882
Mashrak	144,334	+ 7.00	+ 0.94	834
Sonpur	97,279	+ 3.58	+ 0.11	839
Siwan Subdivision ..	**824,853**	**+ 6.36**	**+ 2.27**	**984**
Basantpur	253,620	+ 9.20	+ 1.85	1,031
Siwan	343,035	+ 4.50	+ 3.12	1,033
Darauli	228,198	+ 6.12	+ 1.43	878
Gopalganj Subdivision ..	**688,499**	**+ 5.86**	**+ 2.13**	**874**
Mirganj	405,039	+ 6.42	+ 2.63	927
Gopalganj	283,460	+ 5.07	+ 1.43	808

a good portion of their earnings through the post; the educative value of their experience abroad is no less important, though its effect in promoting the prosperity of the district may not be so immediately apparent. Apart from the advantages derived from this habit of emigration, Saran is fortunate in the diversity and nature of its principal crops. It relies less on the cultivation of rice than almost any other district in the province. Sugarcane and vegetables constitute the chief source of its wealth. In common with all the other districts of North Bihar except Champaran, more than 90 per cent of the total area covered by the district is cultivable, and in the last year of the decade as much as 70 per cent was actually under cultivation.

During the last fifty years the history of Saran district has been a chequered one. Between 1881 and 1891 its population increased by 7.4 per cent—a figure which tallied almost exactly with the general rate of increase in the province as a whole. But in the next two decades, when the population elsewhere continued to expand, there was a progressive decline in Saran's numbers. Conversely, the period 1911—21, which witnessed a set-back in the progress of the provincial population, marked the turn of the tide for Saran, and during this period something over 50,000 souls were added to the population of the district. The one word "plague" accounts for the greater part of these vicissitudes. This disease made its appearance in the year 1899, and was epidemic at the time of the 1901 census. In the decade 1901—11 it was directly responsible for no less than 166,000 deaths. During the next 10 years this number decreased to 105,000, and, as we shall presently see, the improvement has become much more pronounced since 1921. The ravages of the plague did much to stimulate migration from the district, thereby causing indirectly a further reduction in its numbers.

The opening year of the last decade was a disastrous one for Saran. There was a fairly severe flood over the greater part of its area, which caused some loss of life and the collapse of many houses, as well as injuring the crops to a considerable extent. At the same time the year was an unhealthy one, the mortality from "fever", cholera, plague and most other diseases being considerably in excess of the decennial average. The total number of deaths reported during the year was 85,654, or 36.6 per mille, as compared with a birth-rate of only 34.5. This was the only year during the decade in which the number of deaths exceeded the number of births. After 1921 the district enjoyed more favourable conditions all round. Harvests were well up to the average, and public health registered a great improvement. There was a recurrence of floods in 1923, but the damage done on this occasion was not so great, and no loss of life was reported. Above all, the menace of the plague grew more and more faint. The total number of deaths caused by it during the decade was only 18,000, as compared with 105,000 in the previous ten years; and in the last quinquennium the annual mortality was as low as 1,200. There was a good demand for sugarcane, which stimulated the cultivation of this crop, and each year showed a substantial increase in the area under cultivation. The communications of the district were extended by the opening of a new railway line from Mashrakh to Thawe.

At the census of 1931 the population of Saran was shown to have increased by 146,515 during the intercensal period. This represents a percentage increase of 6.26. Every revenue thana in the district participated in the increase in a greater or less degree. It is not easy to explain the variations in the rate of growth in different parts of the district. Basantpur, for instance, which was already one of the most densely populated thanas of the district, registered a growth of 9.2 per cent and Parsa a growth of 9.1 per cent, while in Manjhi the corresponding figure was only 2.2. Disparities of this kind, however, are not uncommon, and the problem which they present is small compared with the difficulty of reconciling the record of vital occurrences with the extent of increase in the actual population. It will be convenient to deal with this point at some length here, as the same problem will arise in respect of various other districts, though in none of them are the figures so intractable as the present ones.

Between 1921 and 1930 the recorded births exceeded the recorded deaths by about 236,000, whereas the net addition to the population of the district at the end of this period was only about 146,500. If both sets of figures are taken to be correct, the explanation of the discrepancy must lie in the balance of migrations; in other words the number of persons who left the district during this period must have been nearly 90,000 greater than the number of persons who entered it. Unfortunately, for reasons already explained, statistics of emigration from individual districts to places outside the province have not been compiled at the present census. But, even if such statistics were available, they would not give all the information required to test the correctness of our figures. They might tell us, for instance, that, whereas the excess of emigrants over immigrants in 1921 was 155,000, the corresponding excess in 1931 was 200,000. But this is not the same thing as to say that the number of persons who emigrated in the course of these ten years was only 45,000 more than the number of immigrants. Let us assume that during this period 20 per cent of the 1921 emigrants died outside the district, and an equal proportion of the immigrants died inside it. These casualties would all have to be replaced before the 1931 figures could begin to show any increase in the number of emigrants or immigrants, and in the process of replacing them Saran would have suffered a net loss of 31,000 persons. In view of the fact that the emigrants from this district have always out-numbered the immigrants so heavily, there is no doubt that the "wastage" involved in making good these casualties does account for a portion of the difference noticed above between the two sets of figures—though how great a portion it is not possible to say. Apart from this, there is reason to believe that, if the statistics were available, the actual number of emigrants from Saran in 1931 would be substantially larger than it was ten years earlier. In the first place, the number recorded in 1921 represented a quite abnormal fall (amounting to over 74,000) below the figure of the previous census. The reason for this was not clear, and the conditions prevailing at the time were hardly such as to account for so sudden a departure from the normal tendency of the district. It was scarcely to be supposed that this development would become permanent, and the pendulum may well have swung some distance in the opposite direction since then. The statistics of migration within the province show that there has been a slight increase, amounting to only about 1,000 persons, in the number of emigrants from Saran to other parts of Bihar and Orissa, but the main stream of emigration from this district is to Bengal and Assam, and it is to these places that we should naturally look for the bulk of the increase. Again, it has been mentioned early on in this chapter that the present census was taken slightly before the usual date, at a time when the number of persons who would normally have left their homes in search of employment elsewhere was at its maximum; and the variation caused by this circumstance is likely to have been more pronounced in Saran than in most other districts. On the other hand, the statement in the margin shows that the male sex has contributed more largely to the increase in actual population than the female sex, and it is not easy to reconcile this with a marked rise in the volume of emigration, for males usually constitute the majority of those who venture afield. It is also noticeable that there has been an increase, albeit slight, in the number of immigrants during this period. The general conclusion, then, must be that, while the "balance of migrations" undoubtedly accounts for a part of the discrepancy which we are considering, and may well account for the greater part of it, some hesitancy must be felt in ascribing the whole difference to this cause. The only other possible explanation is that either the record of vital occurrences is defective or the census has understated the real growth of the population in this district. Reasons have been given elsewhere for holding that, as between the two, the census figures will

SARAN DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Female .*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,220,049	1,266,419	15,637	34,669	..	..
1921 ..	1,132,355	1,207,598	12,723	32,013	147,854	62,036
Variation ..	+87,694	+58,821	+2,914	+2,656	..	..

ordinarily be the more reliable. The difficulty in this case is that, if the vital statistics are seriously inaccurate, it must be supposed that the record of deaths is on the balance more incomplete than the record of births—which is contrary to the usual experience. Nevertheless, this possibility cannot be ruled out. With regard to the accuracy of the census figures, I will only say that in my opinion, if there was any material defect in the enumeration of any part of the province, it might more easily have occurred in Saran than in any other district; but I am not disposed to believe that this can be held responsible for any considerable part of the present discrepancy.

Champaran.

26. Compared with the other districts of the Tirhut division, Champaran, though it supports 608 persons to the square mile, is almost scantily populated. The maximum density (962) occurs in Dhaka revenue thana, where the soil, extremely fertile in itself, is rendered still more productive by a small but valuable system of canals. At the other end of the scale come the thanas of Shikarpur (328) and Bagaha (340) in the extreme north-west of the district. But for these two thanas the mean density of the whole district would be 800 per square mile. This north-western area consists in part of uncultivable hills and jungles, but at their foot there are considerable tracts of potentially fertile land, which at present is used only for grazing cattle. The expectation that cultivation would be extended in these tracts has not yet been realized, apparently because of their unhealthiness; a virulent form of malaria is endemic in this part of the district.

CHAMPARAN.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,145,687**	**+10.55**	**+ 1.70**	**608**
Sadr Subdivision	**1,238,789**	**+10.25**	**+ 2.01**	**816**
Motihari	213,890	+13.37	+ 2.93	750
Adapur	202,722	+ 9.56	+ 4.22	893
Dhaka (Ram Chandra) ..	323,224	+ 8.08	+ 4.24	962
Kesarlya	200,870	+11.81	— 3.08	747
Madhuban	111,212	+ 7.52	— 0.47	862
Gobindganj	186,871	+11.38	+ 2.00	687
Bettiah Subdivision ..	**906,898**	**+10.97**	**+ 1.28**	**451**
Bettiah	418,589	+12.58	+ 3.02	761
Bagaha	234,758	+ 9.18	+ 3.15	340
Shikarpur	253,551	+10.06	— 3.00	328

During the last fifty years the population of Champaran has grown more rapidly than that of any other district outside the Chota Nagpur plateau, and it is now about 25 per cent larger than it was in 1881. The only serious check to its growth occurred between 1891 and 1901, when a succession of inferior harvests culminated in a famine in 1897 and the tide of immigration was abruptly suspended. Even in 1911—21, when most districts recorded a decrease of population, Champaran managed to increase its numbers by 1.7 per cent.

Economic conditions in Champaran during the last decade were generally favourable. The harvests of 1923, 1925, 1926 and 1930 were somewhat disappointing owing to insufficient or badly distributed rainfall, but there was nothing approaching scarcity in any of these years. In the remaining seasons the outturn of all the principal crops was quite satisfactory. Moreover, the agricultural population benefited greatly from the high price of food-grains, which was due in part to large exports of rice, etc. to other places. This district is liable to floods, caused by any sudden rise in the level of the hill-streams, and minor inundations of this nature occurred in 1922, 1923 and 1928. They caused comparatively little damage to the standing crops, which indeed were often all the better for their temporary submergence, but there was some loss of paddy seed and of grains stored on the *khalihans*, and in 1923 some cattle were drowned. In Champaran, as elsewhere, the standard of public health during these ten years was exceptionally high. The least healthy years were 1924 and 1930, in which the recorded death-rates were 31.4 and 32.1 respectively. Both these years were marked by rather severe outbreaks of cholera, which between them were responsible for some 28,000 deaths; and less serious outbreaks of the same disease occurred in 1928 and 1929. A mild epidemic

of small-pox in 1926, causing 1,000 deaths in the north of the district, was followed up in the next year by another—this time in the south—in which the casualties were twice as numerous. There were no other serious outbreaks of disease. In each year of the decade, including 1924 and 1930, the birth-rate was well ahead of the death-rate. The largest number of births and smallest number of deaths were both recorded in 1923, with the result that the survival rate for that year was as high as 16.3 per mille. A new light railway was constructed during this period by the Nepalese Government, linking Raxaul in British territory with Bhichhakhori in Nepal, and thus facilitating communication and trade between the two countries. On the other hand, communication with the portion of Champaran district lying on the west of the Gandak was impaired by the collapse of the railway bridge in 1924. It has not been repaired since.

The rate of increase in the population of this district during the last decade was 10.55 per cent. This increase was distributed fairly evenly between the two subdivisions and the various revenue thanas. Madhuban thana recorded less progress than any other, but at least it improved substantially on its record at the two previous censuses, on both of which occasions it had shown an actual decrease. In 1901 this thana was more densely populated than any other, but now it stands third to Dhaka and Adapur. The population of Dhaka thana has grown very rapidly since the beginning of the century, and it would have achieved a higher rate of progress in this last decade if it had not been singled out on two separate occasions as the object of severe cholera visitations. In 1930 there were 3,787 deaths from cholera in this thana alone. Champaran is one of the few districts of Bihar and Orissa where in the past the immigrants have always been more numerous than the emigrants. But, now that a contrary tendency has established itself (temporarily at least) in most other parts of the province, it seems that the tide in Champaran is turning in favour of emigration.

The total number of births recorded in the district during the decade exceeded the total number of deaths by 222,500, whereas the increase in the actual population was only 205,000. As we can assume in the case of this district that the deaths of emigrants abroad were roughly balanced by the deaths of immigrants within its borders, the difference of 17,500 *ought* (if both sets of figures are accepted as correct) to represent the extent to which the number of emigrants has increased in comparison with the number of immigrants. The statement in the margin shows that the volume of immigration has remained almost stationary. As regards emigration, there has been an increase of some 4,000 in the number of emigrants from Champaran to other parts of the province. Whether the whole of the balance would be made good if we were in possession of the details of extra-provincial migration is a question which must remain unanswered, but there is reason to believe that at least a substantial portion would have been. It will be noticed that the rate of increase among males since 1921 is higher than among females, and in consequence of this the female sex is once more in a minority in Champaran. It is only during the last thirty years that they have out-numbered the males.

CHAMPARAN DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,080,956	1,064,731	31,081	42,079	..	..
1921 ..	968,478	972,363	30,242	40,170	25,101	21,361
Variation ..	+112,478	+92,368	+839	+1,909	..	..

Muzaffarpur.

27. Muzaffarpur district, which has a mean density of 969 persons per square mile, is the most thickly populated district in the whole province. Its total population is 2,941,025, and in point of actual numbers it stands second to Darbhanga, which has a population of 3,166,094 and a mean density of 946 persons to the square mile. To-day the Sitamarhi subdivision in the north of the district is more densely peopled than any other part, and the pressure on the soil decreases steadily the further south one goes. This was not always the case. Fifty years ago Hajipur subdivision, the southernmost

MUZAFFARPUR.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,941,025**	**+ 6.75**	**- 3.18**	**969**
Sitamarhi Subdivision ..	**1,124,302**	**+ 6.88**	**- 0.17**	**1,107**
Sitamarhi	397,960	+ 7.93	— 0.29	1,109
Sheohar	217,648	+ 5.11	— 2.50	1,077
Belsand	225,494	+ 4.31	+ 0.85	1,095
Pupri	283,200	+ 8.95	+ 1.06	1,137
Sadr Subdivision	**1,121,033**	**+ 7.07**	**- 3.18**	**917**
Paru	318,297	+ 7.87	— 6.83	769
Muzaffarpur	568,448	+ 8.05	— 3.87	983
Katra	234,288	+ 3.73	+ 3.85	1,019
Hajipur Subdivision ..	**695,690**	**+ 6.05**	**- 7.64**	**872**
Mahua	293,330	+ 6.56	— 8.11	928
Lalganj	144,595	+ 5.05	—10.67	861
Hajipur	257,765	+ 6.04	— 5.29	821

of the three, was the most thickly populated; then came the Sadr subdivision, occupying the central part of the district; and Sitamarhi came last of all. But from 1881 to 1921 the centre of population shifted persistently towards the north. This process was carried so far that, when the 1921 census was taken, the total population of the Hajipur subdivision was found to be less by about 75,000 than it had been forty years previously, whereas during the same period the total population of the Sitamarhi subdivision had increased by 214,000. In the centre of the district there had been a moderate increase of something under 25,000. As remarked in the last census report, it is open to doubt whether this pronounced drift northwards is altogether a good thing. The northern part of the district is liable to severe floods; it is moreover almost entirely dependent on a single rice crop, and any serious failure of this crop might easily spell disaster. The soil in the south is more fertile; rich and varied *rabi* crops are grown in this area, and the danger from floods is not so great.

For a period of thirty years immediately following the census of 1881 the population of the district increased steadily, but (owing to the intensity of the existing pressure on the soil) at a rate slightly below the average for the province as a whole. Between 1891 and 1901 the district suffered considerably from famine, floods and epidemics of cholera, and it is probable that an actual decrease of population would have been recorded during this decade but for the influx of immigrants into the northern area of the district. Prosperity returned with the beginning of the new century, and the decade 1901 to 1911 witnessed a substantial increase of 3.2 per cent in the district population. The whole of this gain, however, was forfeited in the following ten years, which even before the advent of the great influenza epidemic of 1918 had proved particularly unhealthy in Muzaffarpur district. Consequently, when the last decade opened, the population was back to almost exactly the point it had reached in 1901.

The progress of the seasons during the last ten years was happily uneventful in this district. It enjoyed its full share in the bumper rice crop of 1922, the outturn in that year being estimated at as much as 33 per cent above normal. 1924 and 1929 also were years of plenty. For the rest, the annual yield of the principal crops fluctuated between 80 and 90 per cent, except in 1930 when it fell to a slightly lower level. The outturn of barley was consistently good throughout the whole of this period. The cultivation of sugarcane was considerably extended, and proved to be very profitable. In 1928 unusually heavy rainfall late in the year was responsible for floods, which caused considerable damage to crops and property. But a great part of the loss inflicted on the paddy crop was made good by the excellent *rabi* harvest later on. The least healthy years of the decade were the first and the last. An exceptionally severe outbreak of cholera in 1930 was responsible for no fewer than 38,000 deaths in the district. This, combined with an abnormally high incidence of deaths from fever, served to raise the death-rate of that year to 41.8 per mille. At the same time the birth-rate fell to 34.8, so the net loss of population in the twelve months immediately preceding the census must have been substantial. In all the remaining years of the decade the number of births was considerably greater than the number of deaths. The highest survival rate was recorded in 1923, when the birth and death-rates respectively were 37.1 and 23.4 per mille. In 1924, and

again from 1927 to 1929, the mortality from cholera was fairly high, but not on anything like the same scale as in 1930. The district suffered little from small-pox except in the year 1927, when about 1,800 deaths were attributed to this disease. Plague was more active in Muzaffarpur during this period than in Saran, or indeed in any other district of North Bihar except Darbhanga. In 1923 there were nearly 7,000 deaths from plague, and the annual mortality for the first half of the decade was in the neighbourhood of 4,000. But the last violent outbreak occurred at the end of the year 1926, and thereafter it became progressively less prevalent. An economic development of some importance during this period was the establishment of the Tirhut Technical School at Muzaffarpur in 1925. An attempt was made to start a match factory in the district, but this was unsuccessful.

The net increase of 6.75 per cent in the population of the district since 1921 is distributed pretty equally between the three subdivisions. It is interesting to note that the northward drift of the population has apparently been arrested, though no positive reaction towards the south has set in yet. Sitamarhi subdivision enjoyed distinctly better health during this period than either of the other two subdivisions, and its crop suffered less from the vagaries of the climate. This probably accounts for the fact that the rate of increase in this subdivision was slightly above the district average. The Sadr subdivision was hit particularly hard by the cholera epidemic of 1930; otherwise its growth would have been even more rapid than it was. Among the revenue thanas the largest increase was recorded by Pupri, which thus becomes the most densely populated thana in the district. The statement in the margin shows that the male sex has contributed much more largely to the gain in population than the female sex. This, coupled with the considerable increase in the number of immigrants, would normally suggest that many of the natives of the district, who had migrated in earlier years to earn a living in foreign parts, have now returned to their homes, bringing with them (in some cases) wives and children acquired during their term of exile. The vital statistics, however, imply that the balance of migration is still in the outward direction. While the net increase in the actual population since 1921 amounts to 186,080, the excess of births over deaths recorded during this period is 225,495. These figures give rise, though in a less acute form, to the same problem as that presented by the figures of Saran district.

MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,443,847	1,497,178	24,392	52,784	..	..
1921 ..	1,324,991	1,429,954	18,484	46,848	101,999	60,716
Variation ..	+118,856	+67,224	+5,908	+5,936	..	..

Darbhanga.

28. Darbhanga enjoys the distinction of being the only district in Bihar and Orissa, and one of the few in the whole of India, containing more than three millions of inhabitants. There are many points of similarity between this district and Muzaffarpur. They are the two most populous districts of the province, whether we have regard to actual numbers or to density of population. In respect of the former Darbhanga can claim a slight superiority over its neighbour, but Muzaffarpur has the greater density of the two. The northern half of both districts grows little but rice and suffers from periodic floods, while the south consists mainly of fertile uplands, in which *rabi* crops predominate. In Darbhanga,

DARBHANGA.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**3,166,094**	**+ 8.67**	**- 0.55**	**946**
Madhubani Subdivision ..	**1,272,148**	**+ 9.06**	**+ 2.70**	**945**
Benipatti	292,183	+ 9.51	+ 0.63	1,082
Khajauli	303,097	+ 8.93	+ 2.53	938
Madhubani	320,643	+ 7.78	+ 5.23	1,076
Phulparas	356,225	+ 9.98	+ 2.31	783
Sadr Subdivision	**877,578**	**+ 9.43**	**- 0.17**	**1,002**
Darbhanga	485,040	+ 8.32	— 1.77	1,133
Bahera	392,538	+10.83	+ 1.92	876
Samastipur Subdivision ..	**1,016,368**	**+ 7.54**	**- 4.58**	**903**
Samastipur	296,647	+ 5.77	— 7.56	1,002
Roserha	294,441	+ 9.81	+ 2.93	846
Warisnagar	171,925	+ 4.81	— 1.32	877
Dalsingh Sarai	253,355	+ 8.97	—10.72	886

as in Muzaffarpur, the centre of population has been steadily moving northwards during the last fifty years. In 1881 Samastipur subdivision, in the extreme south of the district, was far more thickly populated than either of the others, and Madhubani subdivision in the north came a bad third. Forty years later, when the census of 1921 was taken, Samastipur (excluding Roserha thana, which had been transferred to it from the Sadr subdivision during the intervening period) had sustained a net loss of about 80,000 in its total population, while Madhubani had achieved an increase of 262,000. During the same period the Sadr subdivision in the centre of the district had increased its numbers by 100,000. There is a close parallelism between these figures and those already quoted for Muzaffarpur district, the main difference being that in Darbhanga the growth of the central subdivision has been more rapid. One reason which doubtless accounts for this movement of the population in both districts is that the northern areas are immune from plague, which has established itself for many years past in the south, where the defective sanitation of the crowded villages with their mud walls favours the inception and spread of this destructive disease. (Most of the houses in the northern subdivisions of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga are built of *tatti* owing to the prevalence of floods in those areas.)

From 1881 to 1901 the population of Darbhanga increased steadily, the percentage of growth being 6.5 in the first half of this period and 3.9 in the second. The latter achievement was really the more remarkable of the two, as no other district in Bihar proper was able to show an equal rate of progress during this decade and the majority of them sustained an actual loss in numbers. Moreover, the conditions in Darbhanga itself were by no means favourable, a series of lean harvests culminating in 1897 in a famine which affected all parts of the district except Samastipur. Strangely enough, the increase during this period was most marked in those parts of the district where the famine had been most severely felt. In 1901—11, despite five unusually prosperous years to begin with, the rate of increase slowed down to 0.6 per cent. This was due to serious distress arising from floods and scarcity in the years 1906 to 1909. Famine was declared twice during this period, and many persons were driven away from the district in search of a livelihood, so that the number of emigrants recorded in the census of 1911 was abnormally high. In common with the majority of other districts, Darbhanga lost ground in the decade 1911—21, mainly owing to the ravages of influenza in 1918 and the crop failure of the same year. A few months before the influenza epidemic made its appearance, cholera had broken out in a particularly virulent form, causing as many as 57,000 deaths between March and August. The decrease in population during this decade was almost exactly equivalent to the increase in the previous ten years, and in this particular the similarity between Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur is carried one step further.

The decennium with which this report is chiefly concerned opened more auspiciously for Darbhanga than for most other districts. The rainfall in 1921 was adequate and well distributed, with the result that the outturn of the principal crops was unusually good; and the public health profited by the absence of any serious epidemic. The harvests of 1922 and 1923 were less satisfactory, and excessive rainfall in 1924 was the cause of serious floods, which damaged the crops throughout the whole district and brought sickness and disease in their train. The year 1928 witnessed a recurrence of these floods, with results no less disastrous. Between these two visitations the district had been enjoying a period of unusual prosperity and good health, and the growth of its population during these three years was very rapid. The lowest death-rate of the decade (19.3 per mille) was recorded in 1925 and the highest birth-rate (36.7 per mille) in 1927; but it was in 1926 that the excess of births over deaths was greatest of all, and in that year the survival rate was no less than 15.4. There was a recrudescence of plague in the first half of the decade, and Darbhanga was more seriously affected than any other district by the outbreak of 1922-23. In these two years there were 15,000 deaths from plague. Epidemics of cholera were

experienced in the district from time to time, notably in 1924 and 1930. The 1930 outbreak was particularly destructive, and is reported to have been fatal to 46,000 persons in this district. Malaria and other types of fever were also unusually prevalent in the closing year of the decade, with the result that the death-rate for that year jumped suddenly to the appalling figure of 41.2 per mille, the highest rate previously recorded during the decade being only 27.5. At the same time the number of births decreased, and the rate of "survival" in 1930 was consequently *minus* 9.7.

All the foregoing circumstances combined to raise the population of Darbhanga in 1931 to a figure 8.7 per cent higher than it was at the previous census. The rate of increase in the different subdivisions of the district indicates that, as in Muzaffarpur, the tendency of the population to shift towards the north is very much less pronounced. It is true that Samastipur subdivision in the south has not recorded quite as large an increase as the rest of the district, but it does not lag far behind, and during this past decade it has made good more than half the total loss sustained by it in the course of the previous forty years. The most rapid increase has occurred in the Sadr subdivision, where the density of the population was already greater than anywhere else; indeed, the principle of "to him that hath....." has been scrupulously observed in the apportionment of the ten years' surplus between the three subdivisions of the district. The net excess of births over deaths in the whole district amounted during the decade to 241,087, while the increase recorded in the actual population was 252,565. The difference between these figures, small as it is, may be discounted to some extent on the assumption that the registration of births is usually more incomplete than that of deaths. An increase of 3,800 in the number of immigrants, as shown in the marginal statement, reduces the discrepancy still further, and it is quite possible that there has at the same time been a decrease in the number of emigrants. Thus, the reconciliation of the vital statistics with the census figures presents no difficulty in this district.

DARBHANGA DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,570,959	1,595,135	21,564	51,002	..	..
1921 ..	1,420,719	1,492,810	20,368	48,399	75,749	51,061
Variation ..	+150,240	+102,325	+1,196	+2,603	..	..

29. Bhagalpur district, as will be seen from a glance at the map of North Bihar, is curiously and rather inconveniently shaped. From north to south a man may travel over 100 miles within its borders, while at its narrowest point from east to west it covers barely 15 miles. The whole of the Banka subdivision, and most of the Sadr subdivision too, lie to the south of the river Ganges, but the whole of the district has been treated as a part of North Bihar owing to the obvious inconvenience which would result from splitting it up. By way of compensation, the district of Monghyr has been assigned to South Bihar *in toto*, although some part of it extends north of the river. In comparison with the Tirhut districts, Bhagalpur, with a mean density of 529 persons per square mile, is not thickly populated. Ninety per cent of its

Bhagalpur.

BHAGALPUR.	Population, 1931	Percentage of variation. 1921 to 1931.	Percentage of variation. 1911 to 1921.	Mean density, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,234,632**	**+ 9.88**	**- 4.93**	**529**
Sadr Subdivision	**641,408**	**+11.73**	**- 4.06**	**657**
Sultanganj	110,107	+13.97	+ 1.49	667
Bhagalpur	204,741	+17.99	— 6.30	1,131
Colgong	211,452	+ 6.59	— 4.61	512
Bihpur	115,106	+ 9.03	— 4.06	658
Supaul Subdivision ..	**508,969**	**+ 4.18**	**- 1.04**	**545**
Supaul	384,789	+ 8.75	— 0.62	649
Partapganj	124,200	— 7.81	— 2.11	364
Madhipura Subdivision ..	**611,679**	**+ 5.72**	**- 5.09**	**520**
Bangaon	164,595	+13.20	— 5.40	626
Madhipura	274,262	+ 6.00	—11.67	501
Kishanganj	172,822	— 0.92	+ 7.01	472
Banka Subdivision ..	**472,558**	**+20.38**	**-19.30**	**400**
Amarpur	159,013	+24.85	—17.78	541
Katoria	133,019	+17.67	— 3.78	249
Banka	180,526	+18.64	— 7.94	510

total area is said to be fit for cultivation, but the actual percentage under crops in any one year seldom exceeds 60. Just over half the cultivated land in the district is given over to paddy, but various other crops are grown on a fairly extensive scale, such as wheat, maize, *khesari* and *marua*. In the Madhipura subdivision the cultivation of jute assumed some importance recently, but the present depression in the jute trade threatens to nip this development in the bud.

The net increase in the population of this district since 1881 amounts to 13.6 per cent, which is only about half the average rate of progress for the whole province and is less than that achieved by any other district of North Bihar except Saran. The history of North Bhagalpur during the last fifty years is intimately bound up with the vagaries of the Kosi river. Formerly the channels of this stream were all contained in the neighbouring district of Purnea, but ever since it invaded Bhagalpur district it has kept the residents of that area in a constant state of uncertainty as to what it will do next. For many years it shifted more and more to the west, forming new channels as it went but never leaving the old ones completely dry. Practically the whole of North Bhagalpur is now a network of river beds, running parallel with one another from north to south; when the monsoon comes, it is sometimes one channel and sometimes another which carries the main stream of this incalculable river. Vehicular traffic is practically suspended for months at a time every year, as most of the roads (and much of the adjoining countryside as well) is under water. Boats ply across the fields and waste land, and public and private ferries are to be found in large numbers.

From 1881 to 1911 the growth of population in this district was consistent enough, but never rapid. During the first ten years of this period the rate of increase was 3.3 per cent, thanks almost entirely to a substantial expansion in the numbers of the Supaul subdivision. This expansion is believed to have been due in part to more accurate enumeration. The decade was generally an unhealthy one, and the population of the other three subdivisions remained almost stationary. But for the growth of Bhagalpur town, the Sadr subdivision would have shown a decrease. The 1901 census recorded an increase of 2.8 per cent. There had been two famines during the preceding ten years, but this did not prevent the thanas chiefly affected by them from participating in the increase. The movement of the Kosi river was responsible for a marked decline in Kishanganj thana, to which the unhealthiness of this locality also contributed. But Partapganj thana, which is equally unhealthy, was able to show a very large increase owing to the extension of railway communications in that area. During the decade 1901—11 the rate of increase was 2.4 per cent. South of the river the numbers remained stationary, but the increase in Madhipura subdivision was marked. Kishanganj thana, temporarily free from the attentions of the Kosi river, had been able to bring a large area of swamp and jungle under the plough, and recorded a phenomenal rise in population of 39.85 per cent. On the other hand, in Supaul subdivision, which had hitherto been more consistently progressive than any other part of the district, there was a decrease of 3.4 per cent during this decade. The census of 1921 showed that Bhagalpur had fared even worse than most other districts during the unhappy years that were then just over. Cholera had been persistently active from 1915 to 1919. Then came the disastrous epidemic of influenza in 1918 and a complete cessation of the monsoon in the middle of September that year. The decrease in the population of the district since the previous census was as much as 4.93 per cent—the highest rate recorded in North Bihar. A portion of this heavy loss was more apparent than real, being caused by an abrupt decline in the number of immigrants. Their number fell from about 136,000 in 1911 to 84,000 in 1921. There was no very pronounced increase in the number of emigrants, but there is no doubt that in the south of the district people were leaving their homes in greatly increased numbers towards the end of the decade. It is reported that 20,000 persons emigrated from Banka subdivision between the preliminary and final enumerations.

The last decade opened well for Bhagalpur district. The rice crop of 1921 was below the average in the Sadr and Banka subdivisions, but good harvests were obtained in the north of the district and the year was quite a healthy one. The birth-rate (38.3 per mille) was higher than in any subsequent year of the decade. In 1927 the Kosi floods were more persistent and widespread than usual, and the crops in the north of the district (particularly in the Supaul subdivision) suffered in consequence, while Banka subdivision in the south was subjected to a similar experience in 1929. In 1924 and 1928 the rainfall was either inadequate or badly distributed in the south of the district, with the result that the harvests in those years were disappointing. Otherwise climatic conditions were generally favourable throughout the decade. There was a marked improvement in the general standard of public health. Malaria and bowel complaints are very prevalent in the Kosi-affected localities, and the normal incidence of deaths from cholera is high in this district. During the decade under review there was no severe outbreak of cholera until 1928, but in the last three years this disease accounted for altogether 25,000 deaths. The only occasion on which small-pox broke out with any severity was in 1927, when the number of deaths was not much short of 3,000. It is noteworthy that plague did not make its appearance at all in Bhagalpur district during this period. The years during which the population increased most rapidly were 1925 to 1927, in each of which the rate of survival was more than 15 per mille. This rate fell to its lowest point (4 per mille) during the last year of the decade—not so much because of the unhealthiness of that year as because the number of births was much less than on any previous occasion. A new railway line was opened during this decade, connecting Murliganj in the Madhipura subdivision with Bihariganj in Purnea district. These are two important trade centres. It was found necessary, however, to close down the lines from Matahi to Madhipura and from Bhaptiahi to Partapganj, both of which had been badly breached by the Kosi river. In South Bhagalpur the Mandar Hill branch railway line, which had been closed during the Great War, was reopened in the year 1924.

The net rate of increase in Bhagalpur's population during the last decade was 9.88. The distribution of this substantial surplus between the subdivisions and revenue thanas of the district was very unequal. Generally speaking, it was those localities which had suffered most heavily during the previous ten years that now recorded the most rapid growth. Thus, in the extreme south of the district Banka subdivision converted a loss of 10.30 into a gain of 20.38. The advent of a period of comparative prosperity after some years of disaster is wont to cause the pendulum to swing in this abrupt way. Moreover, it has already been seen that many persons had migrated from this subdivision at about the time when the 1921 census was taken, and the majority of these doubtless returned to their homes later on. In any case it was high time that this subdivision, where the pressure on the soil is not over-great, began to bestir itself. During the forty years immediately preceding the census of 1921 it had not only failed to make any progress, but its population was less by about 28,000 than it had been at the beginning. The next largest increase is shown by the Sadr subdivision. Here also the rate of progress had previously been very slow, the net increase between 1881 to 1921 being only about 28,500, or little more than 5 per cent. The surplus in this subdivision is most marked in the headquarters thana, and this is largely attributable to the rapid growth of Bhagalpur City. North of the river, where the population had been multiplying much more quickly in previous decades, the progress recorded on this occasion is not nearly so marked as in the south. Here we find, for the first time, two revenue thanas in which the population has actually fallen away in the last ten years. In the case of Partapganj the loss is substantial (7.81 per cent), but it may be attributed almost entirely to the action of the Kosi river. It has already been noted that the course latterly taken by this river necessitated the closing down of the branch railway line from Bhaptiahi to Partapganj. The actual loss incurred by Kishanganj thana is slight, being only 0.92 per cent. Here again the Kosi is primarily responsible. It will be observed that in the previous decade Kishanganj was the only thana to record a substantial

increase, due mainly to migration from the neighbouring thana of Madhipura. It is probable that some of these immigrants have since been scared away by signs of the return of the river to its old channels. Bangaon is for the present the only thana in North Bhagalpur which is more or less secure against inundation from the Kosi, and this is why the rate of increase in Bangaon is higher than anywhere else.

The total number of births recorded in Bhagalpur district during the last decade was 221,982 in excess of the recorded deaths, while the net increase in the population revealed by the census is 200,862. It will be seen from the statement in the margin that there has been little change in the number of immigrants, such increase as there has been being confined to females. The vital statistics suggest that there has been no falling off in emigration from this district, and this is probably correct; for, although many of the persons who migrated from the south of the district in the previous decade must have returned subsequently, we may suppose that a large number of the residents of Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions have crossed over the border into Purnea and elsewhere. It is noteworthy that males have increased more rapidly than females during the past decade, with the result that Bhagalpur is now included—for the first time since 1872—among those districts in which the male sex can claim a (numerical) superiority.

BHAGALPUR DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,130,584	1,104,048	39,475	46,903	..	..
1921 ..	1,014,384	1,019,386	39,533	44,648	87,817	83,834
Variation ..	+116,200	+84,662	—58	+2,255	..	..

Purnea.

30. Purnea, the last of the North Bihar districts, is easily the most sparsely populated of them all, having a mean density of only 440 persons to a square mile. In point of density, there was but little to choose ten years ago between the three subdivisions of the district, but now Araria in the north-west supports a distinctly larger population (having regard to its size) than either of the others, and Kishanganj in the north-east has dropped to the third place. In this district a greater proportion of the gross cultivated area is devoted to rice than in any other district of Bihar proper. But several other important crops are grown, among which jute is outstanding. More than half the jute cultivated in Bihar and Orissa is to be found in Purnea. Tobacco also is grown here on a larger scale than anywhere else, with the possible exception of Muzaffarpur district.

PURNEA.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,186,543**	**+ 8.16**	**+ 1.76**	**440**
Araria Subdivision ..	**514,167**	**+12.76**	**+ 3.58**	**477**
Araria	228,676	+ 9.05	— 0.94	531
Forbesganj	177,791	+16.52	+ 9.73	473
Raniganj	107,700	+14.94	+ 4.68	399
Kishanganj Subdivision .	**560,577**	**- 0.03**	**- 7.57**	**416**
Kishanganj	129,260	+ 0.10	—11.33	395
Bahadurganj	198,200	+ 3.15	— 6.85	504
Islampur	233,117	— 2.65	— 6.02	372
Sadr Subdivision ..	**1,111,799**	**+10.64**	**+ 6.91**	**436**
Purnea	157,110	+ 5.41	— 6.71	371
Amaur	137,369	+12.58	— 3.32	492
Dhamdaha	266,583	+ 9.20	+38.42	509
Korha	153,409	+26.45	+ 2.74	364
Gopalpur	73,257	— 2.45	— 7.07	227
Kadwa	162,595	+ 4.92	+ 3.24	444
Katihar	161,476	+16.77	+ 7.54	762

The population of the district to-day is 18.3 per cent greater than it was half a century ago. But by no means the whole of this increase can be ascribed to natural growth. The comparatively light pressure on the soil, coupled with low rents and fertile lands, offer a strong inducement to settlers from elsewhere, and in consequence the number of immigrants in Purnea has for many years been higher than in any other British district of the province. When the Kosi river moved westwards into Bhagalpur, the stream of immigration quickened; for large tracts of land, once barren and sandy or covered with jungle, but now left high and dry with a rich layer of silt deposited by the retreating river, were made available for cultivation by the first-comer. It is surprising in these circumstances that the population has

not increased more rapidly than it has, but the explanation seems to lie in the unhealthiness of the climate and in particular the prevalence of malarial fever. Between 1881 and 1891 there was a fairly substantial increase of 5.2 per cent, but in the following decade the greater part of this gain was forfeited. The reported deaths during this period were more numerous by 38,000 than the reported births, and in the year 1900 the death-rate rose as high as 57 per mille. All the three subdivisions recorded a decrease, and for the district as a whole the loss amounted to 3.1 per cent. The next ten years were more healthy, and the population of the district increased by 6.0 per cent. Kishanganj was the only subdivision which had no share in this increase. The growth was most rapid in the Sadr subdivision, particularly in the thanas of Katihar, which was then beginning to assume importance as a railway centre, and Dhamdaha, where a highly cultivated tract was in the process of emerging from what had formerly been a jungle of high grasses. The census of 1921 recorded an increase of 1.8 per cent only, but the district may count itself fortunate that it survived this disastrous decade without actual loss. The incidence of variations within the district followed the same lines as in 1901—11. Kishanganj subdivision suffered a further, and more serious, set-back—mainly on account of its special unhealthiness, but possibly also by reason of a slump in the jute trade which occurred towards the end of the decade. The Sadr subdivision again recorded the largest increase, and again Katihar and Dhamdaha thanas were primarily responsible for this. The latter had by this time been converted into one of the more fertile areas in the whole district. Araria subdivision maintained its moderate rate of growth.

The year 1921 was one of exceptionally good crops and greatly improved public health, with the result that rapid progress was made in recovering from the misfortunes of the last two or three years. Then came a succession of less favourable harvests, and it was not until 1927 that the outturn of the principal crops was distinctly above normal. In that year, however, and in the two closing years of the decade agricultural conditions were very good. The district generally, and Kishanganj subdivision in particular, derived much benefit during the first half of this period from the steadily increasing price of jute, and the cultivation of this crop became more and more popular. The result was that, when the slump began, cultivators and merchants alike were very hard hit. In 1925-26 a maund of jute could be sold for as much as Rs. 26, whereas at the end of the decade it was fetching only Rs. 3 or Rs. 3-8-0. The price of tobacco also slumped heavily during the latter part of this period. Mortality from all the principal diseases was much lower than in the previous decade. The most serious outbreak of cholera occurred in 1925, when there were something over 8,000 deaths. This disease was also in evidence in 1926, 1928 and 1930. But the loss of life caused by cholera in this district does not appear to be on anything like the same scale as it used to be. More people are said to have perished from it in the single year 1900 than in either of the two following decades. During 1911—20 the total number of deaths ascribed to cholera was 43,500, and this number fell to 31,500 in the last ten years. The annual mortality from small-pox was only 730, as compared with 920 in 1911—20, and more than half the total casualties were accounted for in the epidemics of 1927 and 1928. There was also a marked decrease in the number of deaths ascribed to "fever". None the less, malaria was extremely prevalent during this period and constitutes the chief stumbling block to the health of the district. Even after allowance has been made for the common errors of diagnosis in reporting fever deaths, it is significant that this head accounts for no less than 86.6 per cent of the total number of deaths reported during the decade. It was in 1923 that the ravages of malaria were most destructive of all. Other bad years were 1924 and the three years immediately preceding the census. As with so many other districts, the period during which Purnea was building up its population most rapidly was between 1925 and 1927.

The net increase of 8.16 per cent in the population of the district since 1921 was distributed in a very irregular fashion. Kishanganj subdivision

continued its retrograde progress, while the Sadr subdivision once more recorded a substantial growth, but this time not quite so pronounced as the Araria subdivision. Among the revenue thanas the variations ranged from a decrease of 2.65 per cent in Islampur to an increase of 26.45 per cent in Korha. Islampur is a very unhealthy area and suffered with particular severity from the malaria epidemic of 1923. Doubtless, too, the progress of this thana, along with the rest of the Kishanganj subdivision, was retarded by the heavy slump in jute, to which reference has already been made.

It is of interest to compare the averge birth and death rates in this district since 1921 with the corresponding rates for the province as a whole and for the other five districts of North Bihar. The figures are as follows :—

		Purnea.	*Bihar and Orissa.*	*North Bihar (excluding Purnea).*
Birth-rate	...	28.7	36.5	35.4
Death-rate	...	24.5	26.5	25.8

Despite its reputed unhealthiness, Purnea is seen to have a death-rate distinctly below the average. Indeed, there are very few individual districts in the whole province which can boast a lower rate of mortality than Purnea. Yet the natural growth of its population during the past decade lags far behind that of any district outside Orissa. The explanation of this fact lies in its exceptionally low birth-rate. In the course of these ten years the rate never rose above 33.2 per mille, which is well below the *average* figure elsewhere. No other district in Bihar and Orissa is so backward in the production of human life. There are indeed some grounds, which will presently be mentioned, for suspecting that the record of births in this district may not be absolutely complete; but the omissions, if any, would not be sufficiently numerous to necessitate any considerable modification in the figures given above. The truth seems to be that, whatever its past history may have been, Purnea can no longer be considered unhealthy in respect of the directly destructive effect of sickness and disease; but the inhabitants of this district are so riddled with malaria, and their vitality has been sapped to such an extent by this debilitating scourge, that their fecundity is much below the normal.

The excess of reported births over reported deaths during these ten years was 84,263, while the net addition to the actual population was 164,975. These figures suggest that only about half of the increase was due to natural growth, the remaining half being attributable to the balance of migrations. This being so, it is surprising to find that the number of immigrants recorded at the census of 1931 is actually less than the number recorded ten years previously. The testimony of the local officers is that since 1921 there has been a steady influx of settlers and persons in search of casual employment. It should of course be borne in mind that in a district like Purnea, where immigrants account for ten per cent of the total population and the majority of them have taken up their residence permanently in the district, there is bound to be a heavy mortality among them during the intercensal period, and these casualties have got to be made good by fresh immigration in order to maintain their numbers at the same level. It is also likely that the number of emigrants from Purnea is now substantially less than it was in 1921, and this would help to increase the actual population beyond its natural growth. There is the further possibility that the natural growth

PURNEA DISTRICT.		ACTUAL POPULATION.		IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
		Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	..	1,129,681	1,056,862	105,188	82,216	..	..
1921	..	1,041,750	979,818	112,821	91,273	13,745	14,079
Variation	..	+87,931	+77,044	—7,633	—9,057	..	..

SOUTH BIHAR

VARIATION IN POPULATION SINCE 1921 BY REVENUE THANAS

Scale 1 Inch = 32 Miles

25 0 25 50

INCREASE PER CENT

0–5
5–10
10–15
15–20
Over 20

SHAHABAD

1 Mohania
2 Bhabhua
3 Sasaram
4 Karghar
5 Dehri
6 Bikramganj
7 Buxar
8 Dumraon
9 Piro
10 Shahpur
11 Arrah

GAYA

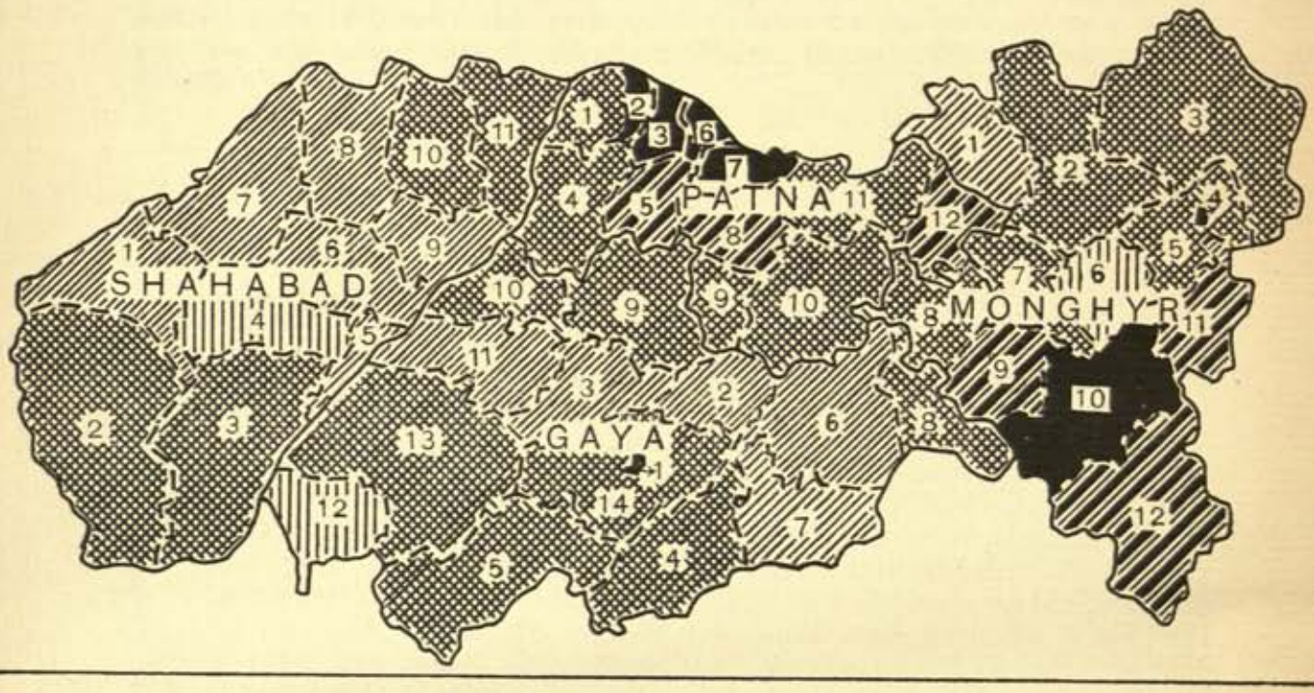
1 Gaya Town
2 Atri
3 Tikari
4 Barachatti
5 Sherghatti
6 Nawada
7 Rajauli
8 Pakribarwan
9 Jahanabad
10 Arwal
11 Daudnagar
12 Nabinagar
13 Aurangabad
14 Mufassal Gaya

PATNA

1 Maner
2 Dinapore
3 Phulwari
4 Bikram
5 Masaurhi
6 City Subdivn.
7 Fatuha
8 Hilsa
9 Islampur
10 Bihar
11 Barh
12 Mokameh

MONGHYR

1 Teghra
2 Begusaray
3 Gogri
4 Jamalpur
5 Monghyr
6 Surajgarha
7 Lakhisarai
8 Sheikhpura
9 Sikandra
10 Jamui
11 Kharagpur
12 Chakai



ORISSA

VARIATION IN POPULATION SINCE 1921 BY REVENUE THANAS

Scale 1 Inch = 32 Miles

25 0 25 50

BALASORE

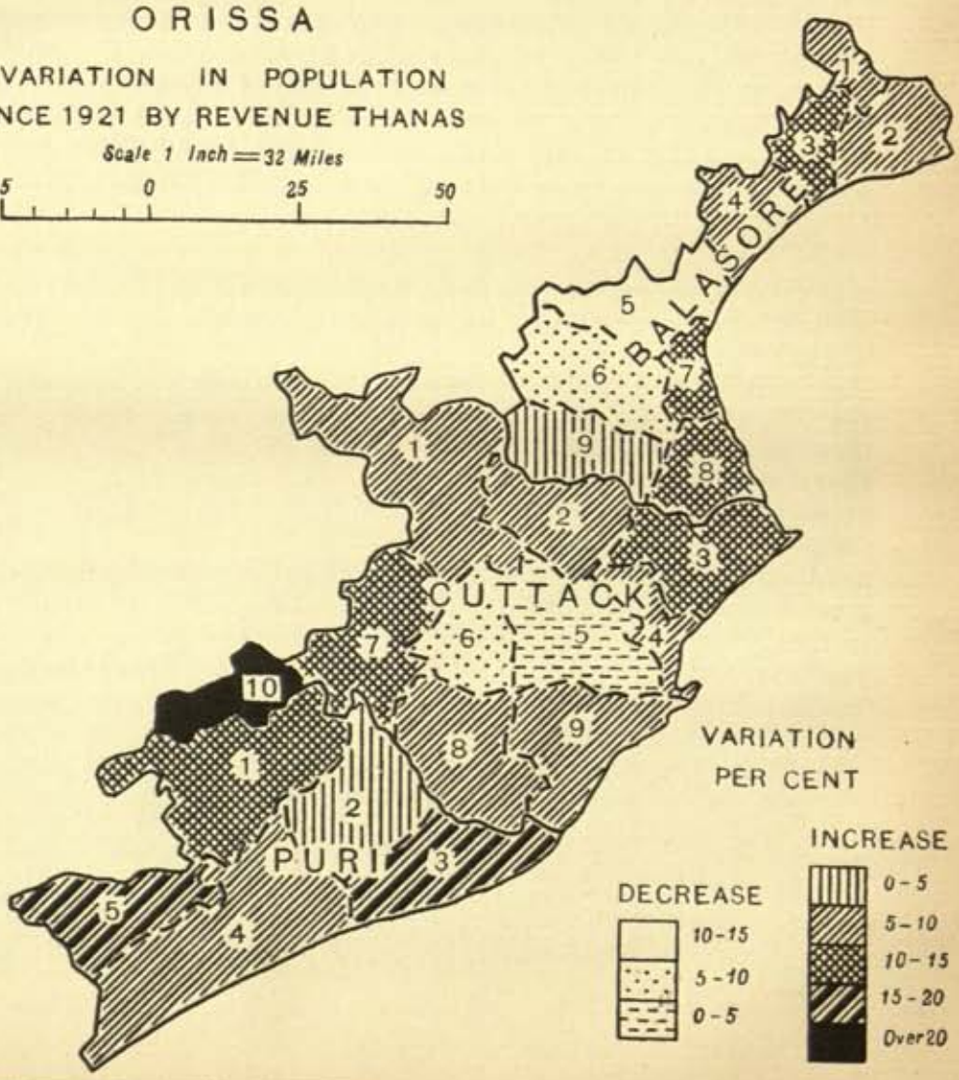
1 Jellasore
2 Baliapal
3 Basta
4 Balasore
5 Soro
6 Bhadrak
7 Basudebpur
8 Chandbali
9 Dhamnagar

CUTTACK

1 Dharamshala
2 Jajpur
3 Aul
4 Patamundi
5 Kendrapara
6 Salepur
7 Cuttack
8 Jagatsinghpur
9 Tirtol
10 Banki

PURI

1 Khurda
2 Pipli
3 Gop
4 Puri
5 Banpur



VARIATION PER CENT

DECREASE

10–15
5–10
0–5

INCREASE

0–5
5–10
10–15
15–20
Over 20

was greater than the record of vital occurrences reveals owing to the common tendency on the part of the reporting agency to be more lax in registering births than in registering deaths. But, when all these factors have been taken into account, it is still not easy to explain the decrease in the actual number of immigrants. In particular there has been a reduction of 12,000 in the quota supplied by Bhagalpur district and of 9,000 in the quota from Monghyr. Neither of these is in accordance with normal expectations, and it is difficult to suppress a suspicion that the birth-place of the population in Purnea was not always accurately recorded.

North Bihar: Summary.

31. North Bihar was " quicker off the mark " than the other natural divisions of the province in sloughing off the troublous past and entering upon the new era of prosperity. In the very first year of the decade the birth-rate recovered to a level which was destined to prove exactly its average for the next ten years, while the death-rate of 1921 was much lower in North Bihar than anywhere else. Excepting 1924, when cholera and fever were prevalent, each succeeding year saw a more and more rapid increase in the natural growth of the population until the peak was reached in 1927. Thereafter births fell off and deaths rose steadily until the end of the decade, so that in its final year there was no margin at all between the two. Cholera was almost entirely responsible for the heavy mortality of these last three years, during which not less than 200,000 persons perished from this disease in the six districts of North Bihar.

For the natural division as a whole the rate of increase in the actual population was 8.3 per cent. Champaran heads the list with an increase of 10.6 per cent, and Saran with 6.3 per cent comes at the bottom. In the four densely populated districts of Tirhut the growth was distributed with remarkable consistency between the smaller units of locality. This will be apparent from a cursory glance at the map of North Bihar. The general rate in Champaran was higher than elsewhere, but evenly distributed; and in the other three districts 75 per cent of the revenue thanas showed an increase of between 5 and 10 per cent. It is an astonishing thing there was not a single thana in the whole of Tirhut which recorded a loss. In the other two districts of Bhagalpur and Purnea the distribution of the surplus was much more patchy, varying from +26.5 per cent in Korha thana of Purnea district to —7.8 per cent in Partapganj thana of Bhagalpur. Kishanganj subdivision in the north-east corner of Purnea remained stationary, and in Bhagalpur it was the area lying to the south of the river Ganges that achieved the bulk of the increase. North Bihar is the only division in which the *natural* growth of the population was more rapid than its *actual* growth—or, in other words, where the flow of migration during this period was, on the balance, in an outward direction. Four out of the six districts (Darbhanga and Purnea being the exceptions) lost a portion of their surplus population in this manner. Nor is it surprising that this should be so, in spite of the fact that the vast improvement in economic conditions during these ten years would not normally be conducive to emigration. The matter for surprise is that, however marked the improvement in economic conditions, these teeming districts should have found it possible to support so substantial an addition to their numbers as they have in fact been burdened with. It is difficult to view without some apprehension the probable course of events in North Bihar, and particularly in Tirhut, during the near future.

SECTION V.—South Bihar.

Patna.

32. The district of Patna, which contains the capital city of the province, has a mean density of 893 persons per square mile. It is the only district south of the Ganges which, in this matter of density, can approach within measurable distance of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Saran. It is

to be feared that, to many a person in far-away England, "Patna rice" constitutes the chief claim to fame of the province of Bihar and Orissa—and possibly the only one. In actual fact, however, rice is cultivated on a comparatively small scale in this district. Its inhabitants rely for the most part on the marvellous *rabi* crops, which are probably unequalled in any other part of the country and are grown with very little labour. The credit for this is of course due to the river Ganges. The high bank of the river prevents the water that accumulates during the monsoon from flowing off rapidly, and every year a large tract of the district is converted for some considerable period into a sheet of water, which leaves the soil extraordinarily fertile when it does recede. The people have learned, however, by bitter experience that there is a big price to pay for all this. Cholera and fever are particularly rife in the district, and have exacted a heavy toll of human life for many years past.

PATNA.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,846,474**	**+17.10**	**- 1.98**	**893**
Patna City*	159,690	+33.10	—11.88	10,646
City Subdivision	**153,294**	**+28.20**	**-18.57**	**3,650**
Pirbahor Ward	30,050	+40.85	—36.19	..
Sultanganj Ward ..	11,144	+25.96	..	..
Alamganj Ward	19,890	+16.06	—15.72	..
North Khajekalan Ward ..	8,108	+19.17	—29.40	..
South Khajekalan Ward ..	19,915			
Bakarganj Ward ..	10,535	+54.72	+ 0.25	..
Chauk Kalan Ward ..	17,254	+25.79	—31.00	..
Malsalami Ward ..	16,562	+44.99	—22.21	..
Rural area	19,836	+18.11	— 8.84	601
Sadr Subdivision	**259,628**	**+22.91**	**+ 4.89**	**861**
Phulwari	113,275	+28.23	+ 7.38	1,218
New Capital ..	*14,258*	*+50.83*	..	*2,376*
Bankipore Ward ..	*11,974*	*+54.72*	*+ 0.25*	..
Masaurhi Buzurg ..	137,353	+18.85	+ 3.06	694
Dinapore Subdivision ..	**376,075**	**+14.34**	**+ 3.69**	**875**
Maner	91,477	+10.38	+ 0.39	738
Dinapore	81,367	+26.25	+ 2.79	3,130
Bikram	203,231	+11.91	+ 5.60	726
Barh Subdivision	**414,444**	**+16.80**	**- 5.38**	**799**
Fatwa	85,544	+21.86	— 6.10	873
Barh	221,984	+14.71	— 2.17	828
Mokameh	106,916	+17.34	—11.05	699
Bihar Subdivision	**652,033**	**+14.47**	**- 0.95**	**830**
Bihar	382,956	+14.10	— 0.10	876
Hilsa	185,096	+16.78	— 1.90	801
Islampur	83,981	+11.20	— 2.69	712

*Patna City includes (1) the whole of the City Subdivision, except the Rural Area; and (2) the New Capital and Bankipore Ward, which for administrative purposes fall within the Phulwari thana of the Sadr Subdivision.

When the census of 1921 was taken, the total population of Patna district was found to be less by 178,500 than it had been forty years earlier. For this fact there are two explanations, one of which has just been mentioned. Nor are cholera and fever the only diseases to which this district has been a special prey. Plague broke out here for the first time in the year 1900, and in the course of the next twenty years it was responsible for over a quarter of a million deaths. The second influence at work to deplete the population of the district is the decline of river-borne traffic. In the days when the river Ganges was the main artery of communication between Bengal and Upper India, the city of Patna and other towns on its banks were important trade centres and enjoyed much prosperity. Those days are gone, and it is not surprising that a period of decadence set in for these erstwhile thriving places. Patna city alone contributed over 50,000 towards the net decrease in the population of the district between 1881 and 1921. During these forty years it was in the first decade only that any increase was registered, and then it was only at the rate of 1.0 per cent. The next ten years were more disastrous than any others, being responsible for a reduction of 8.3 per cent in the strength of the population. A part of this heavy decrease, however, should be discounted. Plague was raging furiously just at the time when the census was held; many people had fled from their homes to other districts for the time being, and the disorganisation of the census staff affected the accuracy of the enumeration. Nevertheless the retrogade progress was continued during the next decade. The ravages of the plague continued unabated during this period, and deaths from cholera numbered more than 50,000. In 1911—20 cholera was not

a whit less destructive, though plague was by this time on the decline. Throughout, fever was responsible for many more deaths than either of the other diseases. The river trade grew less and less every year. And, finally, the influenza epidemic of 1918 and the scarcity which followed in its train destroyed the last chance this district may have had of recovering any of the lost ground before the census of 1921.

The new decade 1921—31 was to witness a remarkable change in the history of this district, but it opened disastrously enough. A particularly violent outbreak of cholera in 1921 was responsible for nearly 19,000 deaths. In the same year the mortality from plague, though much lower than it had previously been, was still higher than in all the remaining years of the decade put together. Deaths from fever, too, were exceptionally numerous; and the combined result of all this unhealthiness was that the death-rate for 1921 rose as high as 48.6 per mille. The birth-rate in this year was 37.1, so the district population at the end of 1921 must have been at its very lowest ebb. Thereafter a marked recovery set in all round. The only other untoward event of any importance during the decade occurred in 1923, when a severe flood visited the subdivision of Dinapur and a portion of the Sadr subdivision. There was some loss of life and much damage to houses and property. The standing crops were completely destroyed over a considerable area, and it looked as if there might be real scarcity later on in this area. The distribution of *taccavi* loans on a generous scale prevented any such development, and normal conditions were soon restored. As in other districts of the province, the outturn of the principal crops during the decade was reasonably good in most years, and there was no serious failure of any important crop. Agriculturists benefited very largely from the high price of food grains. But by far the most influential factor in building up the population of the district was a vast improvement in the public health. During the whole of these ten years there were less than 5,000 deaths from the plague, as compared with 81,000 in the previous decade and 140,000 in 1901—10. And it has already been seen that more than half the deaths since 1921 took place in the first twelve months. In the year immediately preceding the present census not a single death was reported from this disease. After 1921, there was no very severe outbreak of cholera, the worst epidemics being those which occurred in the last two years of the decade and accounted for 11,500 deaths between them. The mortality from " fevers ", which was put at over 33,500 in 1921, remained always below 25,000 in the subsequent years. The birth-rate rose steadily until 1926, in which year it reached the exceptionally high level of 41.8 per mille, and there was not a single year after 1921 in which the rate of survival was not over 10 per cent.

The result is that the present census shows an increase of no less than 17.1 per cent in the population of the district since 1921. This is the highest rate of increase recorded by any district outside the Chota Nagpur plateau. The phenomenal growth during this period of Patna city, which will be dealt with more particularly in the next chapter, is responsible in some degree for swelling the figures for the whole district, but the statement in the margin of the previous page will show that there was an increase of over 10 per cent in every single revenue thana. Outside the city itself the expansion was most rapid in Phulwari, Dinapur and Futwa thanas. These are tending more and more to become suburbs of Patna, and thus shared in the development of the capital city. Apart from this, the concentration at Khagaul of what were formerly three separate railway divisions must have had a substantial effect on the growth of population in Dinapur thana, while a great accretion of *diara* in the same area has attracted a number of settlers from Saran district and elsewhere. The location of a camp jail containing between two and three thousand prisoners at Phulwari accounts for some portion of the increase in that thana, but the rapid development of the New Capital and Bankipur (which are included for administrative purposes in Phulwari thana) accounts for still more. The extension of the Futwa-Islampur light railway, the head works of which are at Futwa, was a contributory cause of the abnormally high increase in that area.

It was only to be expected that the more prosperous economic conditions of the last decade and the great improvement in the healthiness of the district would induce many persons who had forsaken their homes in earlier years to return once more, while the development of the urban areas would doubtless attract settlers from outside. The marginal statement shows that there has been a substantial increase, amounting to 37,500, in the number of immigrants enumerated in this district, and it is probable that there has been a corresponding reduction in the number of emigrants. This accounts to a great extent for the difference between the natural growth of the district population, as recorded in the vital statistics, and its actual growth as revealed by the census. The excess of recorded births over recorded deaths was 162,414, as against an actual addition to the population of 269,595. There are good grounds for believing, moreover, that in this district the record of vital occurrences was less complete than usual. It is commonly recognized that the standard of accuracy in this matter is apt to be lower in towns than in the rural areas, and, as more than 15 per cent of the population of Patna district is urban, this tendency would have a substantial effect on the vital statistics of the whole district. In particular it will be seen, when the growth of Patna city is examined, that the record of births and deaths in that area was far from reliable.

PATNA DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	956,124	890,350	56,702	66,833	..	..
1921 ..	809,082	767,797	36,524	49,488	68,965	63,949
Variation ..	+147,042	+122,553	+20,178	+17,345	..	..

Gaya.

33. Gaya is much less thickly populated than the neighbouring district of Patna, supporting as it does only 507 persons on each square mile. The district being removed from direct contact with the Ganges, its *rabi* crops, remarkable as they are, are not of quite the same standard as in Patna, and the cultivation of rice is carried out on a larger scale. Although nearly 80 per cent of the land in the district is said to be "cultivable", the area actually under the plough seldom exceeds 50 per cent, and there is no district in the province outside the Chota Nagpur plateau where so large a proportion of the soil remains uncultivated.

GAYA.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,388,462**	**+10.94**	**- 0.37**	**507**
Sadr Subdivision	**891,393**	**+12.50**	**+ 0.90**	**475**
Gaya Town	88,005	+30.26	+35.34	11,001
Gaya Mufassil	205,417	+11.91	— 4.14	483
Atri	100,885	+ 9.50	— 2.38	448
Tikari	166,340	+ 7.02	— 6.15	590
Barachatti	131,458	+11.79	+ 3.18	313
Sherghati	199,288	+13.20	+ 3.63	385
Nawada Subdivision ..	**489,260**	**+ 9.28**	**- 3.20**	**513**
Nawada	313,517	+ 9.02	— 2.54	673
Rajauli	84,070	+ 8.68	+ 0.09	308
Pakribarawan	91,673	+10.76	— 8.19	426
Jehanabad Subdivision ..	**461,938**	**+12.09**	**- 2.41**	**759**
Jehanabad	319,208	+12.51	— 1.89	786
Arwal	142,730	+11.19	— 3.55	703
Aurangabad ..	**545,871**	**+ 9.00**	**+ 2.00**	**428**
Daudnagar	137,385	+ 9.73	+ 2.29	558
Nabinagar	115,335	+ 4.95	+ 8.36	373
Aurangabad	293,151	+10.33	— 0.54	408

The history of Gaya district during the last fifty years has been scarcely less unfortunate than that of Patna. Its population in 1921 was not indeed less than it had been in 1881, but the net increase amounted to barely 27,000 persons, or only about 1.25 per cent. Here again the ravages of disease, and particularly of cholera and the plague, are primarily responsible for this state of affairs—not only by causing a heavy loss of human life and lowering the vitality of the population generally, but also by driving many people away from the district. The number of emigrants from Gaya enumerated at the census of 1921 was not far short of 200,000. This outward flow became pronounced quite early in the half-century under review, and is said to have been one reason why the increase (0.7 per cent) in the population of the district during the period 1881—1891 was not considerably larger. But this increase, small as it was, was converted into a substantial loss

(3.7 per cent) during the next ten years. The general unhealthiness of this decade culminated in the first appearance of plague in the year 1900, and here (as in Patna) it is likely that the 1901 figures were to some extent vitiated by the confusion resulting from the prevalence of this disease when the census took place. The ground so lost was made up, with a little to spare, in the decade 1901—11, thanks to a distinct improvement in the general level of public health—though plague remained active and emigration was still on the increase. Between 1911 and 1921 a decline of 0.4 per cent was recorded. The loss would have been considerably heavier but for the fact that the years 1912—16 were unusually healthy and were marked by an abnormally high birth-rate. The troubles of the district began with a record flood in August 1917, followed immediately by severe outbreaks of cholera and fever. This sent the death-rate up very sharply. Another particularly virulent epidemic of cholera early in 1918, accompanied by the worst outbreak of plague during the decade, ushered in the still greater disaster of the influenza holocaust and the failure of the monsoon. The death-rate in 1918 in this district soared to the appalling figure of 73.3 per mille, and even then thousands of deaths must have gone unrecorded.

In 1921 the inhabitants of the district were still in the grip of serious epidemics. In that year there were 115,382 deaths, compared with an average mortality of 64,450 in the nine following years. Fever was specially prevalent, and 27,632 persons perished of cholera. Plague also was in evidence, though in a comparatively mild form. As a result of all this sickness, the death-rate in 1921 exceeded the birth-rate by 16 per mille. But this was to prove the turning-point in the district's fortunes. In the following year the harvests were quite exceptionally good. Cholera, plague, small-pox were practically non-existent, and even "fever" was at a discount in the chaukidar's weekly returns. The death-rate dropped abruptly from 53.5 to 26.0, while the birth-rate rose to over 40. In the following years the population made uninterrupted progress, and the births were always far more numerous than the deaths. There were no floods, and the harvests, if less plentiful than in 1922, were never seriously defective. Cholera proved the most serious menace to the public health, and the death-rate from this disease during the decade (3.3 per mille) was higher in Gaya than in any other part of the province; but none of the later epidemics was anything like so severe as that of 1921. In 1926 and 1927 the district was visited by epidemics of small-pox, each of which proved fatal to nearly 4,000 persons; but the rest of the period was more or less immune from this disease. Plague made practically its last appearance in 1923. This outbreak, combined with that of 1921, caused 3,000 deaths, and the mortality for the whole decade was below 5,500.

To the net increase of 10.94 in the population of the district during the last decade every subdivision and revenue thana contributed a substantial quota. The growth of the Sadr subdivision was slightly more rapid than that of any other—largely on account of the marked development of Gaya city, which will be examined more closely in the next chapter. Among the revenue thanas, Nabinagar in the extreme south-west corner of the district showed the lowest rate of increase. The soil in this locality is extremely poor, and it was immigration from Palamau that had enabled this thana to record a substantial addition to its numbers in 1911—21. In both the preceding decades it had suffered actual decreases.

There is a very close correspondence in this district between the record of vital occurrences and the census figures. According to the former, the excess of births over deaths since 1921 is 227,524; and according to the latter there has been an addition of 235,532 to the actual population. Increased immigration accounts for practically the whole of the difference

GAYA DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	1,193,643	1,194,819	20,212	30,279	..	..
1921 ..	1,074,668	1,078,262	16,057	28,650	111,436	78,533
Variation ..	+118,975	+116,557	+4,155	+1,629	..	..

between these two figures. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the balance would not be fully covered by a decline in the number of emigrants. In fact, it would not have been surprising if there had been a larger margin to be accounted for in this way. The female sex can still claim a bare majority in the population of this district. At the previous census the males had reduced the disproportion in numbers very considerably and this time they have again improved their position, so that now they are practically on equal terms.

Shahabad.

34. The mean density of Shahabad (456 persons per square mile) is lower than that of any other district in South Bihar. This is due to the fact that an area of more than 800 square miles in the south of the district is occupied by the Kaimur hills, an undulating plateau covered for the most part with jungles and thinly populated. The density of the district population, calculated on the cultivable area only, is 667. Shahabad is well irrigated by a system of canals taking off from the Son river, and the *rabi* crops of the district are excellent. The canals, however, are believed to be prolific breeding grounds of mosquitos, and malarial fever has proved to be the curse of the district for many years. In common with the rest of the Patna division, it has also suffered severely from cholera and plague.

SHAHABAD.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation. 1921 to 1931.	Percentage of variation. 1911 to 1921.	Mean density, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,993,489**	**+ 9.88**	**- 2.62**	**456**
Sadr Subdivision	**696,033**	**+11.33**	**- 0.55**	**767**
Arrah	307,885	+12.87	+ 0.46	875
Shahpur	169,971	+10.64	— 5.06	685
Piro	218,177	+ 9.74	+ 1.79	708
Buxar Subdivision ..	**383,050**	**+ 8.78**	**- 8.05**	**569**
Buxar	141,179	+ 7.55	—11.80	448
Dumraon	241,871	+ 9.51	— 5.67	676
Sasaram Subdivision ..	**589,565**	**+ 9.40**	**- 1.01**	**396**
Bikramganj	208,190	+ 9.73	— 1.45	567
Karghar	100,188	+ 4.90	— 4.07	378
Sasaram	176,583	+11.68	— 1.54	256
Dehri	104,604	+ 9.49	+ 4.19	623
Bhabua Subdivision ..	**324,841**	**+ 9.01**	**- 2.96**	**250**
Mohania	139,723	+ 5.59	— 3.11	361
Bhabua	185,118	+11.74	— 2.85	203

There are only two districts in the province which at the commencement of the last decade contained a smaller population than they had contained in the year 1881. Patna, as we have already seen, is one of those districts. The other is Shahabad. The total population of this district, as recorded in the census of 1921, was about 133,000 less than it had been forty years previously. The decade 1881 to 1891 did indeed witness a substantial increase (5.7 per cent) in the number of its inhabitants, but even this was due not so much to natural growth as to a temporary influx of immigrants. For the next three decades the population of the district declined steadily, the percentages of loss being 4.8, 4.9 and 2.6 respectively. Between 1891 and 1901 the only part of the district to register an increase was the Sasaram subdivision, where the "Grand Chord" line of the East Indian Railway was under construction. Plague made its first appearance in the district in 1900, and at the time of the census in the following year it was responsible for a general exodus from Arrah town. During the next decade it established itself throughout the northern half of the district and caused 68,000 deaths, while the mortality ascribed to cholera was little short of the same figure. During this period the tide of migration turned strongly against the district. The period 1911—21 was a particularly unhealthy one even prior to 1918. Fever, cholera and plague were all active, and floods added to the general distress in 1911, 1915 and 1917. The death-rate in the fateful year of 1918 was higher in Shahabad than in any other district of the province, being not less than 80.9 per mille. The only locality in which a substantial increase was recorded during this period was the revenue thana of Dehri, where the development of the lime industry had attracted a considerable labour force.

The opening year of the last decade was no less unfavourable to Shahabad than it was to the adjacent districts of Patna and Gaya. The number of

deaths in 1921 was more than 50 per cent in excess of the number of births. Cholera alone was responsible for the loss of 17,000 lives in that year, and the mortality from fever was quite exceptionally high. The remainder of the decade saw a complete transformation in the standard of public health. The birth-rate in each of the nine following years was always well ahead of the death-rate. Fever was less destructive than it had been at any time during the past fifty years, and the annual mortality from cholera for the five years immediately after 1921 was only 750. There was a recrudescence of this disease towards the end of the decade, and Buxar in particular suffered severely from the outbreak which occurred in 1929. But in the light of the past history of Shahabad the death-roll from cholera during the whole of this period must be regarded as moderate. Plague was more active in this district than in the rest of South Bihar, but its activity was exhausted before the decade was half over. During the whole period some 10,400 deaths were caused by plague, and of these 9,000 were recorded in the first four years. The most violent outbreak took place in 1923, and here again Buxar was the chief sufferer. In 1927 small-pox was responsible for over 3,500 deaths, and less severe epidemics of the same disease broke out in 1926 and 1928. The outturn of the principal crops during these ten years was more or less satisfactory. Here as elsewhere there was a particularly good harvest in 1922. From 1925 to 1928 the yield was well below the average, but there was no serious shortage, and the high price of food grains more than compensated the agriculturists for the deficiency in outturn. The most serious natural calamity of the decade occurred in 1923, when the Son river rose in high flood. Practically the whole of Arrah town was submerged, together with many villages in the Sadr subdivision, and portions of the Sasaram subdivision also were affected. Advances totalling nearly Rs. 4,00,000 were made by Government in the flooded areas, and a large sum of money was also distributed in the form of gratuitous relief.

The present census shows that the increase in the population of Shahabad since 1921 amounts to 9.88 per cent. The accumulated deficit of the previous forty years has thus been wiped out, and the population to-day is 2.4 per cent larger than it was in 1881. Every part of the district has participated in the growth of the last ten years. That growth is more pronounced in Arrah thana than anywhere else, a fact which must be ascribed in part to the development of the headquarters town of the district. So far as the rural areas are concerned, the greatest increase has occurred in the revenue thanas of Sasaram and Bhabua. These are the most sparsely populated areas of the district, including as they do the Kaimur plateau to which reference has been made above. Here the scope for expansion is greater than in the more densely populated parts of the district. The smallest increase is that shown by Karghar thana, which also recorded a substantial loss in the previous decade. It is reported that cholera was prevalent in this thana when the census operations were going on. Another reason put forward by the local officers for the slow natural growth of the population in this locality is that girls of marriageable age are at a premium, and there is consequently keen competition for them among the bachelors. This puts obstacles in the way of matrimony for the poorer folk.

No difficulty arises in this district from a comparison of the vital statistics with the census figures. The number of births reported during the decade was 137,367 in excess of the number of deaths, while the increase in the actual population is shown to have been 179,260. Increased immigration accounts for 18,000 persons who are included in the latter figure and not in the former. There is no doubt that there has also been a decrease in emigration, though the extent of it is not ascertainable. This turn in the

SHAHABAD DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931 ..	999,099	994,390	24,569	42,751	..	..
1921 ..	894,227	920,002	14,094	35,224	88,184	60,169
Variation ..	+104,872	+74,388	+10,475	+7,527	..	..

tide of migration accounts for the fact that more than half of the inhabitants of the district are now males. At every previous census the females have been in the majority.

Monghyr.

35. Monghyr is the only South Bihar district not included in the administrative division of Patna. In its physical features, as well as in its history during the last fifty years, it closely resembles the adjoining district of Bhagalpur. Both districts straddle the river Ganges, though the greater part of Monghyr lies to the south of the river, while Bhagalpur is divided by it into two more or less equal parts. Hence the whole of the former district has been allotted to the natural division of South Bihar, while North Bihar gets the latter. The average density per square mile of the population in Monghyr is 582, but the distribution of this population is very irregular. The subdivision of Begusarai, which lies wholly on the north side of the Ganges, is far more thickly inhabited than any other, having a mean density of 864. This part of the district has many points of similarity with the southern parts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. The density figure for Jamui subdivision in the south of the district is only 343, the reason being that here there are hills and large tracts of jungle and waste land, and the character of the soil approximates more closely to that of Chota Nagpur.

MONGHYR.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,287,154**	**+12.67**	**- 4.92**	**582**
Sadr Subdivision	**1,205,113**	**+12.29**	**- 2.15**	**633**
Gogri	464,258	+12.47	— 2.38	617
Monghyr	179,396	+12.33	+ 3.32	1,135
Jamalpur	30,346	+22.23	+20.95	7,587
Surajgarha	75,898	+ 2.27	— 0.49	436
Lakhisarai	133,824	+11.95	— 7.86	600
Kharagpur	161,405	+15.61	— 6.36	450
Sheikhpura	159,986	+12.28	— 2.02	681
Begusarai Subdivision ..	**644,245**	**+ 6.92**	**-10.06**	**864**
Teghra	232,639	+ 7.93	—10.83	969
Begusarai	411,606	+11.08	—12.01	813
Jamui Subdivision ..	**437,796**	**+18.10**	**- 4.11**	**343**
Sikandra	117,621	+15.94	— 5.56	484
Jamui	162,461	+20.01	— 5.52	365
Chakai	157,714	+17.81	— 1.46	268

Mention has just been made of the resemblance between this district and Bhagalpur in the progress of events since 1881. Between that year and 1891 each district increased its population by 3.3 per cent, the growth in each case being mainly confined to the areas north of the Ganges. During the next two decades Monghyr recorded increases of 1.6 and 3.1 per cent, while the corresponding figures for Bhagalpur were 2.8 and 2.4—the net result being much the same. And in the unhappy period from 1911 to 1921 the loss sustained by both districts was almost identical, being 4.93 in Bhagalpur and 4.92 in Monghyr. For the first twenty years after 1881 the population of Begusarai subdivision increased steadily, while little progress was made in the rest of the district. Then came a change. Between 1901 and 1911 the rate of growth in Begusarai was much less than in Sadr and Jamui, and in the next decade its loss was infinitely greater. It would appear that the same influences were at work in this subdivision as operated to retard the growth of Hajipur subdivision in Muzaffarpur and Samastipur subdivision in Darbhanga. In all these localities the population increased for a time so rapidly that it reached a point where the natural resources were over-taxed in comparison with the resources of the neighbouring tracts, and the pressure was therefore relatively lessened. This movement was encouraged by the prevalence of plague in each of the three subdivisions concerned. In Monghyr district, as in many others, the capacity of the people to withstand the ravages of the influenza epidemic in 1918 had been weakened by a series of antecedent misfortunes. Floods in the north of the district in 1916 were succeeded by more extensive floods in the following year. At the same time outbreaks of cholera, plague and fever contributed to make the 1917 death-rate exceptionally high. In 1918 cholera was still more destructive, and the general distress was aggravated by the great rise in the cost of living and particularly in the price of food grains. So the onslaught of influenza

encountered little resistance, and with the failure of the monsoon matters went rapidly from bad to worse. If it had not been for a specially good monsoon in 1919, the tale told by the census eighteen months later would have been still more disastrous.

As it was, the recovery of this district, unlike the rest of South Bihar, dates from the very commencement of the new decade. It is true that the year 1921, which had a death-rate of 31.2 per mille, was less healthy than most of the following years, but the birth-rate had already risen to 40.7, as compared with 30.5 in 1919 and 31.5 in the following year. The least productive year in the whole decade was the last, but even then the rate of survival was about 4.5 per mille. It was in 1930 that the most severe outbreak of cholera occurred, causing 14,000 deaths. The average annual mortality from this disease was just over 5,000, and there was only one year in which the death-roll did not run into four figures. The total number of deaths from plague in this period was about 7,500, but it is a little disquieting to find that in Monghyr, alone of all the districts where this scourge lingers, the latter half of the decade showed little improvement over the first half: in the last three years there were over 2,500 deaths from plague. Small-pox was not in evidence at all until 1926, but from that year onward it was responsible for the loss of about 6,000 lives, the most severe outbreak (here as elsewhere) falling in 1927. The first two and the last three years of the decade witnessed plentiful harvests. In 1923 the *bhadai* crop was damaged by floods, while scarcity of rain led to an indifferent yield of winter rice. The Gandak embankment was breached in the following year, and this caused a certain amount of loss to the cultivators north of the river. In South Monghyr the paddy harvest of 1927 was very disappointing.

The net increase of 12.67 per cent in the population of this district since the previous census is greater than that recorded by any other Bihar district except Patna. In Begusarai subdivision the growth is less rapid than elsewhere, probably owing to the same causes which checked its progress in the two previous decades. It is also reported that cholera and plague were particularly active in this part of the district in recent years. Jamui subdivision in the south has increased its numbers exceptionally fast, just as Banka subdivision in the south of Bhagalpur district has done. In both these areas there is a fairly large proportion of aboriginals and low-caste labourers, who would normally have sought employment away from home in mines, mills, docks, tea-gardens and the like, but were restrained from doing so by the industrial depression abroad and the comparatively easy conditions in their own district. Moreover, the District Officer states that fresh land is constantly being brought under cultivation in the Jamui subdivision. In the Sadr subdivision, where the general rate of increase strikes a mean between the two extremes, the most rapid progress has been achieved in the purely urban thana of Jamalpur. The rural thanas, except Surajgarha, have maintained a remarkably consistent level of expansion, and the only reason that can be given for the much smaller increase in Surajgarha is that an epidemic of small-pox was in progress there at census time and may have driven a number of people away from their homes temporarily.

The actual increase in the district population according to the census was 257,189. This is slightly less than the excess of reported births over reported deaths during the decade, viz. 267,496. The statement in the margin shows that there has been no appreciable change in the volume of immigration, though the number of male immigrants has increased at the expense of the females. Emigration figures are not available, but it is unlikely that they would differ substantially from the figures of 1921; there might even be a slight drop. In any case, the number of emigrants

MONGHYR DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	1,145,797	1,141,357	29,691	43,480	..	..
1921 ..	1,005,530	1,024,435	25,880	45,536	127,328	96,216
Variation ..	+140,267	+116,922	+3,811	—2,056	..	..

from this district in the past was so very greatly in excess of the number of immigrants that the margin of 10,000 by which the natural growth of the population exceeds its actual growth might easily be accounted for by the effort of maintaining the emigration figures at something like their former level, or in other words by the wastage involved in replacing the emigrants who died abroad. The decrease in the number of female immigrants implies a falling-off in the volume of "casual" immigration connected with inter-district marriages, while the increase in the number of male immigrants is due to the influx of temporary labour at about the time of the census. It is reported, for instance, that 7,000 labourers, mostly from neighbouring districts, were enumerated in a single *tal* on the census night. We may therefore assume that, had the enumeration been carried out a few days earlier—or later—the female sex might still be able to claim a majority in the population of this district.

South Bihar: Summary.

36. In 1921 the fortunes of South Bihar had sunk very low. So far from making any progress during the past forty years, the total population of this natural division was less by 3 per cent than it had been in 1881. The districts of Patna and Shahabad had both lost ground heavily, and the small increases registered by Gaya and Monghyr were not sufficient to compensate for these losses. Moreover, the aftermath of 1918-19 took longer to work itself out in South Bihar than elsewhere. The first year of the new decade was extremely unhealthy, cholera and fever being particularly virulent and widespread, and in the three districts comprised within the administrative division of Patna the deaths recorded in 1921 were much in excess of the births. The next year saw a wonderful change. The death-rate for the whole of the natural division fell steeply from 47 to 25 per mille, and the abundant harvests gave an earnest of prosperity's long-delayed return. Throughout the decade the birth-rate in South Bihar was far higher than in any other part of the province, and although *vis-a-vis* the Chota Nagpur plateau this circumstance may be attributable in part to more accurate registration of births, there is no doubt that the natural increase of the population in South Bihar was exceptionally rapid from 1922 to 1930. The virtual disappearance of the plague was perhaps the most gratifying feature of this period and aided greatly in the recovery of the natural division. The mortality from this dreaded scourge fell from 246,000 in 1911—20 to 28,000 in 1921—30, and more than 75 per cent of the deaths occurred in the first four years of the decade. Although the pace at which the population was multiplying showed some signs of slackening in the last two years before the census, there was still a margin of 10 per cent in 1930 between the birth-rate and the death-rate.

This period of intensive recuperation yielded an increase of 12.4 per cent in the total population of the natural division, and its previous losses were thus wiped out and a generous credit balance established. As was only fitting, Patna district, which had contributed most largely towards the former deficit, now furnished the biggest surplus, its rate of increase being no less than 17.1 per cent. The growth was least rapid in Shahabad, but even here the population was 9.9 per cent more numerous in 1931 than it had been ten years earlier. There are 49 revenue thanas in South Bihar, and every one of them improved its position to some extent, while only three recorded an increase of less than 5 per cent. In three districts out of four the outward flow of migration was temporarily reversed, and decreased emigration was accompanied by a larger influx of settlers or birds of passage from places outside. Patna and Shahabad owed a substantial part of their gain in actual population to this factor. It was only in Monghyr that the balance of migrations was still adverse, and this district has always been particularly lavish in sending its sons—and daughters too—to foreign parts. During the last decade there was a definite check to this tendency, and the district lost but slightly as the result of migration.

SECTION VI.—Orissa.

Cuttack.

37. Outside the two natural divisions of Bihar proper, Cuttack is much more densely populated than any other district in the province. Actually

CUTTACK.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	Mean density, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,176,707**	**+ 5.43**	**- 2.11**	**596**
Sadr Subdivision	**1,087,991**	**+ 4.28**	**- 2.38**	**697**
Cuttack	237,148	+10.37	— 5.84	796
Banki	84,406	+20.39	—10.81	426
Salipur	266,449	— 7.88	— 0.89	879
Tirtol	193,491	+ 6.58	— 1.19	495
Jagatsinghpur	306,497	+ 6.60	+ 0.40	824
Kendrapara Subdivision ..	**496,498**	**+ 3.70**	**- 1.47**	**508**
Kendrapara	248,069	— 0.52	— 0.41	824
Patamundi	127,112	+ 5.31	+ 0.29	421
Aul or Rajabari	121,317	+11·61	— 5.61	324
Jajpur Subdivision ..	**592,218**	**+ 6.14**	**- 2.14**	**531**
Jajpur	281,789	+ 8.64	— 3.96	881
Dharamsala	310,429	+ 9.60	— 0.40	390

it supports 596 persons to the square mile, but if the cultivable area only be taken into account this figure will be increased to 819. In common with the other two coastal districts of Orissa, Cuttack relies on its winter rice crop to such a large extent that a serious shortage of that crop will always put the whole of the district in very grave difficulties. In parts of the district, however, it is possible to raise *rabi* crops on a limited scale, and in this respect Cuttack enjoys an advantage over Puri and Balasore, where such crops are practically unknown.

From 1881 to 1911 the population of this district increased steadily. In the first decade the percentage of increase was 7.9, and it would have been still greater but for the cyclone in the year 1885 which blotted out 45 villages in the Patamundi thana of the Kendrapara subdivision. In the next decade the railway was constructed and this gave a great stimulus to emigration. Consequently the increase recorded by the census of 1901 (6.5 per cent) understates the natural growth of the population during this period. Migration was further stimulated between 1901 and 1911 by a series of floods resulting in crop failures and outbreaks of cholera, so that there was a decline to 2.4 per cent in the rate of expansion during the third decade. The years 1911—21 witnessed the first actual set-back in the numbers of the district. The first four of these years were unusually prosperous: floods caused but little damage and public health was excellent. Thereafter epidemics of disease began to take a heavy toll and the birth-rate fell rapidly. Cuttack suffered less from the ravages of influenza in 1918 than most other districts, but it was subjected to a more prolonged trial. Owing to the failure of the monsoon in that year the winter rice crop was an almost complete failure, and the people had nothing to fall back upon. The stocks of food-grains were already low, and prices went higher and higher. Early in 1919 the shortage of drinking water led to disastrous outbreaks of cholera, dysentery and fever. Then came floods in the autumn of 1919, and still more severe floods in the following year. In spite of this sequence of calamities the district somehow managed to show an increase in its *natural* population at the end of the decade. The loss in actual population, amounting to 44,461, was more than accounted for by a further heavy rise in the number of emigrants.

The first year of the new decade found the inhabitants of this district still handicapped by the misfortunes they had so recently experienced. The birth-rate had not yet recovered to anything like its normal level, and malaria and dysentery were very widespread. The number of deaths reported in this year was slightly in excess of the number of births. The harvests, however, were unusually good, and this helped to pave the way for a striking recovery in the next two years. The birth-rate in 1922 and 1923 was well over 40 per mille and sickness was much less prevalent. There were no floods, and the crops continued to give a satisfactory yield. During this short period, therefore, the population increased rapidly. But 1924 proved to be the most unhealthy year of the whole decade, deaths outnumbering births to the extent of 5 per mille. Again fever and dysentery were mainly responsible for the heavy list of casualties. For the next three years in succession the district was visited by disastrous floods. The last of the series was in itself the most severe of the three, and, coming as it did on the top of the others, the distress occasioned by it was aggravated. During these three years over Rs. 5,00,000 was distributed by Government in the form of *taccavi* loans, and a further large sum was expended in providing gratuitous relief. After a respite of only one year, the floods came again in 1929, and,

although on this occasion they were not quite so severe, they caused considerable damage to crops and houses and necessitated the adoption of further relief measures. As always happens, cholera followed in the wake of the floods, and the mortality from this disease was therefore considerably higher during the last half of the decade than it had been in the first five years. But fortunately there was no very severe outbreak at any time, the largest number of deaths recorded in any one year being something over 7,000 in 1929. In other respects the general health of the people improved considerably towards the end of the decade, and the death roll from fever and dysentery was very much lower. There was, however, an unusually severe outbreak, or rather series of outbreaks, of small-pox from 1925 to 1927, and in the course of these three years nearly 14,000 persons lost their lives in this way.

It is somewhat surprising, in view of the unfortunate history of the district during these ten years, to find that it was able to record such a substantial increase as 5.4 per cent in its population at the end of the period. And in fact this figure is considerably in excess of the natural growth of the population. The excess of births over deaths during this period was only 62,078, which represents an increase of 2.99 per cent. The statement in the margin shows that the number of immigrants has increased by more than 11,000 since 1921, and the decrease in emigration must have been much greater still. During the first twenty years of the century the total number of emigrants had increased from 117,000 to 256,000, and there is no doubt that a large number of these persons returned to their homes towards the end of the last decade. This conclusion is further borne out by the fact that the increase in the male population since 1921 is more than double the increase in the female population. It is noticeable that the thanas which recorded the highest rate of increase at the present census are invariably those which sustained the greatest loss in 1921. In particular the local officers ascribe the exceptional figures for Banki and Aul thanas almost entirely to the return of emigrants. This view is supported by the heavy fall in the value of money orders remitted to Banki post office from work-centres outside the province. The relatively rapid growth of Jajpur subdivision, though due in part to the same cause, may also be ascribed to the more healthy conditions prevailing in this part of the district and its comparative immunity from floods. The greater part of the heavy increase in Cuttack thana is due to the rapid growth during this period of the headquarters town of the district. The thanas of Salipur and Kendrapara, which are the only two to show an actual decrease, are particularly unhealthy. It will be observed, too, that at the previous census neither of these thanas was hit very hard, which suggests that the emigration from them at that time was not particularly heavy; so they would not stand to gain appreciably by the return of the wanderers.

CUTTACK DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	1,028,134	1,148,573	13,815	30,757	..	..
1921	952,543	1,112,135	10,061	23,224	173,557	82,264
Variation ..	+75,591	+36,438	+3,754	+7,533	..	..

Balasore.

38. Balasore is the first district we have yet encountered with a total population of less than a million. It has a mean density of 482 persons per square mile, which, though considerably lower than that of Cuttack, is still higher than the density of Puri or of any district in the Chota Nagpur plateau. Nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated area in Balasore is given over to rice; consequently the position of the people in this district is even more precarious than that of their neighbours, for they may be said to depend on this single crop for their very existence.

BALASORE.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**990,600**	**+ 1.03**	**− 7.11**	**482**
Bhadrak Subdivision ..	**446,771**	**+ 1.86**	**− 4.78**	**493**
Bhadrak	171,884	− 5.48	− 2.42	597
Basudebpur	78,757	+10.88	− 9.20	415
Dhamnagar	133,711	+ 3.61	− 4.14	581
Chandbali	62,419	+10.13	− 7·74	314
Sadr Subdivision	**543,829**	**+ 0.36**	**− 8.91**	**474**
Soro	191,755	−12.29	− 3.52	479
Balasore	111,759	+ 9.18	−15.84	495
Jaleswar	56,899	+ 7.30	−14.29	425
Baliapal	108,107	+ 7.99	− 4.22	525
Basta	75,309	+11.12	−15.60	414

Increases of 5.2 and 7.7 per cent respectively were recorded in the population of this district at the censuses of 1891 and 1901, and in the latter year it could boast of 1,073,642 inhabitants. This, however, was to prove the high water mark of its fortunes for many years to come. In the very first year of the next decade there was a serious failure of crops, and with only one exception they remained below the normal throughout the whole of the intercensal period. Droughts and floods were responsible not only for poor harvests but also for violent outbreaks of malaria, and emigration became more common. The net loss of population, however, during this period was slight (1.7 per cent) compared with that incurred between 1911 and 1921. The first four years of the decade gave little warning to what was in store. Although the outturn of the winter rice crop was very disappointing in these years, they were exceptionally healthy ones and witnessed an increase of 36,000 in the natural population of the district. But the remainder of the decade was a period of unrelieved depression. Indifferent harvests, severe outbreaks of cholera and fever, and a sudden rise in the cost of living had already done much to exhaust the resources of the people and sap their vitality before they were visited by the overwhelming disasters of 1918-19. As a result of the failure of the monsoon in 1918 the outturn of the winter rice crop on which so much depended was only 30 per cent of the normal. The mortality caused by influenza was not so great in this year as in the early months of 1919, which were also marked by a particularly severe outbreak of cholera. Meanwhile the birth-rate was falling steadily, and continued to do so until the end of the decade in spite of two reasonably good harvests in 1919 and 1920. The actual decrease in the population of the district revealed by the census of 1921 amounted to 7.1 per cent, and only a very small portion of this loss can be set down to increased emigration.

No sign of recovery made itself manifest in Balasore district until the last decade was drawing to a close. From 1921 to 1927 the standard of public health was very low, the number of deaths invariably exceeding the number of births. The average death-rate for these seven years was 37.2 per mille as compared with an average birth-rate of only 30.5. The worst years of all were 1921 and 1926. Malaria was particularly widespread and destructive in both these years, and in 1926 there was also a severe outbreak of small-pox. There were fairly heavy floods too in this year, and the outturn of winter rice was lower than in any other year of the decade, being 33 per cent below normal. By the end of 1927 the natural decrease in the population of the district amounted to nearly 46,000. During the next three years a good part of the lost ground was recovered. There was much less sickness, malaria in particular being less prevalent than formerly, and the birth-rate began to show a marked rise, indicating that the people were at last regaining their vitality.

In the result, the present census shows an increase of 1.03 per cent over the population of 1921. This is by far the smallest increase recorded by any district in the province, and it is only due to the balance of migrations that there was any increase at all. According to the vital statistics, which there is no reason to regard as seriously inaccurate, there was a net deficit of over 25,000 in the natural growth of the population. Increased immigration, as the marginal statement shows, was responsible for wiping out a portion of this deficit, and it may be confidently assumed that there was a substantial fall in the number of emigrants. At about the time of the 1921 census emigration had been particularly heavy, and many of the people who then left the district would have returned in the ordinary course. Many more were driven back by the industrial depression in Calcutta and elsewhere. The whole of the increase in the actual population is confined to the male sex, and the number of females is appreciably smaller than it was ten years ago. This is a sure indication of the direction in which the tide of migration is flowing. Nor will it escape attention that all the thanas which recorded

BALASORE DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	480,518	510,082	14,600	22,624	..	..
1921	466,122	514,382	10,869	17,302	53,251	30,026
Variation.. ..	+14,396	—4,300	+3,731	+5,322	..	..

a particularly heavy loss in 1921 have done particularly well at the present census. The explanation here is the same as in Cuttack district: the emigrants have returned to the homes from which they had been temporarily driven. There are only two thanas in which the population has actually decreased, but these are the largest and most populous thanas in the district. In Soro the loss (12.29 per cent) is very heavy indeed, and is entirely due to the ravages of disease. For the first seven years of the decade the average death-rate in this thana was nearly 42.5 per mille, while the average birth-rate was barely 25, and in 1921 the number of persons who died was more than double the number of those who were born. Even in the last three years the improvement in the health of this locality was comparatively slight. The same explanation holds good for the less serious loss sustained by Bhadrak thana. During the whole of the decade the number of deaths in this thana was 10,874 in excess of the number of births, whereas the actual decrease in its population is just under 10,000. It was in Bhadrak thana that the small-pox epidemic of 1926 was most destructive.

Puri.

39. Until the present census was taken the population of Puri district had always been slightly smaller than that of Balasore, but owing to its more rapid growth during the last ten years it has now gained a slight superiority in numbers. In point of density, however, Puri still ranks lowest of the three districts comprised in the natural division of Orissa. Parts of the district, indeed, are very thickly populated—such as the revenue thana of Pipli which supports 728 persons to a square mile; but in the adjoining thana of Puri itself the density figure drops right down to 298 and would be lower still but for the concentration of a considerable number of inhabitants in the headquarters town of the district. The reason for this unequal distribution is that large tracts of land in the district are sandy and unfit for cultivation; not more than half the total area is actually cultivated. As in Cuttack and Balasore, the winter rice crop is practically the only important crop grown in this district, though a little *rabi* is to be found in the inland subdivision of Khurda. The Jagannath temple in Puri town attracts a large number of pilgrims, particularly at the time of the *Rath jatra* festival. In the past this annual invasion has been wont to lead to severe outbreaks of cholera, but the preventive measures taken by the Public Health authorities have done much in recent years to mitigate this evil.

PURI.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,035,154**	**+ 8.77**	**- 7.01**	**415**
Sadr Subdivision	**657,625**	**+ 6.97**	**- 6.26**	**432**
Puri	255,821	+ 5.63	—7.79	298
Gop	128,914	+16.84	—4.04	448
Pipli	272,890	+ 4.07	—5.72	728
Khurda Subdivision ..	**377,529**	**+12.06**	**- 8.35**	**389**
Khurda	262,560	+10.45	—8.98	434
Banpur	114,969	+15.93	—6.82	314

During the forty years preceding the census of 1921 the history of this district followed very much the same lines as that of Balasore. The only period during which their fortunes were somewhat unlike was during the decade 1901—11, when Puri managed to make some small addition to its numbers while Balasore was losing ground. Between 1881 and 1901 the rate of growth had been rapid in both districts, the percentages of increase recorded by Puri at the two successive censuses being 6.3 and 7.6. The first ten years of the new century were unfavourable ones. In 1901 and again from 1905 to 1908 the crops were much below the normal, and in the last of these years famine conditions prevailed in limited areas. At the same time a cholera epidemic of unusual severity made its appearance. The fact that there was no festival in progress at the time of 1911 census, as there had been ten years previously, was responsible for an appreciable drop in Puri town. During 1911—21 the population of this district decreased by as much as 7.0 per cent—almost exactly the same rate of decrease as occurred in Balasore. The only years during which the people enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity were 1913 to 1916. During the remainder of this period the rainfall was either short or in excess and there was a heavy death roll from cholera and fever. Floods in 1917 and serious drought in 1918 ushered in the disastrous influenza epidemic, which in this district did not reach its height until the early part of 1919. In that year there was a recurrence of

heavy floods which submerged a large part of the Sadr subdivision, and although the crops of 1920 were reasonably good the death-rate continued high, while the exhaustion of the people was reflected in an abnormally low birth-rate.

In 1921 conditions improved to some extent but the year was not a healthy one and the recurrence of floods in the Sadr subdivision proved a further impediment to recovery. In this year the number of deaths was still slightly in excess of the number of births. But in the two following years there was a very marked improvement in public health and the crops throughout the district were excellent, with the result that prosperity was largely restored by the end of 1923. Unfortunately the period of recuperation was brief. The next three years were all unhealthy, malaria being particularly virulent in 1925. In 1926, a severe outbreak of small-pox was responsible for over 6,500 deaths, the rate of mortality from this epidemic being much higher in Puri than in any other district of the province. The Sadr subdivision was visited by floods for three successive years from 1925 to 1927, and although the damage was not so extensive as in the neighbouring district of Cuttack there was considerable distress in the flooded areas. The last three years of the decade, however, were free from any further calamities. Harvests were plentiful, there were no serious epidemics of disease, and the birth-rate rose once more. A particularly gratifying feature of this period was the comparative immunity of the district from cholera. During the five years immediately before the census of 1921 the annual death roll from cholera was in the neighbourhood of 5,000. Since then the highest mortality recorded in any one year was 4,400 and the yearly average dropped to about 1,600. Half the total number of deaths from this disease occurred in the two years 1928 and 1929.

The rate of increase (8.77 per cent) achieved by Puri during the last ten years is easily the highest of the three Orissa districts. The lion's share of this increase fell to Khurda subdivision, which enjoyed much better health than the rest of the district and was more or less free from floods. In the Sadr subdivision the thanas of Puri and Pipli made only moderate progress, but the third thana (Gop) showed the highest increase of all. The reason for this is not altogether clear. This thana was by no means immune from the damage caused by floods in the years 1925 to 1927, and it suffered a good deal from the ravages of malaria. But the District Officer points out that, when conditions are favourable, Gop thana is infinitely better off than any other in the subdivision. The lands are fertile, and in years of normal rainfall they yield bumper harvests. There were three such years immediately before the census was taken. There is also reason to believe that the emigration from this thana immediately before the 1921 census was particularly heavy, and a fairly large proportion of the emigrants have probably returned to their homes since then.

The natural increase in the population since 1921, represented by the excess of births over deaths, was 59,420. This figure is less by some 24,000 than the actual increase recorded at the census. The statement in the margin shows that the number of immigrants is almost exactly the same as it was in 1921. The number of emigrants in that year was particularly heavy, being about 24,000 in excess of the number recorded in 1911. If, therefore, it may be assumed that the volume of emigration has returned to its former level, the difference between the natural increase and the actual increase is exactly resolved. Nor is the assumption an unreasonable one, having regard to the conditions prevailing at the time when the last two censuses were taken. It is, however, somewhat curious that in these circumstances the growth of the male population since 1921 is not more pronounced.

PURI DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	500,214	534,940	13,610	23,542	..	..
1921	455,543	496,108	13,519	23,291	31,552	25,035
Variation ..	+44,671	+38,832	+ 91	+ 251	..	..

40. While the coastal districts of Orissa had escaped more lightly than the rest of the province from the influenza of 1918, they had been harder hit by the concurrent agricultural distress. For Orissa, to lose her rice crop **Orissa: Summary.**

is to lose her all; and recovery is always slow. The failure of the monsoon in 1918 had moreover been succeeded by floods in 1919 and 1920, nor was the opening year of the new decade entirely immune from them. The year 1921 was unhealthy all round, and it was not until 1922 that the first sign of better things emerged. Then Cuttack and Puri enjoyed two excellent years, but Balasore remained persistently in the doldrums. The respite in any case was short-lived, for in 1924 the standard of health throughout the whole division was lower than ever, chiefly owing to the prevalence of virulent malaria. Then followed a disastrous sequence of floods in 1925, 1926 and 1927. During these three years, which for Bihar and Chota Nagpur were the most prosperous of the whole decade, Orissa plumbed the lowest depths of her depression. Malaria was still very active, and in 1926 the whole natural division was subjected to a more severe outbreak of small-pox than it had known for many years. In 1927 the tide of fortune turned at last. Even Balasore began to pick up. The last three years before the census were for Orissa a time of steady recuperation and progress; and, had it not been for the catastrophic fall in the price of food-grains at the very end of the decade, everything pointed to a prolongation of the days of her prosperity.

As may be supposed from the foregoing summary, the growth of the population of Orissa between 1921 and 1931 was much less rapid than elsewhere. Her actual numbers increased by 5.1 per cent, but at least half of this increase was due to migration, not natural growth. Balasore indeed was only saved from a substantial loss of population by an influx of outsiders coinciding with the return of many former emigrants. Even so, the increase actually recorded by this district (1.0 per cent) was easily the smallest in the whole province. Puri, with an increase of 8.8 per cent, fared better than either of the other districts, and was less indebted to migration for the progress thus achieved. The Khurda subdivision of this district, which suffered little from the floods and enjoyed reasonably good health, expanded at a rate which compares favourably with that attained by the province as a whole. Cuttack district occupies the middle place, having a surplus of 5.4 per cent to its credit. The damage caused by floods was greater in this district than in any other, but it did not suffer so acutely as Balasore did from the ravages of malaria. Among the revenue thanas of the natural division the incidence of gain and loss varied greatly, ranging from +20.4 per cent in Banki (Cuttack) to —12.3 per cent in Soro (Balasore). Generally speaking, the most pronounced increases occurred in those thanas whose numbers had been most seriously reduced by emigration shortly before the 1921 census.

SECTION VII.—Chota Nagpur Plateau.

Key to revenue thanas in the map on the opposite page.

PALAMAU.

1. *Husainabad.*
2. *Garhwa.*
3. *Ranka.*
4. *Mahuadanr.*
5. *Latehar.*
6. *Balumath.*
7. *Daltonganj.*
8. *Patan.*
9. *Chhatarpur.*

HAZARIBAGH.

1. *Hunterganj.*
2. *Chatra.*
3. *Simaria.*
4. *Chauparan.*
5. *Barhi.*
6. *Hazaribagh.*
7. *Barkagaon.*
8. *Mandu.*
9. *Ramgarh.*
10. *Petarbar.*
11. *Gumia.*
12. *Bagodar.*
13. *Kodarma.*
14. *Gawan.*
15. *Dhanwar.*
16. *Kharagdiha.*
17. *Giridih.*
18. *Dumri.*

RANCHI.

1. *Chainpur.*
2. *Ghaghra.*
3. *Lohardaga.*
4. *Mandar.*
5. *Ranchi.*
6. *Karra.*
7. *Sesai.*
8. *Gumla.*
9. *Palkot.*
10. *Simdega.*
11. *Kurdeg.*
12. *Kolebira.*
13. *Basia.*
14. *Bano.*
15. *Torpa.*
16. *Khunti.*
17. *Tamar.*
18. *Bundu.*
19. *Sonahatu.*
20. *Silli.*
21. *Bishunpur.*
22. *Bero.*
23. *Lapung.*
24. *Raidih.*
25. *Kuru.*
26. *Ormanjhi.*
27. *Burmu.*
28. *Angara.*

SANTAL PARGANAS.

1. *Godda.*
2. *Godda Damin.*
3. *Rajmahal Damin.*
4. *Rajmahal.*
5. *Pakaur.*
6. *Pakaur Damin.*
7. *Dumka Damin.*
8. *Dumka.*
9. *Deoghar.*
10. *Madhupur.*
11. *Jamtara.*

MANBHUM.

1. *Topchanchi.*
2. *Jherria.*
3. *Gobindpur.*
4. *Tundi.*
5. *Nirsa.*
6. *Raghunathpur.*
7. *Chas.*
8. *Gaurangdi.*
9. *Para.*
10. *Purulia.*
11. *Jhalda.*
12. *Baghmundi.*
13. *Chandil.*
14. *Barahabhum.*
15. *Manbazar.*

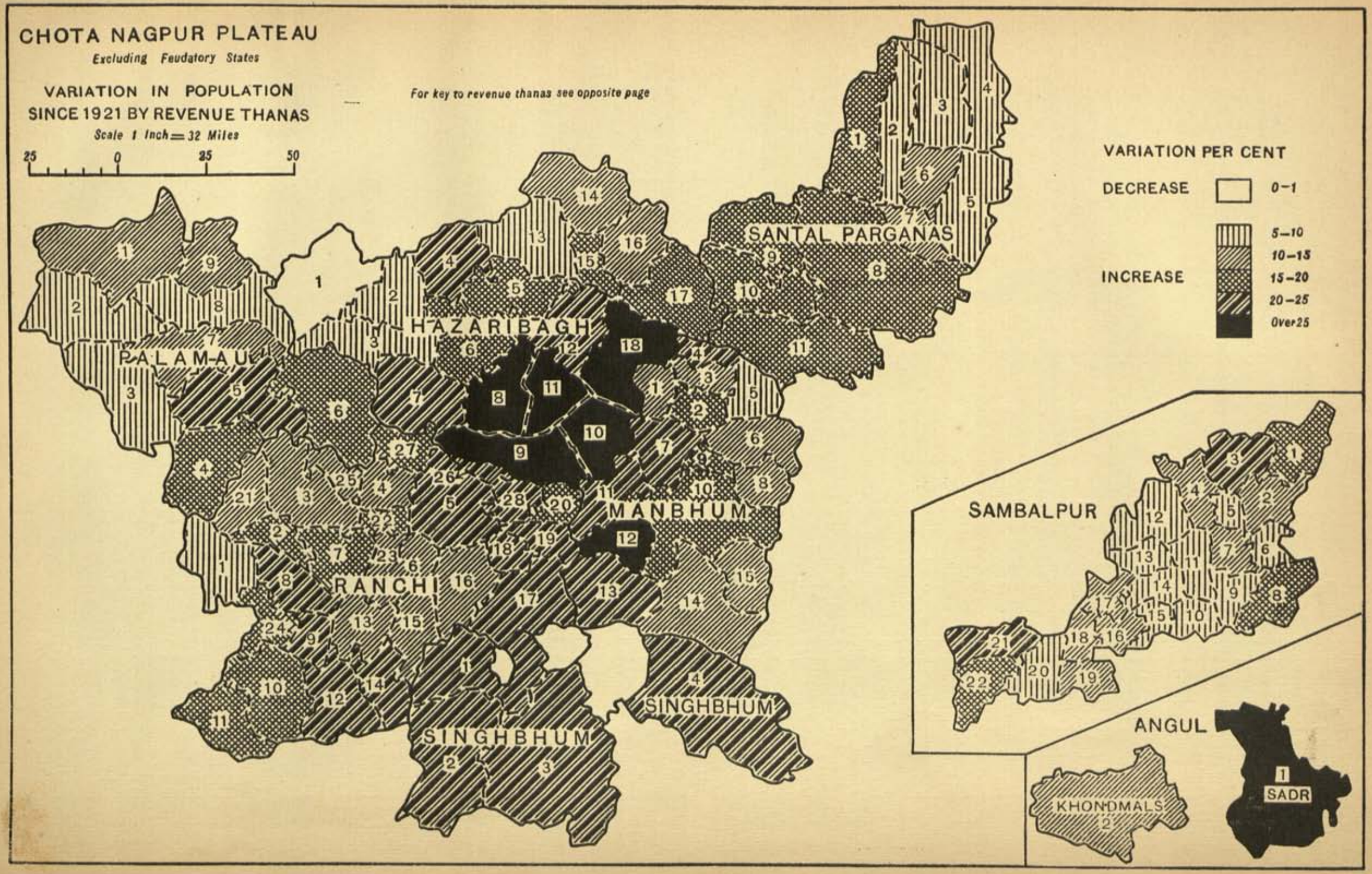
SINGHBHUM.

1. *Chakradharpur.*
2. *Manoharpur.*
3. *Kolhan.*
4. *Ghatsila.*

SAMBALPUR.

1. *Laikera.*
2. *Katarbagha.*
3. *Jharsugra.*
4. *Mura.*
5. *Rampella.*
6. *Sason.*
7. *Sambalpur.*
8. *Mundher.*
9. *Dhama.*
10. *Bheran.*
11. *Attabira.*
12. *Ambabhona.*
13. *Bhatli.*
14. *Bargarh.*
15. *Barpali.*
16. *Bijepur.*
17. *Sohela.*
18. *Melchhamunda.*
19. *Gaisilat.*
20. *Padampur.*
21. *Jagdalpur.*
22. *Paikmal.*

Note.—For variations in Feudatory States, see map opposite page 10.


CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU
Excluding Feudatory States
VARIATION IN POPULATION
SINCE 1921 BY REVENUE THANAS
Scale 1 Inch = 32 Miles
25 0 25 50
For key to revenue thanas see opposite page
VARIATION PER CENT
DECREASE
0–1
INCREASE
5–10
10–15
15–20
20–25
Over 25
SANTAL PARGANAS
HAZARIBAGH
PALAMAU
MANBHUM
RANCHI
SINGHBHUM
SINGHBHUM
SAMBALPUR
ANGUL
KHONDMALS
SADR

41. On an area more than twice as large as that of Darbhanga district, Hazaribagh supports a population less than half as numerous. The mean density of the district is only 216 per square mile, and in a part of the Chatra subdivision it falls below 100. The soil of the Chota Nagpur plateau is of course much less fertile than that of Bihar proper, and the area available for cultivation is much more limited. In Hazaribagh not much more than one-third of the total area is returned as "cultivable", while in actual fact only about one-fifth is under the plough each year. If we have regard only to the land fit and available for cultivation, the density of this district would be comparatively high—higher for instance than the figure arrived at by a similar method for Bhagalpur, Purnea or Puri. But it is fair to remember that the jungles which cover a great part of the area of this district play an important part in furnishing means of subsistence to the people. Lac is extensively cultivated, and, when the market is not depressed, is a source of much profit. Catechu is manufactured in many jungly areas, and *sabai* grass is gathered and twisted into ropes for sale. The sale of *mahua*, bamboos and other forest produce brings in a fair proportion of the income of the people. The coal and mica mines of the district are of considerable importance, but here as elsewhere the cultivation of rice is the principal means of livelihood of the bulk of the population.

Hazaribagh.

HAZARIBAGH.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,517,357**	**+18.83**	**— 0.91**	**216**
Sadr Subdivision	**720,196**	**+21.97**	**— 3.60**	**208**
Barhi	59,110	+16.17	— 3.33	165
Hazaribagh	110,873	+19.64	— 8.35	243
Bagodar	84,049	+20.51	— 3.36	197
Barkagaon	73,370	+21.25	— 1.57	151
Ramgarh	110,441	+31.83	—11.93	299
Gumia	44,580	+33.93	— 6.58	173
Mandu	47,078	+36.34	— 5.19	137
Petarbar	83,643	+25.63	— 4.89	261
Kodarma	107,052	+ 8.67	+11.98	242
Chatra Subdivision ..	**238,874**	**+ 9.29**	**— 2.17**	**153**
Chauparan	73,640	+20.59	— 2.81	208
Hunterganj	70,958	— 0.18	+ 4.88	149
Chatra	57,942	+ 8.61	— 3.34	167
Simaria	36,334	+ 9.87	—12.06	95
Giridih Subdivision ..	**558,287**	**+19.32**	**+ 3.37**	**279**
Gawan	72,561	+13.97	— 0.71	166
Kharagdiha	99,110	+14.20	— 3.97	292
Dhanwar	87,165	+15.13	+ 2.95	350
Giridih	155,494	+19.93	— 0.13	337
Dumri	143,957	+28.44	+18.22	280

Between 1881 and 1921 the growth of the population was not nearly as rapid as in most of the Chota Nagpur districts. The increase recorded in the first decade was 5.4 per cent, but in the next ten years this fell to 1.2. During this period deficient rainfall caused scarcity on three separate occasions, and many of the people were compelled to have recourse to a diet of jungly roots and fruits in order to satisfy their hunger. Malnutrition predisposed them to disease, and the mortality from fever and cholera was high. The census of 1911 showed an increase of 9.4 per cent, the intervening years having been on the whole healthy and prosperous. The largest share of this increase fell to the south of the district, where the aboriginal tribes muster strong. Hazaribagh did not escape its share of the misfortunes of 1911—21. An unhealthy year at the start of the decade was followed by a period of comparative prosperity, and up to 1916 the general course of events may be said to have been rather favourable than the reverse. In the latter year, however, the birth-rate was already beginning to fall, and in 1917 began a series of cholera epidemics which lasted for three years. The influenza epidemic of 1918, combined with the serious crop failure of that year, caused acute distress throughout the whole district. The shortage of food grains during the early months of 1919 became alarming, and in addition to the distribution on a generous scale of seed loans and loans for land improvement a considerable quantity of free food and cloth was distributed to orphans and aged persons who could not emigrate in search of work. The winter rice crop of 1919 fortunately proved to be an excellent one, and conditions were again approaching the normal at the close of the decade. The actual decrease in the population during this period amounted to 0.91 per cent, but the whole of this may safely be put down to the balance

of migrations. Even when allowance is made for wholesale omissions in reporting deaths during the influenza epidemic, there seems to be no doubt that there was in fact a slight increase in the natural population of the district during the decade.

The year 1921 was not particularly healthy, though it registered a marked improvement on what had gone before. There was an epidemic, not very severe, of cholera, and fever was much more prevalent than at any subsequent time. The birth-rate in that year was 37 per mille as compared with a death-rate of 32.4. But in 1922 the rate of survival shot up from 4.6 to 14.8 and after that the district never looked back once. Except for some damage to the *rabi* crops in 1926-27 and an indifferent outturn of winter rice in the following year, the harvests were good throughout the decade. The people enjoyed a remarkable immunity from every kind of epidemic disease, and the high level maintained by the price of food grains after all other commodities had begun to come down rendered the lot of the majority even more favourable. Such extracts as the following from the annual administration report of the district tell their own story:—" The rice crop was extremely good. The material condition of the district was better than it had ever been before. The wages of the labouring class were high. There was no outbreak of epidemic disease." That was in 1923-24, and in the following year we have the following:—" There was a bumper rice crop, and the agricultural and labouring classes were enjoying prosperity such as they did not dream of a decade ago. There was an increase in the wages of labourers. The result of the general prosperity was noticeable in a general activity in building new houses and in improving the existing ones." The most severe outbreak of disease during the decade occurred in 1929, when cholera was responsible for something over 4,000 deaths—a figure which exceeded the total mortality from this disease during the preceding eight years. In 1926 and 1927 there were epidemics of small-pox, in each of which the death roll was just over 1,000. Otherwise the public health was extraordinarily good. After the first year the death-rate remained consistently in the neighbourhood of 25 per mille, while the birth-rate was seldom below 40 and sometimes considerably higher. During the first half of the decade there was a progressive development of the coal-fields of the district, and considerable activity in railway construction. But the industrial depression was responsible for an abrupt cessation of these activities after the year 1925. At one time the price of lac rose very high indeed, but here also there was a disastrous slump later on, and towards the close of this period lac hardly repaid the cost of cultivation. The mica trade was under a cloud throughout the whole period.

The population of Hazaribagh district, as recorded at the present census, has increased by as much as 18.83 per cent in the last ten years. During this period it has added nearly a quarter of a million to the number of its inhabitants. The rate of natural increase (16.66 per cent) is more rapid than that of any other district in the province except Angul. The large splash of solid black in the middle of the map of the Chota Nagpur plateau shows that the growth of the population has been most pronounced in the south and south-east of the district. These are the colliery areas, and here the natural increase has been supplemented by a great influx of labour from outside. The statement in the margin reveals an addition of about 30,000 to the number of immigrants in this district. Most of these have found their way into the thanas of Gumia, Mandu, Ramgarh, Dumri and Giridih. They come for the most part from Bilaspur (Central Provinces), Raipur, Gujrat and Sambalpur, while a certain number also have crossed the borders from the adjoining districts of Gaya and Monghyr. This influx of outsiders is in itself sufficient to account for the whole

HAZARIBAGH DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	751,956	765,401	32,373	33,736	..	..
1921	624,021	652,925	18,166	18,139	85,684	61,851
Variation ..	+127,935	+112,476	+14,207	+15,597	..	..

difference between the natural increase and the actual increase in the population without ascribing any part of this difference to a falling off in the tide of emigration. The growth of Chatra subdivision in the extreme north-west of the district has not been on anything like the same scale as the growth elsewhere. Chauparan is the only thana in this subdivision which has held its own with the rest of the district. The climatic and economic conditions in this thana approximate much more closely to those prevailing in the Sadr and Giridih subdivisions. It is open, fairly high and healthy; the cultivated area is more extensive than in the other Chatra thanas, and it has better irrigation facilities. The rest of the subdivision is largely covered with jungles, is very subject to malaria, and generally is not so well equipped for the support of a rapidly increasing population. In spite of all this, it is extremely difficult to account for the fact that in Hunterganj thana there has actually been a decrease in numbers. Not only is this the only thana in the whole of the Chota Nagpur plateau to record a decrease, but there is not a single other thana in which the increase does not exceed 5 per cent. It will be noticed that Hunterganj was one of the few thanas in the district which added to its population during the previous decade, and at the censuses of 1911 and 1901 it recorded a greater increase than any other part of the district. The vital statistics for the last ten years tell of further steady progress. If those statistics are correct, we can only suppose either that there is some defect in the census figures for this thana or that there has been an exodus of its inhabitants on a fairly large scale to other parts of the district or to places beyond it. Outside the Chatra subdivision the smallest increase is recorded by Kodarma thana. The mica industry was responsible for a rapid expansion in this area during the previous decade, and the setback sustained by that industry is reflected in the latest population statistics.

Ranchi.

42. Ranchi district, which has an area of 7,102 square miles, is the largest district in Bihar and Orissa. In size, total population and mean density there is very little to choose between Ranchi and Hazaribagh, but the cultivable area in the former district is about twice as extensive as it is in the latter, so that if we leave out of account those portions of both districts which are unfit for cultivation we should find that Ranchi is much more sparsely populated than the neighbouring district. The density is comparatively high in the Sadr and Khunti subdivisions, the country becoming wilder and less adaptable to the plough the farther west one travels from the centre of the district.

RANCHI.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	Mean density, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,567,149**	**+17.44**	**— 3.79**	**221**
Sadr Subdivision	**581,639**	**+17.49**	**— 5.84**	**283**
Lohardaga	99,298	+13.21	— 9.95	209
Kuru	32,405	+14.49	— 9.60	331
Burmu	27,475	+18.55	+ 0.52	156
Mandar	58,133	+11.13	— 7.10	291
Bero	43,010	+18.83	— 9.02	283
Lapung	27,264	+14.19	+ 2.69	233
Ranchi	194,007	+20.49	— 2.45	431
Ormanjhi	22,261	+22.60	— 9.82	253
Silli	43,349	+19.39	— 8.82	352
Angara	34,437	+23.00	— 5.45	198
Khunti Subdivision ..	**373,866**	**+17.61**	**— 9.09**	**242**
Karra	43,169	+12.33	— 0.98	217
Torpa	60,468	+10.08	— 0.69	219
Khunti	86,840	+13.88	— 1.07	256
Bundu	32,882	+20.24	—17.18	319
Sonahatu	43,417	+23.32	—17.93	297
Tamar	107,024	+24.92	—16.42	222
Gumla Subdivision	**375,476**	**+16.49**	**— 1.90**	**183**
Bishunpur	18,370	+13.64	—10.90	78
Chainpur	56,272	+ 8.73	— 4.87	138
Ghagra	38,637	+16.56	— 6.65	187
Sesai	70,192	+17.89	— 3.14	250
Gumla	56,891	+22.82	— 0.49	274
Raidih	31,519	+17.75	+ 2.24	159
Palkot	33,081	+21.70	+ 1.50	148
Basia	70,514	+14.75	+ 3.22	238
Simdega Subdivision ..	**236,234**	**+13.56**	**+ 8.80**	**163**
Bano	40,349	+22.31	+ 3.36	190
Kolebira	61,721	+21.28	+11.27	155
Simdega	87,689	+16.04	+ 8.37	165
Kurdeg	46,475	+16.74	+11.34	150

Ranchi is a great stronghold of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, among whom the most numerous in this part of the country are Oraons, Mundas and Kharias.

Between 1881 and 1891 there was an increase of 6.7 per cent in the population of Ranchi district, but (as in most other parts of the Chota Nagpur plateau) the 1881 figures cannot be regarded as altogether reliable, and it is probable that the real increase was somewhat less than the figures

indicate. The rate of expansion in the next decade declined slightly to 5.2 per cent, largely owing to a series of deficient harvests which gave rise to a good deal of distress and encouraged the people to take to emigration. The period from 1901 to 1911 was an exceptionally prosperous one, with only one partial failure of crops, and the people grew and multiplied exceedingly. The increase recorded in this district at the census of 1911 was one of 16.8 per cent. The next ten years began quite well, and until 1917 steady progress was recorded in spite of the occasional outbreak of epidemics. But in 1918 the failure of the monsoon resulted in a winter rice crop whose yield was only 25 per cent of the normal, and in a few months the price of rice increased to just double what it was before. Meanwhile the influenza epidemic was at its height, and 72,000 deaths were reported in that year from fever alone. There was widespread and serious distress in 1919, and relief measures of the same nature as those adopted in Hazaribagh were found necessary. In addition, many thousands of emigrants made their way to the tea gardens of Assam. The natural population of the district remained more or less stationary during the decade, but on account of the greater volume of emigration from this district the loss in actual population was distinctly heavier than in Hazaribagh, amounting as it did to 3.79 per cent. Simdega subdivision alone recorded an increase, the migratory habit not having established itself so strongly in this remote area.

The excess of births over deaths in 1921 was very small. Fever and dysentery were prevalent in that year, and the lowered vitality of the people was reflected in a birth-rate still markedly below its normal level. Nor was the distribution of the rainfall altogether favourable to the crops in the first year of the decade. But in 1922 the new era of prosperity definitely asserted itself. This was indeed the healthiest year of the whole decade, with a death-rate of only 19.3 per mille. The crops were excellent, the price of food grains was high and the birth-rate began to soar. Progress in the following years was uninterrupted, and it is probable that the health of the people has never reached so high a level. Throughout the whole decade there were barely 2,000 deaths from cholera, and more than half of these occurred during the epidemic of 1929. Small-pox was responsible for 1,500 deaths in 1926, and there was a further, but less severe, outbreak in the following year. It is stated that the district as a whole is becoming more malarial, and this is undoubtedly true of Ranchi town. It may be true also of other parts of the district, but the mortality from fevers of all kinds was extraordinarily low during this decade as compared with previous ones. Generally speaking, the annual birth-rate in Ranchi district was distinctly lower than in the neighbouring district of Hazaribagh, but the death-rate was lower too, with the result that there was little difference in the natural growth of the two districts. The year 1925 stands out as one in which the number of births was actually more than double the number of deaths. The outturn of the principal crops was remarkably consistent year after year, the two final seasons being among the best of all. Until the sudden fall in the price of food grains at the very end of the decade, the only serious drawback to the prosperity of the agricultural population of this district was the progressive decline in the value of lac, which had hitherto proved a fruitful source of profit.

During these years of plenty the population of the district was increased by 17.4 per cent. This increase was distributed very evenly between the four subdivisions, and the variations in individual thanas call for little comment. Chainpur, in Gumla subdivision, is the only thana which did not record an increase of over 10 per cent. It is noticeable that Bundu, Sonahatu and Tamar, which were the heaviest losers in the previous decade, are among those thanas which now show the highest rate of increase. This is due to the fact that many of the inhabitants of this area who emigrated to Assam in 1918—20 have now come back to their native villages. In the thanas of the Simdega subdivision, where the same considerations do not apply, the large increases must be set down almost entirely to an amazingly rapid natural growth.

The total number of births reported in the district during these ten years was 209,704 in excess of the total number of reported deaths, while

RANCHI DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	777,063	790,086	13,126	15,557	..	..
1921	658,591	675,882	11,820	15,632	181,035	167,137
Variation ..	+118,472	+114,204	+ 1,306	— 75	..	..

the increase of actual population amounted to 232,676. As will be seen from the marginal statement, there has been hardly any fresh immigration into this district, and the reason for the difference between the two figures quoted above must be sought in a substantial decrease in the number of emigrants. There is no doubt that this is the true explanation. At the time of the influenza epidemic nearly 90,000 persons left this district for the tea gardens of Assam. With the return of happier days at home, many of them found their way back.

43. The density of the population in Palamau (167 persons per square mile) is lower than in any other British district of the province except Angul. The fertile valleys of the Koil, the Son and the Amanat rivers attract a greater concentration of the people than is to be found elsewhere, so that in Daltonganj and Garhwa thanas the density is relatively high. But even in these localities it is possible to travel far without seeing any human habitation or any land under the plough. The extreme south and south-western portions of the district, in which the thanas of Mahuadanr and Ranka are situated, are the most thinly populated of all; here the soil is unproductive and there are extensive Government and private forests. There is plenty of land waiting for reclamation, but the lot of the agriculturist in Palamau is not a very attractive one and enterprise is at a discount. The incidence of rent in this district is higher, relatively to the productive capacity of the soil, than in any other part of the province. A large proportion of the cultivated area is held directly by the landlords, and although attempts have been made in recent years by legislation and otherwise to put a stop to the *begari* and *kamiauti* systems which are prevalent in Palamau, the economic condition of the *raiyat* still compares unfavourably with the state of things in the adjacent districts. The rice crop here is not of such outstanding importance as it is elsewhere. Maize is cultivated on a gross area of about 69,000 acres and a patch of it at least is grown by almost every *raiyat;* in the hilly parts it is the chief crop. Barley and gram are also important. But lac counts for almost more than anything else in determining the fortunes of this district. The rice and other food-grains produced locally are not sufficient to feed the population, and supplies have to be imported from other districts. The inhabitants look to the sale of lac to furnish them with money for this purpose; and, when the lac crop fails or the market is dull, they are put to serious difficulty.

Palamau.

PALAMAU.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**818,736**	**+11.64**	**+ 6.64**	**167**
Sadr Subdivision	**641,122**	**+ 9.44**	**+10.43**	**196**
Daltonganj	149,760	+10·57	+ 8.47	265
Garhwa	130,286	+ 6·80	+13.29	230
Ranka	47,262	+ 5·99	— 5.64	77
Chhatarpur	62,809	+10·68	+16.67	186
Patan	107,528	+ 8·85	+ 7.98	213
Husainabad	143,477	+11·85	+16.00	210
Latehar Subdivision ..	**177,614**	**+20.37**	**- 6.14**	**108**
Balumath	80,851	+19·85	— 7.47	121
Latehar	63,804	+21·81	+ 0.63	133
Mahuadanr	32,959	+18·90	—14.04	66

The recorded increase of 8.3 per cent between 1881 and 1891 probably exaggerates the true growth of the population during this period. In the next decade the rate of increase dropped to 3.8 per cent. There was famine in 1897 and again in 1900, and the latter year was one of much sickness. The decade 1901—11 was more prosperous, and during this period the population increased by 10.9 per cent. But for indifferent harvests and outbreaks of cholera in 1907 and 1908 the increase would have been a good deal greater still. The ten years immediately preceding the census of 1921 witnessed a set-back in the growth of most districts, but Palamau managed not only to survive them without actual loss but even to increase its population by as much as 6.6 per cent. This was due in part to a slight increase

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in immigration coupled with a decrease in emigration; but there was also a substantial growth in the natural population of the district during this period. The achievement was the more remarkable because the suffering caused by the influenza epidemic in Palamau was probably greater than anywhere else in the province. The death-rate from fever alone in 1918 rose to 59.2 per mille, and many other deaths must have gone unrecorded. The explanation seems to be that, although the monsoon of 1918 failed just as badly in Palamau as elsewhere, the inhabitants were better able to cope with the situation owing to the abnormally high prices that lac had recently been fetching. They had in this way accumulated a reserve of wealth, which now stood them in good stead. The *mahua* crop also counts for a good deal in Palamau, and the crop of 1918 was particularly good.

The new decade did not open well for this district. The harvests of rice, maize and other food-crops were plentiful, but there was a serious failure of the lac crop, the importance of which has already been pointed out. Moreover, the general health in 1921 was very bad, fever alone accounting for more deaths (24,000) than the average mortality from all causes during the remainder of the decade. There were also fairly severe outbreaks of cholera and small-pox. The death-rate in this first year was as high as 42 per mille, while the birth-rate (32.5) was abnormally low. The next year, however, was exceptionally healthy, and the harvests were more plentiful than ever. Prices ruled exceedingly high in the lac market, one maund of stick lac fetching as much as Rs. 80 in Daltonganj town. The people prospered greatly in this year. The Son floods of 1923 did a good deal of damage in Bhaunathpur police-station, and there was some loss of life. Generally speaking, the conditions were favourable during the remainder of the decade, though the continuous fall in the value of lac detracted considerably from the prosperity which would otherwise have been enjoyed. The standard of public health, though high, was not equal to that prevailing in the other districts of Chota Nagpur. There were something over 13,000 deaths from cholera, and fairly severe outbreaks of this disease occurred in 1921, 1924, 1927 and 1929. Small-pox was also in evidence on several occasions, particularly from 1927 to 1929. The annual death-rate for the district worked out at an average of 32 per mille, whereas for the whole natural division the average rate was only 22.5; but the birth-rate in Palamau was also exceptionally high, being 45 against the divisional average of 36.5. The communications of the district were extended by the opening of the Central India Coalfield Railway in January 1929, but this event occurred too recently for any estimate to be made of its influence on the movement of the population.

The present census records an increase of 11.64 per cent in the population of this district since 1921. Compared with the rest of the Chota Nagpur plateau, the increase is distinctly moderate. The growth was much more rapid in the subdivision of Latehar, which occupies the south and south-eastern corner of the district, than it was in the Sadr subdivision. Latehar was engaged in making good the ground lost in the previous decade. The natural increase in the population of the district was slightly greater than its actual increase, the difference amounting to about 2,000 only. In view of the fact that there was a decrease of about 7,000 in the number of immigrants, it must be assumed that the number of emigrants also was lower than in 1921, but not by such a wide margin. This is in accordance with what we should naturally expect. There is comparatively little in the way of migration either to or from this district, and even the disasters of 1918-19 did not lead many people to forsake their native villages in search of employment. The reasons why, in spite of the light pressure on the soil, outsiders have shown no anxiety to settle in Palamau have been indicated in describing the agricultural conditions obtaining in this district.

PALAMAU DISTRICT.	Actual population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	409,778	408,958	11,337	12,909	..	..
1921	367,371	366,023	15,562	15,796	16,986	18,817
Variation ..	+42,407	+42,935	—4,225	—2,887	..	..

44. The mean density of the population in Manbhum district is 442 persons per square mile, or rather more than twice the average density in the Chota Nagpur plateau as a whole. To some extent of course this comparatively high figure is due to the thickly populated colliery areas; but even in the Sadr subdivision of the district, where there are practically no coal mines, the density is as much as 390 to the square mile. Coal is not the only important industry in Manbhum. The manufacture of shellac is carried on extensively, and there are various engineering works in the Dhanbad subdivision. In Purulia town there are a number of fairly large rice, oil and flour mills, while Adra is a big railway centre. Nevertheless, the bulk of the population still relies on agriculture for its livelihood, and in this district the rice crop is relatively of greater importance than in most of the other Chota Nagpur districts. The soil is moderately fertile, and the area occupied by forests is more restricted.

Manbhum.

MANBHUM.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**1,810,800**	**+16.92**	**+ 0.05**	**442**
Sadr Subdivision	**1,289,798**	**+17.81**	**- 5.90**	**390**
Jhalda	130,369	+24.21	—12.59	422
Purulia	313,433	+18.01	— 7.50	406
Baghmundi	47,344	+26.03	—17.75	289
Chandil	123,115	+22.24	— 8.28	321
Barahabhum	162,502	+14.58	— 1.51	319
Manbazar	109,590	+12.40	— 2.40	426
Raghunathpur	152,080	+14.40	+ 0.24	507
Gaurangdi	63,441	+11.98	— 3.38	367
Para	53,446	+18.71	— 5.54	449
Chas	134,478	+20.01	— 4.99	419
Dhanbad Subdivision ..	**521,002**	**+14.70**	**+18.18**	**662**
Gobindpur	50,823	+11.71	— 0.07	427
Jherria	211,966	+17.71	+29.07	1,342
Topchanchi	128,921	+12.63	+22.17	689
Nirsa	84,443	+ 9.22	+12.11	494
Tundi	44,939	+22.80	+ 0·51	296

During the last fifty years the population of this district has increased by over 70 per cent. It has developed more rapidly than any other British district in the province except Singhbhum. Here again it would be a mistake to ascribe this altogether to the development of its industrial activities. Even in 1881—91, when the Jherria coal-field had not yet been opened up, the population of the district was described as "a prosperous people", and the recorded increase during that decade was as high as 12.8 per cent. In those days, moreover, the district was exporting fairly large numbers of its surplus population to the Raniganj coal-field in Burdwan and the Giridih coal-field in Hazaribagh. It was in 1894 that the Jherria mines started work, with the result that the next census showed an increase of 25 per cent in the population of the Dhanbad (at that time known as the Gobindpur) subdivision. For the district as a whole the increase during this decade was 9.1, and it would have been appreciably greater but for the continued emigration. The agriculturists of Manbhum suffered less from the scarcity of 1897 than was the case in the neighbouring districts. Between 1901 and 1911 the development of the coal-field went on apace, and the tide of emigration now turned in favour of the district. The growth of population was of course more marked in the northern subdivision, where, in spite of an outbreak of cholera which caused over 12,000 deaths in the coal-field in 1908, the rate of increase in this decade was as high as 38.6 per cent. But even in the Sadr subdivision there was not a single revenue thana which could not show an addition of more than 10 per cent to its numbers. Climatic conditions were specially favourable in this period, and the boom in the lac trade contributed materially to the prosperity of the people. It was not until the fateful year 1918-19 that the progress of the district received its first serious check. The new demand for lac created by the Great War had been a source of considerable profit to many of its inhabitants, and the course of the seasons up to 1917 was not unfavourable. But the failure of the monsoon in the following year brought down the yield of the winter rice crop to only a third of the normal, and the agricultural population suffered greatly. Then came the influenza epidemic, starting in November and going on well into the next year, when cholera also made its appearance. Fortunately, the problem of agricultural distress is less acute in this district than elsewhere, as the demand for labour in the coal-field will ordinarily provide at least a partial remedy. And in 1918-19 the price of coal was high and the collieries were only too anxious to take all the labour

they could get and to pay good wages for it. Jamshedpur also is easily accessible from this district, and migration to Assam furnished another means of escape from the distress at home. Consequently the census of 1921 did not record any loss in the actual population of this district, though the rate of increase (0.08 per cent) was negligible.

As in so many other parts of the province, the least healthy year of the last decade was 1921. Manbhum is a district of low birth-rates and low death-rates, and the annual ratio of death per mille of the population during these ten years worked out at only 19.2; but in 1921 it was 27.2. There was no very severe epidemic, but the general standard of public health as evidenced in the number of deaths ascribed to " fevers " was still unsatisfactory. Climatic conditions, however, were favourable and good harvests were obtained in this year. The result was that a marked improvement in the health of the people in 1922 sent up the " survival " rate with a jump from 3.3 to 12.3 per mille, and it maintained itself in the neighbourhood of the latter figure for the rest of the decade. Crops generally, and the winter rice crop in particular, continued to do well throughout this period, 1926 being the only year in which the outturn was distinctly below normal. To compensate for this lapse, a bumper crop was forthcoming in the following year. Mortality from cholera and small-pox was much less heavy than usual. In the cholera epidemic of 1929 about 1,800 persons died, but this was the most severe outbreak of the decade and the annual death roll from this disease did not exceed 700. Small-pox was responsible for only about 1,750 deaths in the whole of this period, nearly half of them occurring in the epidemic of 1926. The latter half of the decade witnessed a serious depression in the coal industry, which became more and more pronounced as time went on. Nor did the lac industry fare any better. In 1923 the price of shellac stood at over Rs. 170 a maund, but at the end of the decade it had fallen as low as Rs. 30. Cultivators and manufacturers alike were hit very hard. During this period a new railway line was opened between Chandil in Manbhum district and Barkakana in Hazaribagh, and the Jeenagorah-Golakdih branch of the East Indian Railway was extended.

Since 1921 the growth of population in this district amounts to 16.92 per cent. For the first time for many years the Sadr subdivision claims a larger share of the increase than Dhanbad. This is due to the check, already mentioned, in the development of the coal industry. The biggest increase of all occurred in the Baghmundi and Jhalda thanas, which were the biggest losers at the previous census. Their loss on that occasion was ascribed principally to migration, and some part of their present gain may therefore be set down to the return of the emigrants. The natural growth of population in this district was not responsible for the whole of the recorded increase. If the vital statistics are to be trusted, the excess of births over deaths during the decade was only 188,177, which leaves about 74,000 of the acquired surplus to be accounted for by the balance of migrations. The statement in the margin reveals an increase of only about 17,500 in the number of immigrants, but when allowance is made for the fairly large casualties that must have taken place since 1921 among outsiders residing in the district, the actual number of new immigrants must be considerably in excess of that figure. There is little doubt, too, that there has been a substantial fall in the number of emigrants, though exact figures are not available. But it is difficult to see how the balance of migrations could have benefited the district by so much as 74,000, and it is possible that, as so frequently happens, the vital statistics understate the natural increase in the population owing to the tendency to be more lax in reporting births than in reporting deaths. The extent to which the flow of migration has altered its direction during the last generation will be evident from the

MANBHUM DISTRICT.	ACTUAL POPULATION.		IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	940,009	870,881	105,178	65,736	..	..
1921	799,405	749,372	95,221	58,103	54,449	63,224
Variation ..	+140,604	+121,509	+9,957	+7,633	..	..

fact that in 1901 the emigrants outnumbered the immigrants by nearly 74,000. To-day, if complete figures were available, it would probably be found that the immigrants outnumber the emigrants by just as large a margin. It is the male sex only which has profited by this reversal of the former state of affairs, with the result that in Manbhum the proportion of males in the total population is higher than in any other district of the province.

45. Singhbhum district has a density of 240 persons per square mile. The revenue thana of Ghatsila, which is co-terminous with the new Dhalbhum subdivision, is more thickly populated than any other part of the district, but this is almost entirely due to the location of Jamshedpur city in that thana. So far as the rural areas are concerned, the population is distributed fairly evenly between Ghatsila, Chakradharpur and the Kolhan. Manoharpur in the extreme north-west corner of the district is a hilly tract of country, covered with thick jungles, and the density here is very low. The mineral resources of Singhbhum are remarkable not only for their richness but also for their variety. As long ago as 1918-19 the provincial Land Revenue Administration Report contained the following passage:— "It is being proved that the district contains very large mineral deposits of iron, manganese ore and copper, while gold, chromite, phosphoretic rock, phosphate of lime, yellow and red ochre, china clay, lime and lime-stone also occur, and there are minor deposits of asbestos, mica, lead ore, soap-stone and slate which attract labour and capital and help in the opening up of the district." Not all of these resources have yet been tapped, but the development that has already taken place amounts almost to an industrial revolution, and it still remains to be seen how the aboriginal inhabitants of this district will adjust themselves to the new order of things.

Singhbhum.

SINGHBHUM.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**929,802**	**+22.43**	**+ 9.37**	**240**
Sadr Subdivision	**535,207**	**+20.81**	**+ 6.99**	**197**
Chakradharpur	133,335	+20.63	— 2.38	224
Kolhan	335,644	+20.62	+ 2.33	256
Manoharpur	66,228	+22.15	+ 1.31	82
Dhalbhum Subdivision ..	**394,595**	**+24.70**	**+23.73**	**340**
Ghatsila	394,595	+24.70	+23.73	340

Since 1881 the population of Singhbhum has increased by more than 100 per cent. No other part of the province, not even the Feudatory States, can rival this achievement. Even before the vast potentialities of the district from an industrial point of view had been realised, the population of the district was growing at a phenomenal pace. There is indeed some reason to believe that the rate of increase recorded between 1881 and 1891 (it was 20.2 per cent) overstates the progress made during this period, because the census of 1881 was not a very accurate one in this part of the province. Still, there is no doubt that a very large increase did take place, particularly in Manoharpur, where work was going on at high pressure in 1891 to complete the last remaining gap in the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The decade 1891—1901 was not a time of prosperity for most districts, but Singhbhum recorded a further increase of 12.5 per cent in these ten years, besides sending thousands of labourers to the tea districts in Assam. It was in the first decade of the new century that the mineral resources of the district began to be exploited, and the first blast furnaces at Jamshedpur were in course of erection when the census of 1911 was taken. In that year iron mines were already being worked in Dhalbhum and Kolhan. This new development may have been partly instrumental in quickening the rate of increase between 1901 and 1911 to 13.2 per cent. But it was in the next decade that real progress was made in the industrial sphere. Many new mines were opened during this period, and the little town of Sakchi, which had grown up round the works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and was credited in 1911 with 5,641 inhabitants, was transformed by 1921 into the city of Jamshedpur with a population of 57,041. In the agricultural world scarcity began to be felt in 1915. The rainfall of the previous year had been deficient and untimely, especially in the Kolhan, and matters did not improve in either of the two following years. Famine relief operations

had to be undertaken to mitigate the distress. Fortunately there was a bumper crop in 1917, and this did something to lessen the hardship caused by the failure of the rains a year later. But the demand for labour at high wages in the great industrial works now springing up in the district was more instrumental than anything else in tiding over the crisis. Nor was the influenza epidemic quite so destructive in Singhbhum as in other parts, though here also it sent up the death-rate of 1918 and 1919 to a figure which was well in excess of the birth-rate. The net result of these ten years was to augment the population of the district by 65,044, or 9.37 per cent. No other district did as well as this in the census of 1921. About half the increase may be ascribed to natural growth, and the other half to migration, the flow of which had now completely changed its direction.

The health of the district in the first year of the new decade was not good. The vitality of the people was still low, and the number of births recorded in 1921 was fewer than in any subsequent year. At the same time the death-rate was easily the highest of the decade, with the result that the rate of survival in this year was only 1.5 per mille. Cholera was responsible for 600 deaths, but the bulk of the mortality was due to "fever"—an indication of indifferent health generally rather than of the prevalence of any particular disease. After 1921 there was a sudden and marked improvement in the public health, which maintained an exceedingly high level for the remainder of the decade. The death-rate never again rose above 17.7 per mille. Cholera was practically unheard of, the aggregate number of deaths from this disease in six consecutive years being less than 100. Small-pox was rather more in evidence, and there were mild epidemics of it in 1924, 1925 and 1926, but the heaviest death roll in any one year was only just over 300. The outturn of the principal crops during this period was well up to the average, and there was no serious failure. In 1927 the district suffered from floods, which rendered several hundreds of people homeless but did not do extensive damage to the crops. These floods invaded the towns of Jamshedpur and Jugsalai and are said to have caused a loss of Rs. 87,000 in building materials there.

In Singhbhum the growth of the population since 1921 has been more prodigious than in any other part of Bihar and Orissa, the rate of increase being as high as 22.43 per cent. The rapid development of Jamshedpur city contributes something to this astonishing figure, but relatively not very much. It will be seen that each of the four thanas in the district has increased its population by more than 20 per cent. In so far as this increase is the result of natural growth, as distinct from migration, it must be attributed primarily to the excellent health enjoyed by the people during the past ten years. It is customary to apply such epithets as "prolific" to the aboriginal races which form the majority of the inhabitants of Singhbhum, but judging by the output of human lives in this district since 1921 the description is not altogether justified. It is more than a little curious that the district which has achieved the greatest increase in its numbers should have one of the very lowest birth-rates in the whole province. The annual rate for Singhbhum works out at an average of only 29 per mille, whereas the average rate both for Bihar and Orissa and for the Chota Nagpur plateau was 36.5. There is, however, some reason to suspect that here, as in the neighbouring district of Manbhum, the record of vital occurrences does not do full justice to the natural growth of the population. The excess of reported births over reported deaths during the decade is only 90,862, which is nearly 80,000 short of the figure by which the actual population has increased. This is too wide a margin to be accounted for altogether by the balance of migrations. At the same time there has beyond doubt been a great influx of settlers from outside the district. The marginal statement shows that immigrants are more numerous by nearly

SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.	ACTUAL POPULATION.		IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	469,421	460,381	64,850	46,208	..	..
1921	380,039	379,399	43,865	33,452	47,279	53,570
Variation ..	+89,382	+80,982	+20,985	+12,756	..	..

34,000 than they were ten years ago. The number of emigrants on the other hand is undoubtedly decreasing. The complete reversal of the tide of migration in this district is even more striking than in Manbhum. As recently as in 1911, there were over 105,000 natives of Singhbhum enumerated outside its borders, while the number of immigrants was at that time less than 50,000. Now the latter have increased their strength to 111,000, while it is probable that, if complete figures were available, there would not be found more than about 75,000 emigrants. It is of course Jamshedpur city that chiefly attracts the outsiders, and rather more than half the total number of immigrants into the district are concentrated there. But there is also a large element of foreign labour in the various mines scattered throughout Singhbhum, and the marked development that has taken place in mining operations since 1921 is responsible to a great extent for the rapid increase in the population. At the time of the previous census work in the mines at Goa, Jamda and Noamundi had scarcely begun. The census of 1931 happened to coincide with a period of special activity at Noamundi. A number of other new mines in Kolhan of lesser importance were also brought under work during the last ten years, while the economic depression which has since led to the closing down of certain mines at Manoharpur and to the reduction of output in others did not take effect until after the census was over. The opening of the Amda-Jamda branch line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in 1923-24 facilitated the development of the district, and little colonies of traders and others have grown up round the various railway stations established on this line.

Santal Parganas.

46. The Santal Parganas, alone among the districts of the Chota Nagpur plateau, can boast of having more than two million inhabitants. In size this district is smaller than Ranchi or Hazaribagh, but it is a good deal more thickly populated than either, having a mean density of 376 persons to the square mile. The Damin-i-Koh, a vast Government estate, occupies about a quarter of the total area of the district. In this tract the aboriginals enjoy special protection. The Damin is more sparsely populated than the rest of the district, consisting as it does largely of hills and jungles where the area available for cultivation is limited. The density is highest in that portion of the Rajmahal subdivision which falls outside the Damin. This is in the extreme north-east corner of the district bordering on Bengal. Rice is grown on about half the cultivated area in the whole district, and after rice the most important crop is maize. It is noticeable that the percentage of cultivated to cultivable land is higher in the Santal Parganas than in any other district of the natural division, the Santals being masters in the art of reclaiming land for the plough.

SANTAL PARGANAS.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**2,651,472**	**+14.29**	**- 4.46**	**376**
Deoghar Subdivision ..	**346,946**	**+19.32**	**- 5.13**	**364**
Deoghar	161,422	+19.28	—6.83	381
Madhupur	185,524	+19.36	—3.59	351
Dumka Subdivision ..	**466,157**	**+17.97**	**— 4.89**	**319**
Dumka	421,735	+18.31	—5.49	345
Dumka Damin	44,422	+14.92	+0.95	184
Godda Subdivision	**387,801**	**+14.03**	**— 6.76**	**456**
Godda	298,217	+15.54	—6.94	537
Godda Damin	89,584	+9.28	—6.21	304
Jamtara Subdivision ..	**243,858**	**+17.31**	**+ 0.91**	**352**
Jamtara	243,858	+17.31	+0.91	352
Rajmahal Subdivision ..	**331,136**	**+ 8.46**	**— 6.93**	**413**
Rajmahal	131,862	+7.97	—7.01	625
Rajmahal Damin ..	199,274	+8.80	—6.88	338
Pakaur Subdivision ..	**275,574**	**+ 7.75**	**— 0.73**	**394**
Pakaur	197,177	+5.51	—2.4	455
Pakaur Damin	79,397	+13.80	+4.2	294

The first reliable census of this district was that of 1891. Ten years earlier the alarm excited by the prospect of being numbered had been such that an army of 4,500 men had to be drafted into the district to prevent a general rising. Consequently a great portion of the increase in

population ascribed to the decade 1881—91 should probably be discounted. Between 1891 and 1901 the rate of increase dropped to 3.2 per cent. These years were on the whole a period of prosperity, and the population of the district would have shown a much more rapid expansion but for the great development of emigration. For many years past the Santals have been steadily moving towards the east—a characteristic of this tribe which will be examined more fully in Appendix VI of this Report. Emigration was almost equally heavy in the next decade (1901—11) with the result that there was little acceleration in the rate of progress. Moreover, there had been three consecutive years of bad crops, which almost led to a famine in 1908 in the Dumka and Godda subdivisions. From 1911 to 1917 events followed a fairly normal course, good seasons alternating with indifferent ones and the general state of public health being fairly satisfactory except for one or two severe outbreaks of cholera. But in 1917 the sudden rise in the cost of living was beginning to make itself felt, and the people had little in reserve to fall back upon when the crops failed altogether in 1918. Famine had to be declared in Deoghar in 1919, while in Dumka and Godda also the distress was acute. Nor was any effective resistance offered to the fierce onslaught of the influenza epidemic, which raged without intermission in this district until well on in 1919. During these two years, out of 149,000 deaths reported, 130,000 were attributed to fever. At the census of 1921 it was found that the population of the district had decreased by 4.46 per cent since the previous census. It is significant, however, that in spite of the misfortunes which characterized this period the flow of emigration from the district was checked, the number of emigrants recorded in 1921 being less by 23,000 than it had been ten years earlier.

The Santals and other aboriginal tribes inhabiting the district are hardy races, and, although they are apt to fall an easy prey to certain kinds of disease, they recuperate very rapidly. At the end of 1920 it looked as though the restoration of normal conditions would still take some time. The crops that year had been poor and the vitality of the people was still low. Yet in the very next year the birth-rate jumped up to 35.5 per mille, a figure which it was never again to reach during the remainder of a prosperous decade. Public health in 1921 had not yet attained the exceptionally high level which it reached in the subsequent years, but it showed a distinct improvement over what had gone before. The outturn of both the principal crops—rice and maize—was well up to normal; so the new decade may be said to have opened well. For the next nine years there was no serious check in the progress registered by the district. Bumper rice crops were obtained in 1922, 1924 and 1928. The only year in which the outturn of this crop was seriously deficient throughout the district was 1927, when it amounted to only half the normal yield. But an unusually good maize crop compensated to some extent for this disappointment. In the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions the harvests of 1923 were poor. Fairly severe outbreaks of cholera were experienced for three successive years commencing in 1927, and small-pox was in evidence from 1926 to 1928. For the rest, the district enjoyed remarkably good health, and the survival rate was well over ten per mille in eight out of the ten years.

For the district as a whole the rate of increase recorded at the present census is 14.29 per cent. It is in the south and the west that the growth has been most rapid. Deoghar subdivision shows the biggest increase of all—nearly 20 per cent. One circumstance which probably contributed to this result was the progress of settlement operations in this subdivision at the time of the census, which led most people to stay at home in order to press their claims before the settlement authorities. The Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions, where (except in the Pakaur Damin) the increases were comparatively small, suffered much more from the deficient harvests in 1927 than any other part of the district. In the former subdivision, too, a considerable number of inhabited villages were cut away by the inroads of the river Ganges. These two subdivisions border on Bengal, and so lose

more heavily by emigration than the other subdivisions. It is noticeable that in Godda the increase was much more marked in the non-Damin area than in the Damin. This is attributed by the District Officer to the introduction of legislation designed to protect the Santals in this area from oppressions by the "foreign" landlords. Throughout the district there is no doubt that the natural growth of the population was supplemented by a substantial reduction in the number of emigrants. We have already seen that in the decade 1911—21 the tendency of the Santals to migrate always towards the east was checked for the first time. In the absence of complete figures of emigration at the present census, it would be too much to say that this movement has now been definitely arrested, but everything points to a more pronounced check having taken place. Apart altogether from this, there is in normal times a great deal of casual emigration at about the time of the census to the jute fields, coal mines, etc. This was very much less in 1931 than it had been ten years earlier. The natural growth of the population of the district, represented by the excess of births over deaths, was 221,056, whereas the actual increase amounts to 256,564. Reduced emigration supplies the clue to the difference between these two figures—and more still: for it must also cover the loss indirectly caused by a decrease in the number of immigrants. As the marginal statement shows, this decrease was appreciable. Indeed, immigration into the Santal Parganas has been steadily falling off since the beginning of the century.

SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.	ACTUAL POPULATION.		IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	1,025,921	1,025,551	24,561	29,246	..	..
1921	895,879	902,760	37,026	42,190	153,027	143,986
Variation ..	+130,042	+122,791	—12,465	—12,944	..	..

47. Angul is by a long way the smallest and most lightly populated district in the province. Less than one-third of its total area is fit for cultivation, and in the Khondmals subdivision (which is separated from the rest of the district by the feudatory states of Baud and Athmallik) the proportion is smaller still. The Khond tribe, which gives its name to this wild tract of country, forms a clear majority of the population of the subdivision. Here the density barely amounts to 100 persons per square mile, but even so the soil is not capable of producing sufficient food for the needs of the inhabitants, and rice has to be imported from the neighbouring states. **Angul.**

ANGUL.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.		MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
DISTRICT TOTAL	**222,736**	**+22.00**	**— 8.46**	**133**
Sadr Subdivision	**140,458**	**+29.68**	**—13.51**	**159**
Angul	140,458	+29.68	—13.51	159
Khondmals Subdivision ..	**82,278**	**+10.80**	**+ 0.06**	**103**
Phulbani	82,278	+10.80	+0.06	103

Increases of 5.7 and 12.9 per cent respectively in the population of this district were recorded in 1891 and 1901. On the latter occasion the whole of the increase was confined to the Sadr subdivision and was probably due in part to more accurate enumeration. There had been scarcity in the district in 1900, but the earlier years of the decade had not been unfavourable in the headquarters subdivision and a number of settlers had moved in from the adjoining states. In the Khondmals the scarcity was more acutely felt and relief operations had been necessary. A severe outbreak of cholera, also occurring in 1900, caused much loss of life in this part of the district. Between 1901 and 1911 the rate of increase dropped to 3.9 per cent. On this occasion the Sadr subdivision showed a slight loss, whereas the increase in the Khondmals was as high as 15.6 per cent. Here again some of the increase should be discounted, for it is probable that the difficulties of carrying out an accurate census in this wild and remote subdivision were not successfully overcome until 1911. The failure of the Sadr subdivision to register any progress during this decade was mainly due to scarcity in 1908 occasioned by the short rainfall of the preceding year. This taught the people to emigrate in search of work, and at the census of 1911 the emigrants for the first time outnumbered the immigrants. The loss in

population sustained by this district in the decade 1911—21 amounted to 8.46 per cent. The Khondmals remained stationary, but in the Sadr subdivision the decrease was very marked. Once more emigration was largely responsible for the apparent loss, but it is also true that the distress caused by the failure of the monsoon in 1918 was more acutely felt in the Sadr subdivision than in the Khondmals, where the aboriginal population managed to find sustenance in the fruits and edible roots of their jungles. Famine was declared in Sadr and the whole land revenue demand for the year was suspended. Rice had to be imported from Cuttack and Sambalpur, and loans and gratuitous relief were given on a generous scale. Meanwhile the influenza epidemic caused much havoc throughout the district, and was particularly severe in the Khondmals, where the population was reduced by nearly 5 per cent in the short space of three months.

The years that have elapsed since 1921 have been remarkably healthy. Such sickness as there has been in this district is due almost entirely to malaria, which prevails in a malignant form in certain areas. During the whole of the decade there were only 24 deaths from cholera and 33 from small-pox. The immunity from cholera is specially gratifying in view of the fact that, for the last five years of the previous decade, this disease had been responsible for over 400 deaths annually. The birth-rate was exceptionally high throughout. It never fell below 40 per mille, and in the year 1929 it actually exceeded 50. The average rate for the decade was 45.5 against an average death-rate of 28.5, the margin between these two figures being wider in Angul than in any other district. The outturn of the principal crops was generally favourable. In three out of the ten years bumper harvests were obtained from the winter rice and *rabi* crops, and in five of the remaining years their yield was within 25 per cent of the normal. It was only in 1923 that the outturn of winter paddy was definitely short, and the reserve stocks of food grains in that year were sufficient to see the people through without the pinch being felt too much. In 1929 there was flood in the Mahanadi river, which affected two or three villages in this district, but the waters quickly receded.

Out of the net increase of 22 per cent in the population of Angul since the last census was taken, the lion's share goes to the Sadr subdivision. There are three reasons why this should be so. In the first place, during each of the two preceding decades this subdivision had fared much worse than the Khondmals, and with the return of prosperous days it was only to be expected that the process of recuperation would be more intensive. Secondly, emigration had been taking place on fairly large scale from the Sadr subdivision prior to 1921, whereas this habit is still more or less unknown in the Khondmals; consequently the Sadr subdivision would reap the whole of the benefit from the return of the emigrants, which here as elsewhere was a feature of the last decade. Finally, the opening of the Talcher Coalfield Railway in the year 1927 has contributed towards the development of this part of the district.

The actual increase revealed by the census in the population of Angul is 40,162. Out of this, 31,343 is accounted for by the excess of reported births over reported deaths. Some portion of the balance is due, as the marginal statement proves, to increased immigration, particularly among females. The remainder may safely be ascribed to a reduction in the volume of emigration. It is interesting to note that in 1901 the number of immigrants into this district was more than three times the number of emigrants. By 1911 the latter had completely wiped out this inequality and were slightly more numerous than the immigrants, while in the course of the next ten years the original order of things was still further reversed. Now, for the time being at least, there has been a re-action, and it is probable that in 1931 there was little to choose between the numbers of emigrants

ANGUL DISTRICT.	Actual Population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	108,925	113,811	5,541	12,764	..	..
1921	88,690	9,3884	5,376	10,974	10,628	14,861
Variation ..	+20,235	+19,927	+165	+1,790	..	..

and immigrants. So long as the law forbids the acquisition of land in this district by foreigners, it is unlikely that settlers will be attracted to it in large numbers. The slight influx during the last decade is due in part to the establishment of a business firm in Angul for the purpose of manufacturing paper pulp from bamboos.

48. The mean density in the district of Sambalpur is 230 persons to the square mile. Of its two subdivisions Bargarh is distinctly the larger and slightly the more thickly populated. This subdivision, however, still affords more scope for expansion than Sadr, where most of the land available for cultivation has already been taken up and the waste land still remaining outside the reserved forests is either set apart for grazing purposes or is too rocky to cultivate. The only crop of any importance in Sambalpur district is rice, to which 85 per cent of the gross cultivated area is given over. Balasore and Puri are the only other districts in the province where the rice crop has such a monopoly. **Sambalpur.**

SAMBALPUR.	POPULATION, 1931.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	MEAN DENSITY, 1931.
DISTRICT TOTAL	**880,945**	**+11.59**	**+ 6.08**	**230**
Sadr Subdivision	**343,539**	**+13.11**	**+ 0.56**	**213**
Sambalpur	57,553	+11.30	+ 2.25	400
Jharsugra	51,125	+21.89	+ 0.25	246
Laikera	51,043	+18.84	+ 4.45	187
Mura	30,089	+10.18	— 2.41	190
Rampella	32,385	+ 7.42	— 3.82	294
Katarbagha	39,711	+12.16	+ 2.61	181
Sason	32,388	+ 8.94	+ 2.90	263
Dhama	30,934	+ 6.76	— 3.82	186
Mundher	18,311	+17.80	— 0.74	87
Bargarh Subdivision ..	**537,406**	**+10.63**	**+ 9.86**	**243**
Bargarh	60,956	+ 9.17	+ 8.40	406
Attabira	53,985	+ 9.97	+ 0.44	209
Sohela	44,660	+12.33	+11.62	272
Ambabhona	31,041	+ 8.47	+ 9.14	152
Padampur	41,974	+ 9.03	+22.17	220
Bheran	50,386	+ 5.29	+12.81	329
Bijepur	43,455	+12.75	+15.49	348
Melchhamunda	26,640	+12·34	+11.90	213
Gaisilat	29,251	+13.42	+11.06	252
Jagdalpur	34,705	+20.81	+14.56	143
Barpali	47,434	+ 9.15	+ 9.88	435
Bhatli	43,947	+ 6.62	+ 4.12	239
Paikmal	28,972	+17.54	+25.53	152

Between 1881 and 1891 the population of the district is said to have increased by 11.7 per cent. This is probably an exaggeration, as too much reliance cannot be placed on the accuracy of the 1881 figures. In the next decade the rate of increase slowed down to 3.3 per cent, but it is surprising that there should have been any increase at all, for in 1900, a year before the census, a great famine occurred in which no less than 108 per mille of the population lost their lives. It was the south-west of the district that suffered most from this calamity. Then followed ten years of recuperation and development. Harvests were for the most part plentiful, the health of the people was good, and the birth-rate maintained a high level. The result was that, in spite of adverse migration, the census of 1911 showed an increase of 16.5 per cent, the gain being most marked in those areas which previously had been chiefly affected by the famine. During 1911—21 there was a further increase of 6.08 per cent in the actual population. At first sight this suggests that Sambalpur must have escaped much more lightly than many other districts from the disasters of 1918-19; but actually it was not so. It is true that at the end of the decade the district contained some 45,000 more inhabitants than it had at the beginning, but in the meantime the number of emigrants had fallen by 81,000, while the number of immigrants remained constant. It is not altogether clear why there should have been this tremendous decrease in emigration at a time when people elsewhere were leaving their homes in thousands in search of employment, but, whatever the reason, the fact is more than sufficient to explain why Sambalpur suffered no diminution of its numbers at the census of 1921. The first seven years of the decade had been generally favourable, but in 1918 there was a severe outbreak of cholera, followed shortly afterwards by the ravages of the influenza epidemic which raised the deaths from fever to about three times the normal figure. In the following year cholera re-appeared with equal severity and just at a time when the distress caused by the failure of the monsoon in 1918 was at its height. The final blow fell in 1920, when there was a serious flood which caused damage in 60 villages of the district.

It is not surprising that the first year of the new decade found the people of this district still struggling against adversity. The birth-rate in 1921

did indeed recover to its normal level, but the enfeebled condition of the population was apparent from the high death-rate. Fever, dysentery and diarrhœa were responsible for most of the mortality. But good harvests in 1921 helped to put the people on their feet again, and the next year was the healthiest of the whole decade. Steady progress was recorded in every subsequent year up to the census of 1931. There was little fluctuation in the yield of the rice crop, which was well up to the normal until 1928. In that year it fell short by about 30 per cent, but a bumper crop twelve months later went far to atone for this. In 1927 there were 1,850 deaths from cholera, but this was the only serious outbreak of the kind during the decade, the aggregate mortality of the other nine years being only about 1,750. Small-pox was responsible for about 2,000 deaths in the course of the ten years, the epidemic of 1926 causing one-third of the total casualties. Bowel complaints account for nearly 10 per cent of the deaths that occur in this district, and in 1921, 1924 and 1926 they were specially in evidence. But on the whole the decade was not an unhealthy one. The average annual death-rate was 27 per mille, which, though distinctly above the average rate for the rest of the Chota Nagpur plateau, is almost exactly the same as the provincial average. And the birth-rate in Sambalpur was several points higher than in most districts.

The present census shows an increase of 11.59 per cent in the population of this district. Both the subdivisions have made considerable progress, but the rate of growth in Sadr is somewhat more marked. Jharsugra stands out as having achieved a more rapid increase than any other thana. This is due to its growing importance as a commercial centre. In this district the vital satistics are in very close accord with the census figures. The recorded births were 90,607 in excess of the recorded deaths, while the census shows a net increase of 91,479. The difference is more than accounted for by the influx of female immigrants, and the presumption therefore is that there has been a very slight increase in the number of emigrants also.

SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.	Actual Population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	431,460	449,485	18,554	28,758	..	..
1921	387,895	401,571	19,244	24,477	43,513	48,502
Variation ..	+43,565	+47,914	—690	+4,281	..	..

The Feudatory States.

49. The Feudatory States are twenty-six in number, including the two small states of Saraikela and Kharsawan which lie to the north of Singhbhum district. Over the whole area covered by these twenty-six units the average density amounts to only 162 persons per square mile. All the more thickly populated states are situated in the south-eastern group, bordering on the British districts of Cuttack and Puri. Here is found Tigiria, the tiniest of them all, with an area of only 46 square miles, each of which supports 540 persons. The adjacent state of Baramba, which has a density of 348, comes second in the list. It is between the districts of Sambalpur and Angul (Sadr) that most of the very sparsely populated areas lie. Rairakhol in this locality has only 43 persons to each square mile of territory while the neighbouring

FEUDATORY STATES.	Population, 1931.	Percentage of variation.		Mean density, 1931.
		1921 to 1931.	*1911 to 1921.*	
COMBINED TOTAL	**4,652,007**	**+17.48**	**+ 0.37**	**162**
Orissa States	**4,465,385**	**+17.29**	**+ 0.28**	**159**
Athgarh	50,148	+18.41	— 9.53	299
Talcher	69,702	+36.63	—22.94	175
Mayurbhanj	889,603	+17.94	+ 3.44	210
Nilgiri	68,594	+ 5.17	— 5.08	247
Keonjhar	469,609	+21.37	+ 4.06	149
Pal-lahara	27,974	+17.59	— 7.36	62
Dhenkanal	284,326	+21.67	—13.50	194
Athmallik	64,272	+ 7.57	+11.13	88
Hindol	48,896	+26.62	—22.52	157
Narsinghpur	40,878	+23.87	—17.42	205
Baramba	46,688	+20.86	— 6.76	348
Tigiria	24,822	+27.07	—15.95	540
Khandpara	77,929	+21.22	—12.91	319
Nayagarh	142,406	+15.93	—18.81	242
Ranpur	47,711	+15.57	—10.17	235
Daspalla	43,402	+25.77	—39.51	76
Baud	135,248	+ 8.71	+ 9.67	107
Bamra	151,047	+12.12	— 2.39	76
Rairakhol	35,710	+14.36	— 1.59	43
Sonpur	237,920	+ 4.93	+ 5.12	263
Patna	566,924	+14.66	+20.97	236
Kalahandi	513,716	+23.54	— 0.75	137
Gangpur	356,674	+15.33	+ 1.79	145
Bonai	80,186	+17.61	+16.93	62
Chota Nagpur States ..	**186,622**	**+22.38**	**+ 2.59**	**316**
Saraikela	143,525	+24.60	+ 4.92	320
Kharsawan	43,097	+15.53	— 3.98	282

states of Athmallik, Bamra, Bonai and Pal-lahara are not much better off. The only other state in which the density figure is below 100 is Daspalla, which lies further south.

There has been a huge increase in the recorded population of the Feudatory States during the last fifty years, but the earlier censuses in this part of the province were not reliable, and there is little doubt that, rapid though the true growth of numbers has been, it has not been so rapid as the figures suggest. In particular, the reported increase of about 25 per cent between 1881 and 1891 is in part unreal. During the next decade the rate of expansion declined to less than 10 per cent, but in this period there was a good deal of emigration and the influx of persons from outside fell off. In 1901—11 the rate of increase accelerated again to just over 19 per cent. With two exceptions (Dhenkanal and Ranpur) each state contributed something towards the surplus, and in Bonai the percentage of gain was actually as high as 52.3. In Bonai there is ample scope for expansion and the population is a prolific one, but it is probable that some part of this phenomenal growth is attributable to the higher standard of enumeration attained in the census of 1911. Patna state also recorded a remarkable increase of over 47 per cent on this occasion. It was during this period that the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway was constructed across the north of the states and the east-coast section in the south. This brought them into more direct contact with the outside world and provided an outlet for their produce. The prices obtainable for this produce consequently rose, while rents continued low; and this all tended to encourage immigration. The population of the States at the census of 1921 was much the same as it had been ten years earlier, the net increase of 14,460 being negligible. But there were marked variations among the individual units. Patna managed to increase its numbers by 21 per cent—partly by natural growth and partly as a result of immigration, the conditions in this state during the last three disastrous years of the decade having been relatively better than in the adjacent country. Substantial gains were also achieved by Bonai and Athmallik, which for some time past had been developing more rapidly than most of their neighbours. On the other hand, nearly all the states towards the south-east suffered heavy losses. In general, they were more severely affected by the influenza epidemic and other diseases, and agricultural conditions were particularly unfavourable in this area. Emigration too is easy from these parts, and there is no doubt that it contributed substantially to the loss of population. The biggest decrease (39.5 per cent) occurred in Daspalla, where all the causes just mentioned were operative and there were also disastrous floods in the year 1920.

Since 1921 the population of the Feudatory States as a whole has increased by 692,338 or 17.48 per cent. In considering the variations in the different units it will be convenient to divide the States into six territorial groups. But first the general effect of migration during this period may be briefly examined. The statement in the margin shows that there has been a substantial drop in total number of immigrants into the States since 1921, while the number of emigrants is increasing. It is among males that the decrease in immigration is most marked, whereas females contribute much the larger share towards the growth of emigration; so that in the result the balance of the sexes in the actual population is much the same as before. The inference to be drawn from these figures is that towards the close of the previous decade many people (the majority of whom of course would be males) residing in the adjacent British districts were constrained by the greater distress prevailing there to cross the borders temporarily into the States. Later on, when conditions improved, they returned to their own districts. The preponderance of females among the fresh emigrants is an indication that the outward flow from the States is still connected primarily

FEUDATORY STATES.	Actual Population.		Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	2,288,422	2,363,585	97,245	136,999	48,537	77,263
1921	1,946,186	2,013,483	118,037	145,096	45,166	63,646
Variation ..	+342,236	+350,102	—20,792	—8,097	+3,371	+13,617

with marriages on the other side of the border. But the figures probably obscure the extent to which the habit of emigration is growing among males in recent years. It must be remembered that, from the south-eastern group of states in particular, a considerable number of men had been compelled to leave their homes in search of means of subsistence shortly before the last census was taken. For the most part they found their way back in due course, and it would not have been surprising if the number of male emigrants in 1931 had showed a substantial fall. The fact that it does not do so is an indication that, even when economic conditions are favourable, the spread of education is encouraging the inhabitants of the States to seek their fortunes further afield. There has indeed been a marked change in the direction of migration during the last twenty years. In 1911 over 300,000 immigrants were enumerated in the Feudatory States and they were fully four times as numerous as the emigrants. Now they are less than twice as numerous.

North-eastern states.

50. The north-eastern group consists of the two large states of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and the small one of Nilgiri. The two first-named have both added greatly to their numbers since 1921. In Mayurbhanj, where the increase amounts to 17.9 per cent, public health was good throughout the decade except for a severe outbreak of small-pox in 1926-27. The net excess of recorded births over recorded deaths was 106,478, and this accounts for the greater part of the increase. In 1927, as the result of heavy rainfall, the state experienced the highest flood within living memory. More than 14 inches of rain were recorded at Rairangpur on the 30th July, and heavy falls occurred at several other places. The distress caused by the flood necessitated the adoption of relief measures by the state authorities. For the rest, agricultural conditions were favourable throughout the decade. There have been many important developments within the state during this period. Road and railway communications have been extended and improved. Two new iron mines have been opened up, the timber resources are being more effectively exploited, new rice mills have been established, and lac cultivation has made such rapid strides that the annual export of lac increased from 10,000 to 25,000 maunds. In Keonjhar the population has increased by 21.37 per cent. This state also suffered from the floods of 1927, but not so seriously as Mayurbhanj. The out-turn of the principal crops, notably rice and sugarcane, was consistently good, and there was a great improvement in the health of the people. In particular, mortality from cholera was much less severe than formerly. The bulk of the increase in this state occurred in the Sadr and Champua subdivisions, where the pressure on the soil is light. In the more thickly-populated subdivision of Anandpur the growth was much less pronounced. The small state of Nilgiri, which lies between Mayurbhanj and the district of Balasore, was only able to show a comparatively small increase of 5.17 per cent. There was no scarcity, but the standard of public health was a good deal lower than in the neighbouring states. In five years out of ten the number of recorded deaths exceeded the number of births. Malaria and cholera were mainly responsible for the heavy mortality.

North-western states.

51. Gangpur and Bonai form the north-western group of states. Both of them recorded substantial increases at the present census. Exceptionally good health was mainly responsible for the increase of 15.33 per cent in Gangpur. Save in the first year of the decade, the death-rate seldom rose (and then only very slightly) above 20 per mille, and the net excess of births over deaths was exactly 50,000. This is slightly more than the actual increase in population, and it would therefore appear that the flow of migration here is in an outward direction. This state is a recruiting centre for the tea gardens of Assam, but nowadays most of the recruitment is on a basis of short-term contracts. Agricultural conditions were moderately good throughout, and the last two seasons were the best of all. The limestone and manganese quarries in this state were further developed during the first eight years of the decade. Bonai continued to make the rapid progress which has characterized it since the beginning of the century, and its population to-day is more than double the recorded figure of 1901.

The rate of increase during the last ten years is 17.61. If the vital statistics are to be trusted, the natural growth of the population does not account for quite two-thirds of this increase, the balance being due to the excess of immigrants over emigrants during the decade. There is still plenty of waste land and jungle waiting to be reclaimed in this state, and the authorities encourage outsiders to come and settle there to help in the work. Except in 1921, when influenza was still prevalent, the general health was good, and the only year in which poor harvests were obtained was 1926-27, when the rainfall was deficient.

Western states.

52. The five states of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi fall into the western group. These states were acquired from the Central Provinces in 1905. The greatest increase here (23.54 per cent) was achieved by Kalahandi in the extreme south-west. This state had suffered a slight set-back in numbers during the previous decade. Since 1921, when the deaths outnumbered the births owing chiefly to a virulent outbreak of malaria, there has been a great improvement in the general standard of public health. Small-pox was prevalent in the hilly tracts of the state in 1921 and 1929, but there were no other serious epidemics. A good deal of damage was caused by floods in 1927, and in the same year there was a bad outbreak of cattle-disease. The harvests of 1923 and 1924 were below the average owing to capricious rainfall, and in the latter year a portion of the paddy crop was destroyed by locusts. Otherwise agricultural conditions were favourable. It is reported that the economic condition of the people has been much improved by the abolition of the systems of *begari* and *bahabandha* (bond labour), and this has increased the demand for labour and has sent up the wages. The new Raipur-Vizianagram railway line at present under construction runs through this state and may be expected to assist materially in its development. Patna state, which was one of the few to emerge from the previous decade with a largely increased population, has again added substantially to its numbers. The authorities of this state report that public health since 1921 has been singularly good. In 1927-28 there was a fairly severe outbreak of cholera, but no other serious epidemic of any kind was experienced. Mortality from small-pox was practically *nil*. There was no flood or scarcity, and the outturn of the principal crops was normal. The natural growth of the population as deduced from the record of vital occurrences was slightly in excess of the increase actually recorded, from which it may be gathered that the state lost to some extent by migration. The acquisition of land by foreigners is not permitted in Patna, and there is consequently little to attract immigrants. The section of the Raipur-Vizianagram railway line which passes through this state was completed in 1929. The increase recorded by Sonpur (4.93 per cent) is smaller than that of any other state. But this figure does not do full justice to the true growth of the population. Since 1921 births have outnumbered deaths by over 24,000, whereas the net increase in population is less than half that amount. The explanation is that the state rules prohibiting emigration have recently been relaxed, and there has consequently been a large exodus of the landless classes to Assam. Agricultural conditions and public health were both favourable in Sonpur. Weaving of coarse cotton and *tassar* cloth is carried on extensively by the Bhulias of this state, and specimens of their work were successfully exhibited at the Wembley Exhibition in London. The states of Bamra and Rairakhol made steady progress, favoured by good health and consistent harvests. In the former unit the rate of increase was 12.2 per cent, and in the latter 14.36. In neither case do the numbers appear to have been appreciably affected by migration. Both of these states are sparsely populated and afford plenty of scope for further expansion.

Central states.

53. The central group of states comprises Athmallik, Baud, Talcher and Pal-lahara. Athmallik and Baud, which had both succeeded in weathering the storms of the previous decade with marked success, were content with slightly reduced rates of increase on the present occasion. But in both these states emigration to Assam is increasing, and the full extent of the growth of their population is not apparent from the figures recorded. There were no serious epidemics in either area during this

period, and agricultural conditions were quite satisfactory. Both states are characterized by heavy mortality among infants, and in Baud this is ascribed partly to the prevalence of venereal diseases. The last decade witnessed a considerable improvement in the road communications of these two states, particularly Athmallik, and there is no reason to suppose that the expansion of these sparsely-populated tracts will not continue. The small state of Talcher distinguished itself by achieving a more rapid growth of population than any other state or any British district in the province. The present census shows that its numbers have increased by 36.63 per cent since 1921. It is clear that the whole of this surplus cannot be due to unaided natural growth. It would require an annual birth-rate of 60 per mille and a death-rate of only 20 to accomplish such a result. Indeed, the natural increase was exceptionally rapid, as is evident from the fact that the recorded births were almost twice as many as the recorded deaths; but at least half the actual growth must be set down to the balance of migrations. In the previous decade this state had lost very heavily, and it may be safely assumed that a portion of the loss was due to temporary emigration. Not only have many of these exiles returned, but the state has now issued rules prohibiting the recruitment of coolies to work outside its borders, with the result that there has been practically no fresh emigration. On the other hand, the development of the coal-mines since 1921 and the opening of the Talcher Coal-fields Railway has given a great stimulus to immigration and has been responsible in no small measure for the rapid development of the last ten years. The progress made by Pal-lahara is on a par with the general rate of progress for the Feudatory States as a whole. This state has neither gained nor lost by migration. It sent a fair number of coolies to the tea gardens of Assam, but their place was taken by immigrants (mostly Hos) from the district of Singhbhum, who appear to be making a permanent home in Pal-lahara with a view to the reclamation of jungles and waste lands. The construction of the Talcher Coal-fields Railway has given an impetus to the development of trade in Pal-lahara, and the export of rice, dry logs and bamboos to Cuttack and other places is much greater than formerly.

South-eastern states.

54. There are ten states in the south-eastern group, namely, Dhenkanal, Nayagarh, Athgarh, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria, Khandpara, Ranpur and Daspalla. All of these, except Dhenkanal, are quite small. It was this group of states which suffered most severely in the previous decade, their losses ranging from 9.5 to 39.5 per cent. As a considerable portion of these losses was caused by temporary emigration, it is only natural to find that with the return of prosperity the states in this group have recorded the most consistent and marked increase at the present census. Daspalla and Nayagarh are the only two in which the whole of the former deficit has not been wiped out with a good deal to spare. Nayagarh has always been a recruiting centre for industrial labour in Burma and elsewhere, with the result that, although during the past ten years it has probably gained slightly on the balance of migrations, it has not done so to the same extent as most of the other states in this group. The natural growth of the population was rapid, and would have been more rapid still but for the appalling rate of infant mortality in this state. About half the total number of deaths occurred among infants. As in Baud, this is said to be largely the result of congenital syphilis. In Daspalla the rate of increase was as high as 25.77 per cent, but even this did not suffice to make up the whole of the ground lost during 1911—21. There was a large influx of new settlers into this state, and emigration was much less common than before. Trade was stimulated by the opening up of road communications, and the agricultural population thrived. The large state of Dhenkanal converted a loss of 13.50 in the previous decade into gain of 21.67. About one-quarter of this gain is attributable to migration, the remainder being the result of natural growth. The material condition and the health of the people of this state were good throughout the decade, and the establishment of a road transport service, combined with the opening of the Talcher Coal-fields Railway, resulted in increased trade activity. The other states in this

group registered increases varying from 15.9 to 27.1, and events followed much the same course in all of them. Some were affected by the floods which visited the coastal districts of Orissa, but the damage done was not great, and in general these ten years were a period of much prosperity.

Chota Nagpur states.

55. Of the two Chota Nagpur states, the growth of population in the last decade was much more marked in Saraikela, where the percentage of increase was 24.6. According to the vital statistics of this state, only one-half of this surplus was due to natural increase, and the state apparently derived a net gain of nearly 14,000 inhabitants from the balance of migrations during this period. The health of the people was consistently good throughout, and the outturn of crops is said to have averaged 75 per cent of the normal yield. This state was affected by the heavy floods of 1927 which originated in Mayurbhanj, and relief measures had to be adopted by the authorities. Saraikela is fortunate in its rail and road communications. In Kharsawan, where the population increased by 15.33 per cent, the greater proportion of the increase was due to natural growth, but here also some part of it must be put to the credit of migration. Except in 1921, the people of this state enjoyed excellent health, and agricultural conditions were on the whole satisfactory. But a partial failure of the crops in the last year of the decade, coinciding with the sudden fall in the value of food-grains, caused considerable embarrassment to the cultivators.

Chota Nagpur plateau: Summary.

56. The Chota Nagpur plateau as a whole had just managed to keep its head above water during the decade 1911—21, and emerged from that period with a net addition of some 6,000 to its population. As the increase in the Feudatory States alone amounted to over 14,000, it will be apparent that the British districts sustained a slight loss. The new decade opened quietly, the average rate of survival throughout the natural division (British territory) being only 4 per mille. Fever made this first year a comparatively unhealthy one in most parts, and Angul and the Santal Parganas were the only districts to settle into their stride from the very start. In Palamau the deaths far outnumbered the births in 1921, while the other districts showed but a modest credit balance. In the following year, however, there was a vast improvement in the public health and the birth-rate began to mount, so that the margin of survival shot up directly from 4 to 14 per mille—and for the whole of the rest of the decade it maintained itself in the neighbourhood of the latter figure. These nine years were a time of almost unbroken prosperity. The principal crops yielded a consistent, and occasionally an abundant, outturn; wages and the price of food-grains were abnormally high, while the general cost of living was falling every year; and epidemics of disease were few and far between. From 1926 to 1928 small-pox was in evidence a good deal, and in 1929 there was heavy mortality from cholera—though not nearly so heavy as in the other three natural divisions of the province. The disastrous cholera outbreak which visited Bihar in 1930 was hardly felt at all in the Chota Nagpur plateau.

The actual increase recorded in the population of this division since 1921 was over two millions, or nearly half the total increase in the provincial population. The percentage of growth was 16.7 for the division as a whole, and in individual districts it varied from 22.4 in Singhbhum to 11.6 in Palamau and Sambalpur. The growth of actual population in the Feudatory States was only slightly more rapid than in British territory, but whereas the natural increase in the States was to some extent obscured by the outward flow of migration, the British districts were indebted for no small part of their surplus to a strong flow in the contrary direction. If it were possible to accept the record of vital occurrences as absolutely correct, we should have to conclude that the balance of migrations during this period was responsible for the addition of nearly a quarter of a million to the population of the eight British districts. But there are grounds for believing that in some cases the vital statistics under-rate the natural growth of the people. Although emphasis has been laid more than once in the foregoing pages on the truth of the maxim that a high birth-rate does not necessarily mean a

rapid increase in numbers, there is something very extraordinary about the fact that Singhbhum district, which shows the biggest increase in the whole province, should have the very lowest birth-rate, whereas Palamau, where the increase was smaller than in any other district of Chota Nagpur except Sambalpur, has almost the highest birth-rate of all. Nor is it easy to find any rational explanation on geographical, ethnological or sociological grounds for such wide divergencies as are to be found in the average annual birth-rates of the two groups of districts shown in the margin. In each case the population is largely made up of aboriginal tribes, supposedly prolific, and there is no obvious reason why the Khonds of Angul, for instance, should be credited with a much greater productivity than the Hos of Singhbhum, or why the fertility of the Santals should be so much inferior to that of the primitive and semi-primitive peoples of Palamau. Indeed, in Palamau the aboriginal element is less strong than in the other districts. It is significant, too, that the three districts in this division from which abnormally low birth-rates have been returned are those in which the greatest difficulty is found in reconciling the difference between the natural growth and the actual increase in numbers; and in these districts defective registration of vital occurrences is the more likely to occur owing to the illiteracy and backwardness of the reporting agency. (In Angul, which is also very backward, supervision is probably more effective.) It seems, therefore, to be a reasonable inference that in the Chota Nagpur plateau the rapid increase of the population is due in a larger measure to natural growth than the vital statistics suggest. At the same time, there is no doubt that emigration was much less common than in the previous decade and that the numbers were further swelled by the return to their native districts of many persons who had migrated in earlier years. Palamau was the only district which suffered a net loss from migration during this period; it was very slight, and was caused not by increased emigration but by a falling-off in the number of immigrants. In Manbhum and Singhbhum industrial developments assisted in the expansion of the population.

Singhbhum	29.0
Manbhum	31.5
Santal Parganas	32.0
Palamau	43.5
Angul	45.5

SECTION VIII.—Houses and families.

Definition of a house.

57. The census definition of a house is that it consists of " the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family; that is, by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess with their resident dependants, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house. In other words, the unit is the commensal family and not the homestead or enclosure ". In Bihar and Orissa the principle embodied in the foregoing definition was first adopted at the census of 1891 and has been observed ever since. It has the merit of being easily understood by the census staff, who work on the general assumption that there are as many houses as there are *chulhas*. There are of course a number of exceptions to the standard definition. Police lines, jails, hospitals, asylums and so forth were governed by special rules; in coolie lines each room was treated as a separate " house "; and any non-residential building in which one or more persons were actually sleeping on the night of the census was similarly treated. In Bihar it not infrequently happens that one family has houses in different parts of the village, all of which may be occupied at night; in such cases every house situated in a separate compound was regarded as a separate unit. Again, in some parts of the Santal Parganas there is a custom whereby married sons, although residing separately in their own houses, continue to take their meals with their parents. Here also the status of a " house " was conceded to the son's establishment. In the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the servants' quarters were ordinarily treated as constituting separate units.

Growth in number of houses.

58. The total number of occupied houses in Bihar and Orissa according to the present census is 8,174,899. This is an increase of 683,944 (or 9.1 per cent) over the number recorded in 1921. Subsidiary Table VII at the

end of this chapter gives particulars for each natural division, district and city of the number of persons per house and the number of houses per square mile at each of the last five censuses. From 1891 until 1921 there was a steady—albeit not very marked—fall in the average number of persons per house. So far as the decade 1911—21 is concerned, a part at least of this fall would probably be due to the decline in the population and the consequent reduction in the size of the average family. For the rest, the inference seems to be that during those thirty years there was a tendency for families to split up. In the last decade, although there has been a substantial increase in the number of houses, it is not quite commensurate with the growth of the population, with the result that the average number of persons per house has risen somewhat. In other words there are many more, and slightly larger, families than there were in 1921. The "family", be it remembered, is the commensal unit, which (owing largely to the prevalence of the joint-family system) does not necessarily consist only of one married couple and their children. It is difficult, therefore, to say how far the growth in the number of these units is due to natural increase. Some light may be thrown on this question by comparing the ratio from time to time between the number of married females aged 15 and over and the number of houses; and this is done for the last four censuses in the following statement:—

Number of houses per 100 *married females aged* 15 *and over.*

	1931	1921	1911	1901
Bihar and Orissa ...	**89**	**94**	**90**	**88**
North Bihar ...	84	86	86	84
South Bihar ...	84	91	87	85
Orissa	96	102	96	91
Chota Nagpur plateau ...	95	103	94	96

The joint-family system.

59. It is tempting to use these figures as the basis for a discussion of the joint-family system, and to examine how far they support the common assertion that a disruptive process is constantly going on in the joint family. But the material available is not really sufficient for an examination of this kind, and such conclusions as might be drawn would almost certainly be unreliable. Apart from other considerations, divergences in the system of house-numbering are bound to occur from census to census and even (at the same census) from district to district, and this introduces an incalculable factor which might go far to vitiate the argument. All that can safely be said is that the statistics do little to support the view that there has been any radical change in the constitution of the family in recent years. A further proposition that may be advanced with some assurance is that, where disruptive tendencies are at work, they are strongest in the educated and professional classes. When one member of the family sets up on his own as a lawyer, a doctor, or a Government official, it is natural that he should develop an independent outlook and prefer to have his own separate establishment. Among the agricultural classes, on the other hand, economic considerations tend to hold a family together, for in general they are likely to achieve the best results by pooling all the available labour and resources. In every stratum of society it is domestic considerations that make chiefly for disintegration—the inherent difficulty of preserving harmony among several married couples under the same roof—and the contrary urge of economic advantage is less strong among the non-agricultural classes.

Variations in natural divisions and cities.

60. It will be seen from Subsidiary Table VII that the increase in the number of houses is shared by each natural division, and, as might have been expected, is most marked in the Chota Nagpur plateau, where the growth of population has been most rapid. Here the extra houses have very nearly kept pace with the extra population, with the result that there is little change in the average size of the "family". In South Bihar, however, although the population increased much more rapidly than in North Bihar or Orissa, the number of new houses is not correspondingly greater, so that in this natural division the average number of occupants to each house has

risen more noticeably. Variations in individual districts do not call for any particular comment, but the statistics for cities furnish striking contrasts. In Jamshedpur the number of houses per square mile has increased during these ten years from 567 to 993—a rate of increase even greater than that achieved by its population. In consequence, the average house now contains only 3.8 persons as against 3.9 in 1921. Conditions at Jamshedpur, with its up-to-date town-planning and methods of sanitation, are very different from those obtaining in the three cities of Bihar proper. In Bhagalpur the congestion is particularly great, each house containing on an average 6.2 persons. There seems to have been practically no addition to the number of houses in Bhagalpur since the last census was taken, with the result that the largely increased population is reflected in bigger "families". The same thing applies in almost equal degree to the capital city of the province. In Gaya, on the other hand, the increase in the number of houses has been on an exceptionally heavy scale, and although the population of the city has grown by over 30 per cent the average number of persons to each house is less than it was. For cities as a whole, if Jamshedpur be excluded, the size of the commensal unit averages out at almost exactly the same figure as in rural areas.

SECTION IX.—Population and Economic Problems.

Standard of living.

61. The census schedules do not concern themselves with questions relative to the standard of living of the population of the province, and exact statistical information on this subject is not therefore available. A brief questionnaire was however issued to representative persons in each district, and their replies, based on personal knowledge and observation, contain much that is of interest. By common consent there has been a marked rise in the general standard of living during the last ten years. This is evidenced in various ways. It is perhaps most apparent in the increasing use of articles which a short time back were regarded as being in the nature of luxuries. Dietz lanterns, for example, are nowadays looked on as absolutely indispensable by vast numbers of people who were formerly able to make shift with the earthen *diya;* and kerosine oil in the same way is taking the place of indigenous seed-oils of domestic extraction. Not long ago, when one passed a long string of bullock-carts winding their way along the road at night, it would be customary to see a lantern swinging from the two carts at the head and tail of the procession only; now it is quite the usual thing for each cart to be provided with its own lantern. In slightly higher grades of society the electric torchlight has achieved a tremendous popularity. Umbrellas, too, are used habitually to-day by many persons, and classes of persons, who would not have aspired to them ten years ago. The old types of umbrella, made of bamboo or palm-leaves, which in certain parts were very common, are being replaced more and more by the cloth article. Bicycles are to be found now in the most remote villages, and their owners are not confined to the zamindar and trader classes; a cultivator who has made a good profit on the sale of his lac crop may go off nowadays and invest the proceeds in a bicycle. Except in the most backward parts of the province, it is becoming difficult to find a village *darzi* without his sewing machine. This is attributed largely to the enterprise of the Singers' firm in popularizing the hire-purchase system in the mufassal, but it is none the less indicative of a great advance in the outlook of the *darzi* himself.

The clothes worn by all sections of the population are more varied, and usually of better quality, than they used to be. The loin-cloth is exchanged for a *dhoti;* the old-fashioned *mirzai* yields to the short coat and shirt or vest; the use of "shorts" by the younger generation has become almost universal in towns, and in villages it is no longer uncommon. Shoes, too, are worn by an ever-increasing number, and the old-fashioned wooden shoes are being discarded in favour of canvas foot-wear—often with crepe rubber soles. A missionary with considerable experience in Chota Nagpur observes that, not so many years ago, "the *paniwalla* was

happy with but a *dhoti*, the end of which he put round his shoulders when attending church. Shoes he thought only 'babus' used. Now for years past he must have shoes and a coat, *even when at work*". For some time the tendency towards a higher standard of wearing apparel expressed itself in a preference for more finely-woven mill cloths or cloths of foreign manufacture; but political considerations were responsible later on for a re-action in favour of the coarse hand-woven *khaddar*. This, however, did not necessarily imply that a man's outlay on his wardrobe was reduced. In the matter of jewellery, the tendency among women of every class is towards a greater refinement. Ornaments are fewer in number but more valuable. The wearing of ornaments by men is falling out of favour, but wrist-watches, fountain-pens and so forth are affected instead.

As regards houses, the general opinion seems to be that there has not been much change in their size or in the general arrangement of the rooms. But it does really appear to be a fact that the importance of light and air is beginning to be realized in the more modern houses. *Pucca* buildings are undoubtedly more common than they were, but more noticeable still is the substitution of tiles for thatch, while in some parts of the province roofs of corrugated iron are beginning to find favour even in the villages. But the cost of these is still too great for the ordinary cultivator to aspire to them. A pronounced change has taken place in the character of domestic utensils. Even among the poorest classes metal utensils have largely taken the place of the earthen vessels formerly in use, and among all classes alike the popularity of aluminium ware—a very recent development—is particularly marked. The raiyat has not yet acquired much furniture in his house, but the rather more well-to-do display a growing partiality for *chaukis*, almirahs and the like. Such articles as tin trunks have increased in number enormously of recent years, and are now regarded as a *sine qua non* where formerly they would have been classed as a luxury.

With regard to developments, if any, in the kind and quantity of food ordinarily consumed by different classes of the community, it has proved more difficult to obtain general agreement. The view of the majority is that the last decade has seen little change in this respect, apart from a slight improvement in the quality of the food-grains consumed and a tendency to eat more vegetables. It does not appear that wheat or fish or meat is now taken by any considerable section of the people who did not formerly take them. Indeed, "social uplift" movements have in some cases resulted in the partial abandonment of meat as an article of diet among the lower castes and aboriginal tribes. Some correspondents, however, have detected more substantial changes in the gastronomic habits of the community in general, and I am indebted to a Muslim resident of Puri district for the following picturesque account of such developments in his part of the world. "The red portions of the ordinary rice are usually discarded. Except the sweepers, Haris, Sahars, etc., almost all classes have recourse to polished rice which has resulted in serious loss of vitamin, as a result of which beri-beri is noticed in places. The *roti* and *paratta* is held in greater de[illegible]. Loafs and biscuits have permeated the very nooks and corners of the locality, of course as far as the biscuit hawkers can travel. Hotels in towns teach even mufassal people new methods of preparation of food. The itinerant confectioner hawks cakes and other varieties of sweets prepared from *badam* oil or vegetable ghee in the mufassals, often in exchange for paddy, and has created a different atmosphere in the life of the children in the mufassals . . . The potato is universally demanded by almost all classes of people. Mangoes, generally dumped from the Madras Presidency, are sometimes resorted to by the average household. The bill of the fruit-seller is increasing, as ill-health prevails in the country. Barley and arrowroot form light beverage during fever . . . Wheat-flour is used by fashionable people for tiffin purposes. Fish obtained locally by themselves are used by the lowest classes. Meat, except that of swine, hare, etc., which they generally used, is nowadays used in ceremonial occasions even by the lowest classes. To quote the words of Goldsmith—

'To boast of one splendid banquet once a year.' The Brahmans, Karans and other classes of orthodox Hindus, who generally did not use flesh, nowadays relish the same." There is complete unanimity of opinion regarding the rapid development of the tea-drinking habit in every grade of society, and this is probably the outstanding feature of the period, so far as questions of food and drink are concerned.

Another sign of the times, which testifies eloquently to enlargement of ideas and higher standards of comfort, is the extent to which passenger lorries and motor services of every kind are now patronized by the rank and file of the population. Ordinary cultivators and members of the labouring classes, faced with a journey of five, ten or fifteen miles, think little or nothing of jumping on to a lorry and paying their fare—for no stronger reason than to be quit of the trouble of walking.

Simultaneous growth in numbers and prosperity.

62. The position then is that in the course of the last ten years the population has been increasing at a rate almost—if not quite—unprecedented, and at the same time there has been a definite improvement in the standard of living. The question is, how has this come about? So far at least as the two natural divisions of Bihar proper are concerned, it was the generally-accepted point of view that the pressure on the soil had some time ago reached a point where any further increase was bound to lead to a deterioration in the conditions of existence unless it was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the productive capacity of the soil—or of course by the development of alternative means of supporting life. It is no part of the purpose of this report to enter into a complicated discussion of what is implied by the term "over-population". Our consideration of the subject may be confined within the narrow limits of the following proposition*, which states the problem in its simplest form: "We may consider the relation between the number of the people of a certain defined tract at their present intellectual, moral and material standard of living on the one hand, and the average productivity of the area according to existing methods of exploitation on the other hand, and say that if this population continues to increase numerically at its present rate it cannot maintain its material standard of living under conditions as they exist at present." Has the productivity of the soil in Bihar and Orissa increased appreciably since 1921? The answer to this question must be in the negative. There may have been a few acres of waste land or jungle reclaimed here and there and brought under cultivation, but this has not been done on such a scale as to add materially to the natural resources of the province. Indeed, according to the official returns of the agricultural department, the proportion of the total area under cultivation in 1931 was slightly smaller than in 1921. Nor can it be asserted that the yield per acre of the soil has been increased to any great extent by new and improved methods of exploitation. Is there any indication, then, of the development of fresh resources, apart altogether from agricultural produce, which would help to support the surplus population? Practically none. It is true that there has been a slight rise in the proportion of those who seek their livelihood in towns rather than in rural areas, but very slight; and the expansion of commerce and industry in Bihar and Orissa still proceeds at a painfully slow rate, despite the richness of her mineral resources. There has in fact been no appreciable change since 1921 in the percentage of the total population which relies directly on agriculture for the means of subsistence. Yet in the face of all this the people of the province have multiplied *and prospered*, showing to all appearances a cheerful disregard for Malthus and his laws.

The explanation.

63. But in truth the solution is not far to seek. The main clue to the prosperity of this period has been indicated more than once in the earlier paragraphs of this chapter. From about 1917 the price of all commodities began to rise rapidly and continued to do so until about the time when the last decade opened. Then they started to fall again. The fall was more or less steady and continuous throughout the whole of the intercensal period,

* All-India Census Report, 1921, pages 49-50.

and generally speaking it affected all commodities *except food-grains.* Obviously the lot of the agriculturist in these circumstances was an enviable one. That portion of the produce of his fields which he must set apart to pay his rent was smaller than before, and after feeding himself and his family he was in a position to realize good money from what still remained over and to purchase more with the proceeds—more cloth, more kerosene oil, more country liquor, better ornaments for his womenfolk, more frequent joy-rides in the motor lorry which had just started to ply up and down the main road near his village. Meanwhile, the monsoon never failed once! It is not that the harvests during this period, taken as a whole, were abundant. There were one or two exceptionally good years, but on the average the outturn of the principal crops was below normal rather than above it. The invaluable thing about them was that they were consistent, and never once was there anything in the nature of a serious failure. So greatly do the agriculturists in this province outnumber every other section of the community that their felicity alone would be sufficient to account for the phenomenon of a population growing in numbers and prosperity at one and the same time. But it so happens that the wage-earner was equally well off. It might almost be said that wages had no sooner adjusted themselves to the high cost of living than the cost of living began to fall. But, as invariably occurs, wages continued for some time longer at their new level. It is true that the price of rice in a tiresome way persisted in remaining much higher than it should have done, but everything else was coming down with a rush. The day-labourer, the domestic servant, the Government official, the factory employee, the shop-keeper's clerk—they could all afford to contemplate their growing families with equanimity.

Plentiful money.

64. So it came about that money, besides being worth more, was more abundant. There are many indications of this, apart from the common indulgence (already noticed) in unwonted luxuries. Take for example the remarkable expansion of the revenue derived by Government from excise. In the first six years of the decade receipts under this head rose from about $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees to about 2 crores. This was caused not by an increase in the amount of drink consumed but by a progressive enhancement of the price. If money had not been plentiful, it would never have been possible for Government to pursue with such marked success its policy of "maximum revenue combined with minimum consumption." The slump in excise receipts which set in at the very end of the decade was in the first place due in no small part to political propaganda, but the propagandists were greatly assisted by the sudden and complete change in the economic situation. Take again the record of transactions in post-office five-year cash certificates. The statement in the margin shows the yearly amounts invested and withdrawn ever since 1917-18, when these certificates were first offered to the public. In the first year or two it was only natural that the purchase of certificates should be fairly heavy, but it will be seen that from 1919-20 the withdrawals were for four successive years greatly in excess of the new issues, and by the end of 1922-23 there cannot have been much left in the post-office vaults. Then came five years on end of solid buying. Even supposing that every rupee withdrawn during this period was immediately applied to the purchase of fresh certificates, the new money invested between 1923-24 and 1927-28 amounted to not less than a crore of rupees. And up to the very end of the decade there was a comfortable margin on the right side between the issues and the discharges. Much the same story is unfolded by the accounts of the post-office savings bank, which

Transactions in 5-year cash certificates in Bihar and Orissa.

Year.	Issued.	Discharged, including interest.
	Rs. (000's omitted).	Rs. (000's omitted).
1917-18 ...	34,80	2,18
1918-19 ...	15,93	11,25
1919-20 ...	4,78	13,12
1920-21 ...	2,73	8,31
1921-22 ...	3,22	4,79
1922-23 ...	3,09	11,68
1923-24 ...	28,29	10,49
1924-25 ...	23,46	7,18
1925-26 ...	35,62	7,84
1926-27 ...	29,00	7,68
1927-28 ...	26,02	9,27
1928-29 ...	20,63	15,91
1929-30 ...	26,38	20,67
1930-31 ...	39,60	33,44

are summarized in the margin for the last seven years of each decade. For some reason or other, there was a big drop in 1929-30 in the number of individual accounts maintained on the books, but this did not operate to check the steady increase in the sum total of money invested, and at the time when the present census was taken this total was much more than double of what it had been ten years earlier. The substantial growth recorded during each year of the last decade contrasts strikingly with the uncertain fluctuations of the earlier period. Lastly, the sums remitted by money-order to post-offices in Bihar and Orissa are not devoid of significance. These sums represent to a large extent the contribution towards the wealth of the province made by those of its people who have journeyed abroad in search of employment. The figures given here are not confined to money-orders despatched from places outside the province, nor of course would it be correct to assume that only the savings of emigrants are remitted by postal money-order. But it is noteworthy that, with very few exceptions, remittances are heaviest to just those districts from which emigration is known to be most common. It will be observed that the aggregate value of the remittances made during the last six years of the decade 1921—31 was 50 per cent greater than in the corresponding period of the previous decade: and this in spite of the fact that the emigrants were far less numerous. The reason is that, like the wage-earners at home, they were receiving higher pay and were spending less of it on the bare necessities of life. And it should be remembered that these temporary exiles do not as a rule send home the whole of their savings through the post; they bring back an appreciable portion with them when they return.

Investments in Post Office Savings Bank in Bihar and Orissa.

Year.	No. of accounts on April 1st. (000's omitted).	Opening balance. Rs. (000's omitted).
1914-15 ...	103	1,35,83
1915-16 ...	106	1,00,94
1916-17 ...	106	94,67
1917-18 ...	106	94,71
1918-19 ...	108	88,08
1919-20 ...	111	90,89
1920-21 ...	117	1,07,66
1924-25 ...	141	1,61,39
1925-26 ...	150	1,70,77
1926-27 ...	161	1,86,13
1927-28 ...	173	2,03,96
1928-29 ...	188	2,26,11
1929-30 ...	132	2,38,12
1930-31 ...	148	2,52,96

Total value of money-orders remitted to post offices in Bihar and Orissa.

Year.	Rs. (in lakhs).
1915	421
1916	487
1917	450
1918	541
1919	608
1920	666
Total ...	31,73
1925-26	763
1926-27	796
1927-28	822
1928-29	857
1929-30	770
1930-31	698
Total ...	47,06

Future prospects. 65. So much, then, in explanation of the past. But what of the future? From their very nature it is clear that the factors making for unusual prosperity during the last ten years were bound to be temporary. Economic conditions were unbalanced, price levels largely artificial. Food-grains could not continue indefinitely to command a price relatively higher than that of other commodities. Wage-earners could not continue indefinitely to enjoy a remuneration out of all proportion to the lowered cost of living. Ominous signs of the inevitable break became evident during the closing year of the decade. Industrial depression had indeed set in at an earlier date, but Bihar and Orissa was little affected by this. Here the first serious blow took the shape of a catastrophic fall in the price of agricultural produce. At the time of the census the precarious Utopia of the wage-earner had not yet been shattered, but it grew clear that for him also the day of reckoning could not be long delayed. In the new order of things how would this province stand? It is obvious that it has added heavily to its commitments in the shape of over four million extra mouths to feed, and, so far as we have been able to see, its *permanent* resources have not been correspondingly augmented. Prophecy is dangerous and thankless, and the events of the immediate past have falsified many anticipations; but it is hard to see how there can be

any further improvement in the standard of living during the coming years—or indeed how the existing standard is to be maintained. The Indian peasant is commonly said to be adaptable and to find less difficulty than some in cutting his coat according to his cloth; and it certainly looks as though he will have to do without some of the "luxuries" to which he has grown accustomed of late. But it is not easy to put back the clock even ten years, and a definite decline in the standard of living cannot be contemplated without misgivings. Moreover, the population as it now stands would appear to be exceptionally vulnerable. If, while it is attempting to adjust itself to the new conditions, it should be subjected to some sudden attack of famine or disease, things would surely go hard with it. And for how much longer can it count on the remarkable immunity from serious epidemics which it has recently enjoyed? How many more years will pass before the rice crop fails? Even apart from the possibility of such calamities, one thing seems tolerably certain. The outward flow of emigration from the province, which since 1921 has dried up so noticeably, will receive a fresh impetus. But here again much depends on developments in the industrial world outside the province. Of recent years many would-be emigrants who made their way to Calcutta and other industrial centres in search of work were forced to return home because there was no work to be had.

Finally, the future course of the birth-rate in the province is a matter of paramount interest. It has been seen that, comparatively speaking, the rate for the last decade was exceptionally low. The suggestion has been made that this was due in part to heavy casualties among women at the child-bearing age in the influenza epidemic of 1918. The effects of this should by now have worked themselves out, and in fact the proportion of females between the ages of 15 and 40 is at the present time abnormally high. The question is whether the birth-rate will now begin to rise again to its former level. Modern methods of limiting the number of births—viz. postponement of marriage and voluntary birth-control—have not yet been adopted to any appreciable extent in India, and the old-fashioned methods of infanticide, abortion and abstention from intercourse have been largely given up. If therefore the birth-rate continues to decline, or does not regain its old level, there will be some reason to believe that the march of civilization, with its more lavish expenditure of nervous energy, is gradually beginning to have its sterilizing effect on the masses of India's population. But *prima facie* it seems premature to come to such a conclusion as this.

I.—Density, water-supply and crops of districts in 1930-31.

(FOR BRITISH TERRITORY ONLY.)

District and Natural Division.	Mean density per square mile in 1931.	Percentage of total area— Cultivable.	Percentage of total area— Net cultivated.	Percentage of cultivable area— Net cultivated.	Percentage of cultivable area— Double-cropped.	Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	Percentage of gross cultivated area under— Rice.	Maize.	Other cereals and pulses.	Other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***454***	***70·9***	***46·0***	***64·9***	***14·1***	***17·6***	***52·59***	***46·8***	***5·5***	***31·9***	***15·8***
North Bihar	***696***	***89·5***	***62·5***	***69·8***	***22·3***	***10·3***	***51·99***	***41·8***	***7·3***	***31·7***	***19·2***
Saran	927	91·3	70·2	76·9	24·1	15·8	45·76	20·8	13·0	46·4	19·8
Champaran	608	83·1	60·4	73·6	32·3	7·3	53·16	39·4	7·3	39·9	13·4
Muzaffarpur	969	90·3	74·1	82·2	64·8	12·5	45·75	38·6	9·3	30·5	21·6
Darbhanga	945	91·9	80·5	87·6	5·3	6·0	48·54	41·8	6·5	27·8	23·9
Bhagalpur	529	90·0	57·8	64·2	11·7	18·3	50·49	51·6	5·1	30·1	13·2
Purnea	440	91·4	44·5	48·7	9·6	1·6	68·24	58·6	2·1	16·2	23·1
South Bihar	***565***	***78·4***	***57·6***	***74·0***	***23·3***	***37·7***	***44·82***	***29·5***	***5·1***	***54·3***	***11·1***
Patna	893	88·1	73·5	83·4	27·3	51·5	43·38	27·2	5·3	58·3	9·2
Gaya	507	79·6	47·9	60·1	24·2	48·8	44·77	40·9	1·9	47·3	9·9
Shahabad	456	68·4	59·9	87·5	30·2	35·6	43·59	29·5	1·6	58·0	10·9
Monghyr	582	80·5	58·2	72·3	22·7	18·6	48·55	19·2	12·1	55·0	13·7
Orissa	***512***	***73·2***	***53·6***	***73·3***	***4·5***	***16·5***	***59·51***	***82·7***	***0·01***	***6·3***	***11·0***
Cuttack	596	72·8	53·2	71·8	8·6	18·9	59·97	77·7	...	10·6	11·7
Balasore	483	77·5	61·1	78·8	0·8	3·3	59·24	88·6	0·01	1·9	9·5
Puri	415	70·3	49·5	70·4	1·8	27·0	59·34	85·0	0·02	3·4	11·6
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***258***	***57·1***	***30·4***	***53·2***	***4·4***	***10·2***	***54·32***	***56·1***	***5·3***	***21·4***	***17·2***
Hazaribagh	216	35·4	19·9	56·3	8·5	1·5	50·31	48·0	7·6	29·9	14·3
Ranchi	221	69·1	35·0	50·6	0·8	0·2	59·17	60·6	1·2	26·2	12·0
Palamau	167	47·1	20·9	44·3	8·5	11·6	49·67	22·5	8·6	51·3	17·6
Manbhum	443	67·0	27·8	41·5	2·5	26·3	51·77	70·9	4·9	8·5	15·7
Singhbhum	240	51·7	26·8	51·9	2·0	14·8	55·51	67·9	3·4	18·7	10·0
Santal Parganas	376	68·7	49·3	71·7	9·0	17·2	54·80	43·3	9·5	15·3	28·9
Angul	133	30·1	21·2	70·5	5·9	7·5	56·90	57·6	2·9	15·7	23·8
Sambalpur	230	77·3	36·4	47·1	0·7	5·2	56·42	85·8	0·2	5·2	8·8

"Cultivable area" means the area fit and available for cultivation. It does not include forests where cultivation is not permitted.

"Gross cultivated area" means the total area sown including double-cropped area.

"Net cultivated area" means the gross cultivated area *minus* the double-cropped area.

II.—Variation in relation to density since 1881.

District and Natural Division.	Percentage of variation: increase (+) or decrease (−). 1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	Net variation. 1881-1931.	Mean density per square mile. 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***+11·5***	***−1·2***	***+5·1***	***+1·8***	***+7·5***	***+26·8***	***379***	***340***	***344***	***327***	***321***	***299***
North Bihar	***+8·3***	***−0·7***	***+1·9***	***+0·1***	***+5·9***	***+16·2***	***696***	***643***	***647***	***635***	***634***	***599***
Saran	+6·3	+2·2	−5·0	−2·3	+7·4	+8·3	927	872	853	898	919	855
Champaran	+10·6	+1·7	+6·6	−3·7	+8·0	+24·6	608	550	540	507	527	488
Muzaffarpur	+6·8	−3·2	+3·2	+1·5	+5·0	+13·8	969	907	937	908	894	851
Darbhanga	+8·7	−0·6	+0·6	+3·9	+6·5	+20·4	945	870	875	870	837	786
Bhagalpur	+9·9	−4·9	+2·4	+2·8	+3·3	+13·6	529	481	506	494	481	466
Purnea	+8·2	+1·8	+6·0	−3·1	+5·2	+18·3	440	407	400	377	391	372
South Bihar	***+12·4***	***−2·5***	***+0·7***	***−3·6***	***+2·7***	***+9·2***	***565***	***502***	***515***	***512***	***531***	***517***
Patna	+17·1	−2·0	−1·0	−6·3	+1·0	+5·2	893	763	778	785	857	849
Gaya	+10·9	−0·4	+4·8	−3·7	+0·7	+12·3	507	457	458	437	454	451
Shahabad	+9·9	−2·6	−4·9	−4·8	+5·7	+2·4	456	415	436	448	471	445
Monghyr	+12·7	−4·9	+3·1	+1·6	+3·3	+15·0	582	517	544	527	519	502
Orissa	***+5·1***	***−4·6***	***+0·9***	***+7·1***	***+6·8***	***+15·8***	***512***	***486***	***509***	***504***	***471***	***441***
Cuttack	+5·4	−2·1	+2·4	+6·5	+7·9	+21·4	596	565	577	564	530	491
Balasore	+1·0	−7·1	−1·7	+7·7	+5·2	+4·6	483	470	506	515	478	454
Puri	+8·8	−7·0	+0·6	+7·6	+6·3	+16·5	415	382	410	407	378	356
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***+16·7***	***+0·1***	***+14·0***	***+6·4***	***+14·3***	***+62·1***	***217***	***186***	***186***	***163***	***153***	***134***
Hazaribagh	+18·8	−0·9	+9·4	+1·2	+5·4	+37·3	216	182	184	168	166	157
Ranchi	+17·4	−3·8	+16·8	+5·2	+6·7	+48·1	221	188	195	167	159	149
Palamau	+11·6	+6·6	+10·9	+3·8	+8·3	+48·5	167	149	140	126	121	112
Manbhum	+16·9	+0·1	+18·9	+9·1	+12·8	+71·1	443	378	378	318	291	258
Singhbhum	+22·4	+9·4	+13·2	+12·5	+20·2	+104·9	240	195	179	158	141	117
Santal Parganas ...	+14·3	−4·5	+4·0	+3·2	+11·8	+31·7	376	329	344	331	321	287
Angul	+22·0	−8·5	+3·9	+12·9	+5·7	+38·5	133	109	119	114	101	96
Sambalpur	+11·6	+6·1	+16·5	+3·3	+11·7	+50·0	230	206	195	167	162	145
Orissa States	+17·3	+0·3	+19·6	+9·5	+25·9	+93·9	159	136	135	113	103	83
Chota Nagpur States ...	+22·4	+2·6	+5·4	+9·1	+19·5	+73·5	310	253	247	234	215	180

III.—Distribution of the population by thanas classified according to density.

District and Natural Division.	Thanas with a population per square mile of— Under 150. Area.	Under 150. Population (000's omitted).	150—300. Area.	150—300. Population (000's omitted).	300—450. Area.	300—450. Population (000's omitted).	450—600. Area.	450—600. Population (000's omitted).	600—750. Area.	600—750. Population (000's omitted).	750—900. Area.	750—900. Population (000's omitted).	900—1,050. Area.	900—1,050. Population (000's omitted).	1,050 and over. Area.	1,050 and over. Population (000's omitted).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BIHAR AND ORISSA	**22,853**	**2,557**	**34,751**	**7,735**	**23,360**	**8,686**	**9,009**	**4,643**	**6,366**	**4,315**	**9,026**	**7,508**	**3,775**	**3,707**	**2,562**	**3,178**
Per cent	*20·5*	*6·0*	*31·0*	*18·3*	*20·9*	*20·5*	*8·1*	*11·0*	*5·7*	*10·2*	*8·1*	*17·7*	*3·4*	*8·8*	*2·3*	*7·5*
North Bihar	...	...	**857**	**206**	**4,238**	**1,556**	**3,977**	**2,007**	**1,949**	**1,324**	**5,134**	**4,253**	**3,448**	**3,388**	**2,193**	**2,427**
Per cent	...	...	*3·9*	*1·4*	*19·4*	*10·4*	*18·3*	*13·2*	*8·9*	*8·7*	*23·6*	*28·0*	*15·8*	*22·3*	*10·1*	*16·0*
Saran	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,314	1,118	1,369	1,369	...	...
Champaran	...	...	...	...	1,433	488	...	...	541	388	1,191	1,945	336	333	...	...
Muzaffarpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	896	721	1,124	1,096	1,016	1,124
Darbhanga	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,733	1,458	619	600	996	1,098
Bhagalpur	...	...	534	133	341	124	1,974	998	1,196	775	...	...	...	...	181	205
Purnea	...	...	323	73	2,434	943	2,003	1,009	212	161	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Bihar	...	...	**2,192**	**519**	**4,623**	**1,797**	**1,786**	**969**	**3,644**	**2,458**	**2,298**	**1,914**	**327**	**320**	**211**	**539**
Per cent	...	...	*14·5*	*6·1*	*30·8*	*21·1*	*11·8*	*11·4*	*24·1*	*28·9*	*15·2*	*22·5*	*2·2*	*3·7*	*1·4*	*6·3*
Patna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	905	643	1,034	876	87	87	41	241
Gaya	...	...	...	...	2,678	1,016	953	509	669	456	406	319	...	...	8	88
Shahabad	...	...	1,604	363	967	381	367	208	1,083	735	352	308	...	...	...	...
Monghyr	...	...	588	158	978	400	466	251	987	624	506	412	240	233	162	210
Orissa	...	...	**858**	**256**	**3,633**	**1,423**	**1,741**	**911**	**375**	**273**	**1,594**	**1,340**	...	...	...	...
Per cent	...	...	*10·5*	*6·1*	*44·3*	*33·8*	*21·2*	*21·7*	*4·6*	*6·5*	*19·4*	*31·9*	...	...	...	...
Cuttack	...	...	...	...	1,669	643	391	193	...	...	1,594	1,340	...	...	...	...
Balasore	...	...	...	...	705	273	1,350	717	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Puri	...	...	858	256	1,259	506	...	...	375	273	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**22,853**	**2,557**	**30,844**	**6,754**	**10,866**	**3,910**	**1,505**	**757**	**398**	**261**	...	...	...	...	**158**	**212**
Per cent	*34·3*	*17·7*	*46·3*	*46·7*	*16·3*	*27·1*	*2·3*	*5·2*	*0·6*	*1·8*	...	...	...	...	*0·2*	*1·5*
Hazaribagh	1,202	154	5,109	1,120	710	243	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ranchi	867	108	5,461	1,157	774	303	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Palamau	2,256	225	2,660	594	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Manbhum	...	...	316	92	2,963	1,141	471	237	187	129	...	...	...	...	158	212
Singhbhum	812	66	1,907	469	1,160	395	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Santal Parganas	...	...	508	123	3,751	1,301	988	495	211	132	...	...	...	...	...	...
Angul	800	82	881	140	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sambalpur	452	53	2,691	568	681	260	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa States	16,464	1,869	11,158	2,447	378	125	46	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	...	...	153	43	449	144	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

IV.—Variation by thanas classified according to density.

(a) ACTUAL FIGURES.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of— Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.	750—900.	900—1,050.	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BIHAR AND ORISSA	1911—1921	+9,139	+63,347	—189,001	—189,202	—55,904	—16,389	—77,811	—16,984
	1921—1931	+525,269	+1,374,315	+712,337	+347,017	+538,208	+449,445	+313,418	+114,486
North Bihar	1911—1921	...	—6,919	+42,616	—83,502	+22,140	+31,196	—71,498	—13,383
	1921—1931	...	+73,409	+133,255	+138,133	+200,598	+293,929	+316,519	...
South Bihar	1911—1921	...	—5,610	—38,439	—50,350	—47,694	—54,219	—3,736	—3,601
	1921—1931	...	+82,338	+196,548	+144,797	+300,173	+115,433	+19,695	+82,593
Orissa	1911—1921	...	—12,009	—84,026	—48,265	—20,449	—23,020	—3,607	...
	1921—1931	...	+47,791	+110,452	+7,115	+22,982	+40,084	—22,796	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1911—1921	+9,139	+87,885	—119,122	—2,175	—2,901	+40,554	...	...
	1921—1931	+525,269	+1,170,777	+272,082	+56,972	+14,455	...	...	+31,894

(b) PROPORTIONAL FIGURES.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of— Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.	750—900.	900—1,050.	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BIHAR AND ORISSA	1911—1921	+0·32	+0·40	—2·59	—4·13	—1·13	—0·29	—1·56	—1·80
	1921—1931	+18·39	+15·96	+11·15	+8·15	+10·56	+7·93	+6·78	+25·06
North Bihar	1911—1921	...	—2·18	+2·29	—5·07	+1·14	+0·63	—1·69	—2·00
	1921—1931	...	+13·59	+7·97	+7·37	+11·32	+7·39	+7·53	...
South Bihar	1911—1921	...	—0·85	—1·98	—3·19	—2·12	—4·90	—0·78	—1·31
	1921—1931	...	+12·61	+10·65	+12·10	+11·77	+12·90	+12·33	+29·84
Orissa	1911—1921	...	—7·15	—5·02	—5·79	—4·40	—2·31	—0·89	...
	1921—1931	...	+9·43	+10·89	+0·97	+3·48	+5·03	—7·88	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1911—1921	+0·32	+1·42	—4·39	—0·55	—7·29	+29·76	...	...
	1921—1931	+18·39	+16·94	+14·63	+12·45	+12·62	...	...	+17·71

V.—Comparison with vital statistics.

(BRITISH TERRITORY ONLY.)

District and Natural Division.	In 1921—1930. Total number of— Births.	Deaths.	Number per cent of population in 1921 of— Births.	Deaths.	Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of births over deaths. Actual number.	Proportional figures.	Increase of actual population of 1931 compared with 1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***12,347,593***	***9,093,498***	***36·31***	***26·74***	***+3,254,095***	***+9·57***	**** +3,682,158***
North Bihar	***4,817,476***	***3,586,029***	***34·39***	***25·60***	***+1,231,447***	***+8·79***	***+1,155,843***
Saran	836,669	600,579	35·76	25·67	+236,090	+10·09	+146,518
Champaran	712,249	489,719	36·70	25·23	+222,530	+11·47	+204,846
Muzaffarpur ...	1,000,766	773,371	36·33	28·14	+225,495	+8·19	+186,080
Darbhanga	982,314	741,227	33·72	25·44	+241,087	+8·28	+252,565
Bhagalpur	705,418	483,436	34·69	23·77	+221,982	+10·92	+200,862
Purnea	580,060	495,797	28·65	24·49	+84,263	+4·16	+164,975
South Bihar	***3,061,666***	***2,266,865***	***40·42***	***29·93***	***+794,801***	***+10·49***	***+941,576***
Patna	617,607	455,193	39·23	28·91	+162,414	+10·32	+309,595
Gaya	922,939	695,415	42·87	32·30	+227,524	+10·57	+235,533
Shahabad	697,436	560,099	38·39	30·83	+137,367	+7·56	+179,260
Monghyr	823,654	556,158	40·57	27·40	+267,496	+13·17	+257,189
Orissa	***1,419,831***	***1,323,946***	***35·52***	***33·12***	***+95,885***	***+2·40***	***+205,628***
Cuttack	753,083	691,005	36·46	33·47	+62,078	+2·99	+112,029
Balasore	311,988	337,601	31·82	34·43	—25,613	—2·61	+10,096
Puri	354,760	295,340	37·28	31·03	+59,420	+6·25	+83,503
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***3,048,620***	***1,916,658***	***36·19***	***22·75***	***+1,131,962***	***+13·44***	***+1,379,111***
Hazaribagh	540,496	327,796	42·33	25·67	+212,700	+16·66	+340,411
Ranchi	511,030	301,326	38·29	22·58	+209,704	+15·71	+232,676
Palamau	320,647	233,134	43·72	31·79	+87,513	+11·93	+85,342
Manbhum	486,431	298,254	31·41	19·26	+188,177	+12·15	+262,113
Singhbhum	222,015	131,153	29·23	17·27	+90,862	+11·96	+170,364
Santal Parganas ...	578,788	357,732	33·18	19·89	+221,056	+12·29	+256,564
Angul	83,411	52,068	45·89	28·52	+31,343	+17·17	+40,162
Sambalpur	305,802	215,195	38·74	27·26	+90,607	+11·48	+91,479

* The increase in the *natural* population of the province (British Territory) in 1931 over the *natural* population in 1921 was 3,357,269.

VI.—Variation in natural population.

—	Population in 1931.				Population in 1921.				Increase per cent in natural population (1921—1931).
	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***42,329,583***	***599,837***	***1,770,220***	***43,589,966***	***37,961,858***	***422,244***	***1,954,868***	***39,494,482***	***10·4***
British Territory ...	37,677,576	538,817	1,907,644	39,046,403	34,002,189	425,161	2,112,106	35,689,134	9·4
Feudatory States ...	4,652,007	234,344	125,800	4,543,563	3,959,669	263,133	108,812	3,805,348	19·4

VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.

Natural Division, District or City.	Average number of persons per house.					Average number of houses per square mile.				
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***5·2***	***5·0***	***5·2***	***5·3***	***5·7***	***73***	***67***	***67***	***62***	***71***
North Bihar	***5·4***	***5·3***	***5·1***	***5·3***	***5·8***	***199***	***191***	***126***	***120***	***109***
Saran	5·4	5·3	4·5	5·2	5·5	173	165	189	175	168
Champaran	5·6	5·4	5·5	5·7	6·2	109	102	98	90	84
Muzaffarpur	5·3	5·1	5·5	5·3	5·9	183	176	169	174	153
Darbhanga	5·3	5·1	4·9	5·0	6·1	180	170	179	173	157
Bhagalpur	5·5	5·8	5·3	5·5	5·8	96	83	96	91	83
Purnea	5·4	5·3	5·4	5·4	5·4	81	76	74	69	72
South Bihar	***5·4***	***5·1***	***5·2***	***5·3***	***5·8***	***105***	***99***	***98***	***97***	***92***
Patna	5·5	5·1	5·3	5·2	6·1	162	150	146	150	140
Gaya	5·3	5·2	5·1	5·1	5·6	96	88	90	86	81
Shahabad	5·3	5·0	5·0	5·3	5·7	86	84	85	84	83
Monghyr	5·4	5·0	5·5	5·4	5·7	109	102	99	97	91
Orissa	***4·8***	***4·7***	***5·0***	***5·1***	***5·2***	***108***	***103***	***103***	***99***	***90***
Cuttack	4·8	4·7	4·9	5·1	5·1	125	121	117	111	104
Balasore	4·6	4·9	5·0	5·9	5·4	105	96	102	88	89
Puri	4·9	4·6	5·0	4·6	5·3	86	83	82	90	72
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***5·0***	***4·9***	***5·2***	***5·3***	***5·7***	***43***	***38***	***36***	***31***	***34***
Hazaribagh	5·1	4·9	5·7	5·3	6·0	42	37	32	32	28
Ranchi	5·4	5·2	5·6	5·3	5·0	41	36	35	32	32
Palamau	5·3	5·3	5·3	5·4	5·9	32	28	26	23	21
Manbhum	5·1	4·7	5·1	5·3	5·9	87	81	75	60	53
Singhbhum	4·8	5·1	5·0	5·2	5·3	50	39	36	31	27
Santal Parganas	5·2	5·3	5·7	5·8	6·1	72	62	61	57	52
Angul	4·5	4·4	4·7	4·8	9·0	39	35	25	24	11
Sambalpur	4·4	4·4	4·5	4·7	...	53	47	43	36	...
Orissa States	4·9	4·8	5·1	5·1	...	33	28	27	22	...
Chota Nagpur States	5·0	5·3	4·9	6·0	...	62	48	50	39	...
CITIES—										
Patna	4·9	4·0	4·8	4·1	...	2,170	2,013	3,119	3,653	...
Gaya	4·1	4·3	4·2	5·0	...	2,705	1,986	1,494	1,782	...
Bhagalpur	6·2	5·2	5·3	5·2	...	1,235	1,218	1,556	1,619	...
Jamshedpur	3·8	3·9	...	...	...	993	567	...	...	...

CHAPTER II.—Urban and Rural.

Reference to statistics.

The main statistics relating to the distribution and growth of the population in urban and rural areas will be found in the following tables contained in Part II of the Report :—

Imperial Table I.—Area, houses and population.

Imperial Table III.—Cities, towns and villages classified by population.

Imperial Table IV.—Towns classified by population with variation since 1881.

Imperial Table V.—Towns arranged territorially with population by religion.

Provincial Table I shows the number of towns and villages in each revenue thana of the province.

Supplementary statistics are given in the four subsidiary tables appended to this chapter, *viz.* :

I.—Distribution of the population between towns and villages.

II.—Proportion of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

III.—Towns classified by population.

IV.—Cities.

Areas treated as urban.

2. For census purposes all municipalities and cantonments, irrespective of their size, are regarded as urban. With regard to the classification of other areas no hard and fast rule is laid down, but every continuous collection of houses which, although not under municipal government, has a " distinctively urban character " is given the status of a town. The line is not always an easy one to draw. In considering whether a particular area should be treated as urban or rural, regard is had to the number and character of its inhabitants, the relative density of its dwellings, its importance as a trade centre, its historical associations and so forth. The numerical test ordinarily applied is that a town must have a population of not less than 5,000 persons, but even this rule is not invariable. Generally speaking, it may be taken for granted that the areas treated as rural are indubitably so, but several of the small " towns " are on the border line. As far as possible the classification adopted at previous censuses has been left undisturbed, for by this means it is easier to arrive at a proper appreciation of the growth or decline of the urban population from decade to decade. But it will sometimes happen that a place here and a place there have made good beyond doubt their claim to inclusion in the list of towns during the interval that has elapsed since the last census; and (less frequently) it becomes necessary to hold that some other place has definitely lost such urban characteristics as it may once have had. Changes of this kind that have occurred since 1921 are specified in paragraph 9 below. Here it may be observed that just two-thirds of the places treated as urban on the present occasion are municipalities. There are a few suburban areas which, though not actually included within the municipal boundaries, really form part of the non-rural units adjacent to them. Such is the New Capital area at Patna, which has its separate " administration committee ", and such the " notified area " of Doranda lying just beyond the jurisdiction of the Ranchi municipality. Other examples of the same kind are the railway settlements at Dhanbad, Katihar and Chakradharpur. In these cases the population of the suburban area has been included in that of the larger unit, but sub-totals have been given in Imperial Tables IV and V so that information may be separately available regarding the population of each constituent part.

Normality of urban population.

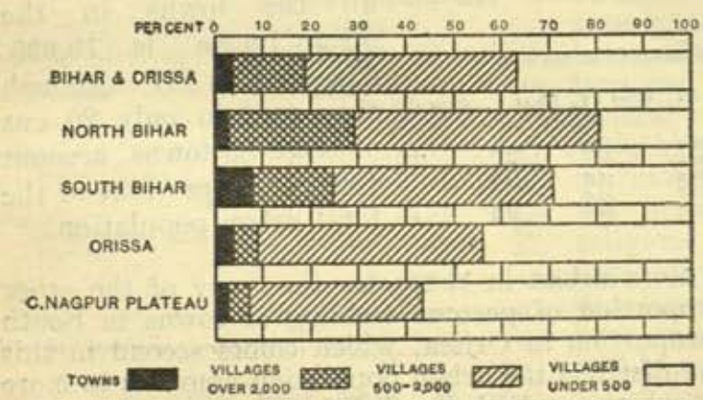
3. There is always a possibility that, at the time when the census is taken, some purely temporary and accidental influence may disturb the normal distribution of the population in urban and rural areas. Thus in 1901 the panic caused by the plague in Patna and Arrah was responsible for a large exodus from those towns; and the same thing happened at Gaya ten years later. In Puri, on the other hand, the presence of an unusually large number of pilgrims in the town in 1901 made the population of that place appear larger than it normally was. Disturbances of this kind have been singularly few and unimportant at the last two censuses, and in consequence it is possible not only to regard the statistics of urban population in 1931 as being in themselves quite normal, but also to compare them with the statistics of 1921 without making any material allowance for eccentricities on the previous occasion. There were of course minor deviations from absolute normality in both years. Plague was in evidence at Muzaffarpur and Sahibganj ten years ago and had an appreciable effect on the numbers recorded in those two places, but there was nothing like the panic caused elsewhere at earlier censuses. On the present occasion the date on which the census was taken happened to be an auspicious one for marriages, and this was responsible for a number of assemblages in urban areas which seem to have had a discernible effect on the population of two or three of the smaller towns; the presence of a large settlement staff in Cuttack and Dumka was another minor circumstance tending to exaggerate the real increase of numbers in those places. But these petty "disturbances" can safely be ignored when we consider the urban population of the province as a whole.

Distribution of population between urban and rural areas.

4. The following statement shows the distribution of the population between urban and rural areas in the province as a whole and in each of its administrative and natural divisions:—

	Actual population.			Proportion per mille.	
	Total.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.
Bihar and Orissa	**42,329,583**	**1,699,552**	**40,630,031**	**40**	**960**
Administrative divisions—					
Patna Division	6,228,425	535,560	5,692,865	86	914
Tirhut Division	10,739,274	303,025	10,436,249	28	972
Bhagalpur Division	8,759,801	313,532	8,446,269	36	964
Orissa Division	5,306,142	191,429	5,114,713	36	964
Chota Nagpur Division	6,643,934	310,291	6,333,643	47	953
Feudatory States	4,652,007	45,715	4,606,292	10	990
Natural divisions—					
North Bihar	15,160,449	438,328	14,722,121	29	971
South Bihar	8,515,579	661,568	7,854,011	78	922
Orissa	4,202,461	162,250	4,040,211	39	961
Chota Nagpur plateau	14,451,094	437,406	14,013,688	30	970

These statistics are illustrated (except in respect of the administrative divisions) in the marginal diagram, which also shows the distribution of the rural population between villages of different sizes. On the latter point more will be said in the closing paragraphs of this chapter. The predominantly rural character of the population of this province is at once apparent. There can be few figures so eloquent as the following



of the contrast between conditions of life in Bihar and Orissa and conditions in the industrialized countries of the West :—

	Number per mille living in— Towns.	Villages.
Bihar and Orissa (1931)	40	960
England and Wales (1921)	793	207

But, even if comparison is limited to other parts of India, the urban element in the population of Bihar and Orissa is very small. At the time of writing complete figures for all India are not available, but in 1921 the percentage of the total population enumerated in urban areas was 10.2, as against a corresponding percentage of 3.7 in this province. The statement in the margin gives up-to-date figures for most of the provinces of India, including their associated states. With the single exception of Assam, Bihar and Orissa has the smallest urban population of them all; and in Bengal, which comes next above in the list, the proportion of persons living in towns is nearly twice as great.

Province.	*Urban population, 1931.* Per cent.
Bombay	20.9
Madras	13.6
United Provinces	11.2
Burma	10.4
Central Provinces	9.7
N.-W. F. Province	8.2
Bengal	7.3
Bihar and Orissa	**4.0**
Assam	3.4

Distribution of the urban population.

5. The towns of Bihar and Orissa (including cities) are 85 in number. In Imperial Table IV they have been grouped together in six classes according to the numbers of their inhabitants, thus :—

Class I.—Towns with a population of over 100,000.

Class II.—Towns with a population of 50,000—100,000.

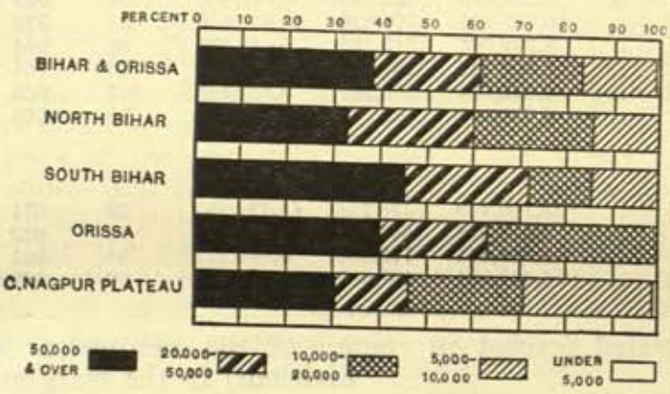
Class III.—Towns with a population of 20,000—50,000.

Class IV.—Towns with a population of 10,000—20,000.

Class V.—Towns with a population of 5,000—10,000.

Class VI.—Towns with a population of under 5,000.

The diagram and statement show how the total urban population of the province and of each natural division is distributed between these classes. The capital city of Patna is the only place in Bihar and Orissa with a population of over 100,000, so the first two classes have been amalgamated in the diagram. The average population of all the towns in the province is 19,995. Classes I to III, although they contain only 20 out of these 85 towns, account for over 60 per cent of the total urban population.



Percentage of urban population residing in towns in—

	Classes I and II.	Class III.	Class IV.	Class V.	Class VI.
Bihar and Orissa ...	37.9	23.6	21.7	16.4	0.4
North Bihar	33.0	26.9	25.5	14.5	0.1
South Bihar	45.4	26.6	13.6	14.4	...
Orissa	40.2	23.2	36.6	...	...
Chota Nagpur plateau ...	30.7	15.5	24.6	27.6	1.6

South Bihar is much more urban in character than any of the other natural divisions. The proportion of persons residing in towns in South Bihar is just double the proportion in Orissa, which comes second in this respect. In each of its four districts the urban population amounts to more than 5 per cent of the whole, whereas outside South Bihar there is not a single

district (except Singhbhum) of which this can be said. As regards the actual *number* of its towns (27), South Bihar comes a little way behind the Chota Nagpur plateau (31), but that is only because the latter division is so much larger. In relation to its area and total population, South Bihar has far more towns than any other part of the province. Again, as regards the *size* of its towns, Orissa can claim an average population (27,042) somewhat higher than can South Bihar (24,503); but here the explanation is that Orissa has no small towns at all. The proportion of large towns—i.e., those with more than 20,000 inhabitants—is much higher in South Bihar than anywhere else.

Orissa has only six towns in all, but, as has just been observed, they are none of them small, with the result that the proportion of persons living in urban surroundings in Orissa is distinctly higher than in North Bihar or in the Chota Nagpur plateau. The two towns of Cuttack and Puri account for more than 50 per cent of the urban population of this natural division.

There is little to choose between the two remaining divisions of the province. The towns of the Chota Nagpur plateau are more numerous, but those of North Bihar are generally larger, and in the result the proportion of the urban population in each area is almost identical. But for the Feudatory States, where towns are as few as they are small, the proportion for the plateau would be a great deal higher than it is: in fact, it would be slightly in excess of the figure for Orissa.

Among individual districts the urban element is strongest in Patna (153 per mille) and Singhbhum (123 per mille). These two districts are quite outstanding, and Shahabad with 59 per mille comes a very bad third. Singhbhum owes its high position almost entirely to a single town—Jamshedpur—which contains about three-quarters of the urban population of the whole district. In the case of Patna district the scales are of course weighed down heavily by the provincial capital, which is nearly twice as large as any other town in Bihar and Orissa; but there are several other towns of considerable dimensions in this district, and if Patna City were to be left out of account altogether the urban population would still be more conspicuous than in any other district of the province except Singhbhum. Angul is unique among the British districts in that it possesses not one town of any kind. Next to Angul, the rural element predominates most largely in Champaran and Purnea. In both of these districts the town-dwellers comprise only 21 per mille of the total population. But, whereas in Champaran they are concentrated in two towns of a respectable size, in Purnea they are distributed between four much smaller units. Among other districts where the actual number of towns is particularly short, mention may be made of Puri, which has only one (the district headquarters), and of Bhagalpur, Palamau and Balasore, which have two apiece.

Urban population by religion.

6. It was observed by the Census Superintendent of Bombay in his report on the operations of 1921 that: "Everywhere the country is homogeneous and native, the town heterogeneous and cosmopolitan; hence all minorities find their way into and flourish in towns." The general truth of this observation is strikingly exemplified in the marginal statement, which shows the proportional strength of six religious communities in the total population of the province and the distribution of each community between urban and rural areas. It will be noticed that among Hindus, who form the vast bulk of the native population of Bihar and

	Proportional strength of each community.	Percentage residing in—	
	No. per 10,000 of total population.	*Towns.*	*Villages.*
All religions	**10,000**	**4.0**	**96.0**
Hindus	8,318	3.6	96.4
Muslims	1,012	8.8	91.2
Purnea district ...	*4,054*	*1.6*	*98.4*
Elsewhere	*816*	*10.6*	*89.4*
Christians	98	7.2	92.8
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	*272*	*4.5*	*95.5*
Elsewhere ...	*3*	*52.6*	*47.4*
Sikhs	1.4	68.5	31.5
Jains	1.0	45.7	54.3
Zoroastrians	0.1	85.6	14.4

Orissa, the percentage residing in towns is only 3.6, which is distinctly below the percentage for all communities taken together. Contrast with this the proportion of town-dwellers among the Sikhs, Jains and Parsis (Zoroastrians)—all strangers forming an insignificant minority of the provincial population. The Parsis indeed are essentially an urban people, living everywhere by trade. Their total number in Bihar and Orissa is only 264, and it is not surprising to find that 226 of these have settled in towns. But the Sikhs are on another footing. In their own country they are tillers of the soil, and it is only in exile that they have acquired a special reputation as mechanics and artificers. There are altogether just under 6,000 Sikhs in the province, out of whom more than half are concentrated in the single town of Jamshedpur. Most of the immigrant Jains in this part of the world are Marwaris, and although the "village *baniya*" is not infrequently a member of this community, the natural tendency is for them to gravitate towards the urban centres in order to carry on their favourite pursuits of trade and banking.

Among the larger minorities of the province the predilection for town life is of course less marked, but the proportion of Muslims enumerated in non-rural areas is about two and a half times the proportion of Hindus. Moreover, the district of Purnea is *sui generis* in this matter, and a juster appreciation of the normal position in the province as a whole will be arrived at by leaving this district out of account. The Muslims of Purnea can hardly be regarded as a "minority" at all. In fact, in the subdivision of Kishanganj they are twice as numerous as all the other communities combined. They are believed to be of aboriginal stock, and remarkably few of them are to be found in the towns of the district. In the rural areas of the province, excluding Purnea, there are nearly eleven Hindus to every Muslim: in the urban areas the ratio is barely three and a half to one. Muslims are in a more pronounced minority in Orissa than in any other natural division, and it is in Orissa that the largest proportion of Muslims is found in towns. North Bihar, even without Purnea, is the area where Muslims are most plentiful, and in North Bihar the percentage of Muslims enumerated in urban areas is much lower than elsewhere. The same principle holds good for individual districts also. After Angul (where there are no towns at all), the two districts in which the Muslim community is least numerous of all are Sambalpur (0.4 per cent) and Singhbhum (2.9 per cent); and in these two districts they are concentrated in the towns to a far greater extent than anywhere else.

On the Chota Nagpur plateau, where Christians muster strong, the majority of them are aboriginals, who are not enamoured of town life. Consequently, the proportion of Christians residing in the towns of Chota Nagpur is not high. In the rest of the province more than half the total Christian population reside in urban areas. This is due in part to the fact that foreigners, Anglo-Indians and immigrant Indian Christians contribute largely to their numbers, and the usual occupations of these classes require them to live in towns.

The only material exception to the general rule that minority communities tend to "find their way to and flourish in towns" is provided by the primitive tribes of the province. And here the exception is more apparent than real. It is true that even in Chota Nagpur the adherents of tribal religions are very much in the minority; and it is further true that, both in Chota Nagpur and in the province as a whole, only 0.3 per cent of these persons were enumerated in urban areas. But the primitive tribes are not strangers or immigrants in the province. They are more native to it than any other community. They were tilling the soil before there were any towns on the plateau, and they are tilling it still. Life in towns has little to offer them by way of compensation for forsaking their ancestral fields and jungles. And there is another reason why "tribal religions" make such a poor showing in the statistics of the urban population. When a member of one of these tribes *does* cut himself adrift from

his community and settle in a town, the odds are that he will very soon call himself a Hindu.

7. The proportion of males to females is always apt to be greater in the town than in the country. There are two main reasons for this. The first is the large foreign element present in urban areas: immigrants belong more commonly to the male sex than to the female. The second is the nature of urban occupations: women have little place as yet in the professions or in the business of trade, commerce, industry and the like. These two factors are of course largely inter-related. It is the lure of a professional or business career that attracts male immigrants to these urban centres, and often their womenfolk and children remain behind in the native village. Sometimes there are other minor influences at work to disturb the normal proportions of the sexes. In the racial and religious composition of their population towns not infrequently differ from the adjacent countryside. Again, certain diseases are more prevalent in urban than in rural areas, and the selective incidence of such diseases may have an appreciable effect in increasing or (more generally) reducing the proportion of females. **Sex proportions in urban areas.**

The marginal statement shows, for the province as a whole and for each of its natural divisions, the proportions of the sexes in (*a*) the total population (town and country combined) and (*b*) the urban population by itself. On the Chota Nagpur plateau the two figures correspond very closely with the provincial average. In Orissa females account for a specially large proportion of the total population; in the towns also their number is relatively high. But in the towns of North Bihar there are fewer women than the regional figure would lead us to expect—and in South Bihar there are many more. There is no obvious explanation of this. The religious and racial composition of the urban population of these two natural divisions is very much the same. For instance, the proportion of Muslims in the towns of North Bihar is not less than in the towns on the south of the river. As for the nature of the urban occupations in these two areas, the cities and towns of South Bihar are distinctly more "commercial" and less "resident" than those in the northern division, and the ordinary consequence of this would be to increase the proportion of males rather than to reduce it. Again, other things being equal, the larger the town the smaller the female element in it, and in South Bihar the proportion of large towns is higher than in any other part of the province. It may well be that the ravages of the plague in former years accounts in some measure for the paucity of women in the urban areas of North Bihar, for plague is more active in towns than in villages and the female mortality from it is heavier than the male; but in that case why is the same result not perceptible in the urban areas of South Bihar, where plague did even greater damage?

		Number of females per 1,000 males in total population.	*Number of females per 1,000 males in urban population.*
Bihar and Orissa	...	**1,008**	**824**
North Bihar	...	1,001	802
South Bihar	...	983	831
Orissa	...	1,092	851
Chota Nagpur plateau	...	1,006	825

It has just been said that the largest towns usually have the smallest proportion of females, and *vice versa*. Confirmation of this statement is furnished by Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter, which gives the number of females per thousand males in the towns of each class. The number ranges from 731 in Class I (towns with a population of 100,000 and over) to 906 in Class VI (towns with a population of under 5,000); and with only one exception the increase is strictly progressive from class to class. Even more striking is the evidence afforded by the four "cities" (see Subsidiary Table IV), which of course are the largest urban units in the province. The number of females per thousand males in these four places taken together is only 724. The proportion is lowest of all in Jamshedpur, which, although slightly smaller than any of the other cities, has a much stronger foreign element. Here there are only 638 females to every 1,000 males. But it is worth pointing out that ten years ago the

proportion was lower still (621). Immigrants are relatively more numerous than they were in 1921, but now that many of them have settled down and made a permanent home in the city they have been joined by their womenfolk. This of course is a very good thing. Socially and economically it is undesirable that there should be so large a disparity of numbers between the sexes. As observed in the census report of 1921 for all India, the result in such cases is that "most of the workers are leading an unnatural existence, missing the comforts of home life, exposed to the greatest temptation towards intemperance, and ambitious, so far as they have any ambition, only to earn enough to take them home".

Variations in urban population since 1881.

8. The following statement shows the variations in the urban population of the province during the last fifty years:—

CLASS OF TOWN.	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.		Percentage of total population.					
	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	Number of towns.	Population (000's omitted).	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
All classes ..	**85**	**1,700**	**81**	**1,410**	**76**	**1,323**	**76**	**1,337**	**51**	**1,251**	**89**	**1,417**	**4.02**	**3.71**	**3.44**	**3.66**	**3.48**	**4.24**
Class I ..	1	160	1	120	1	136	1	135	1	165	1	171	0.38	0.32	0.35	0.37	0.46	0.51
Class II ..	7	485	5	299	3	189	4	265	5	337	5	318	1.15	0.79	0.49	0.73	0.94	0.95
Class III ..	12	400	12	402	14	472	12	402	11	372	12	304	0.94	1.06	1.23	1.10	1.04	0.91
Class IV ..	26	369	22	307	20	275	21	288	20	279	20	301	0.87	0.81	0.72	0.79	0.78	0.90
Class V ..	36	279	35	256	30	216	27	202	12	90	50	320	0.66	0.65	0.56	0.55	0.25	0.96
Class VI ..	3	7	6	26	8	35	11	45	2	8	1	3	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.02	0.01

It should be explained at once that the figures for 1881 and 1891 are somewhat misleading. In 1881 every place with a population of 5,000 persons or more was treated as a town, whether it had any urban characteristics or not. As a result, the number of towns in that year was very high, particularly in Class V (5,000—10,000 inhabitants). In Muzaffarpur district, for example, there were sixteen "towns", thirteen of which had a population of less than 7,500 apiece. Ten years later the census authorities went to the other extreme in deciding which places should be treated as urban, and no place was so treated unless it was under municipal government. The total number of "towns" straightaway dropped from 89 to 51, the whole of the difference being accounted for by Class V. In 1901 a compromise was arrived at, and the criterion then adopted has been retained with little modification ever since, so that from 1901 onwards the real growth or decline in the urban population of the province is more readily discernible.

We shall not, however, go far wrong if, for the purpose of comparing the urban population of to-day with that of 1881 and 1891, we confine ourselves to the towns in the first four classes—that is, those which have a population of not less than 10,000 persons. In 1881 the aggregate population of such towns amounted to 3.27 per cent of the total population of the province; in 1891 the corresponding figure was 3.22 per cent; and to-day it is 3.34 per cent. Another method of procedure is to take only those places which were treated as towns both in 1881 (or 1891, as the case may be) and at the present census, and to see how they have fared in the meanwhile. This is the method followed in Subsidiary Table III, which shows the variation from decade to decade in the population of the places which were treated as towns both at the beginning and at the end of each decade, and (on the same principle) the net variation from 1881 to 1931. It also shows the variations in the population of the towns in each class, the principle followed being to take the aggregate population of the towns included in each class at the *previous* census and to compare it with the population of those *same* towns ten years later, irrespective of whether they have moved into a higher or lower class during the interval. According to Subsidiary Table III there has been a net increase of 11.9 per cent

only in the population of all the towns common to 1881 and 1931. As the general increase in population during this period amounts to 26.8, this means that the towns in question have not kept pace with the growth elsewhere; or in other words the urban population (so determined) is relatively more negligible now than it was fifty years ago. This conclusion, however, is not altogether justified; the new towns which have sprung up since 1881 should not be ignored, and they easily outweigh, in numbers and importance, the places which were genuinely urban in 1881 and have since reverted to the status of villages.

From 1891 to 1911 there is no doubt that the towns of this province were thoroughly decadent. Not only did they fail to grow at the same rate as the rural areas: they did not grow at all. The reason why the actual number of towns was so much greater in 1901 than in 1891 has already been explained. Leaving Classes V and VI out of account, the aggregate population of 37 towns in 1891 was 1,153,000, and ten years later the aggregate population of 38 towns was 1,090,000. In the meantime there had been an increase of 1.8 per cent in the population of the province as a whole. During the next decade the general rate of increase accelerated to 5.1 per cent; the number of towns remained constant, but there was a drop of 14,000 in the urban population. The tide began to turn in 1911—21. Although the provincial population decreased by 1.2 per cent, there was an addition of 87,000 to the population of urban areas. The recovery, however, was by no means general. Three old towns disappeared and eight new ones were added, and this fact was responsible for the accession of about 43,500 persons to the urban population. Jamshedpur alone increased its numbers by 51,688. These two items explain away the whole of the acquired surplus; so that, if Jamshedpur be excluded, there was once again a fall in the aggregate population of the places which were treated as urban both at the beginning and at the end of the decade.

Growth of urban population during the last decade.

9. Since 1921 the growth of the urban population has been more substantial; it has also been more genuine and evenly distributed. The number of towns has gone up from 81 to 85, but only a very small portion of the increase is due to this circumstance. Three places (Fatwa, Jugsalai and Bolangir), with an aggregate population of 24,587, have been promoted to urban status for the first time; while one place (Sherghati), which in 1921 had a population of 4,271, has been relegated. At Dinapur the municipal and cantonment areas were formerly treated as constituting a single "town" between them; this time they have been split up into two separate units. In the same way, the diminutive cantonment at Muzaffarpur, which has come into existence since 1921, is treated as an individual town, although only 237 persons were enumerated in it. The actual increase in the urban population of the province during the last ten years is 289,482; the increase in the population of places treated as towns both at the beginning and at the end of the decade is 268,929. The difference between these two figures is not great.

The position then is that, while the population of the province as a whole has risen by 11.5 per cent, the population of its towns has risen by 20.5. In 1921 only 37 persons out of every thousand lived in urban conditions: now there are 40. The development cannot be called sensational but at least it is something—and something more considerable than has been achieved on any previous occasion during the last half-century. The diagram overleaf illustrates the growth of towns of different size, showing for each of the six classes the population as recorded in 1921, the population of the same towns to-day (irrespective of the class in which they now fall), and the population in accordance with the revised classification. A study of this diagram shows clearly that the development of the urban population has been shared by towns of all sizes and is not due to the mushroom-like growth of one or two isolated units. Perhaps the most striking feature of the diagram is the dimension of rectangle C in Class II. This is due in great part to the elevation of two towns (Monghyr and Ranchi) which were formerly in the class immediately below. As much as 38 per cent of the

total urban population is to be found now in towns containing more than 50,000 inhabitants each; in 1921 the proportion was just under 30 per cent.

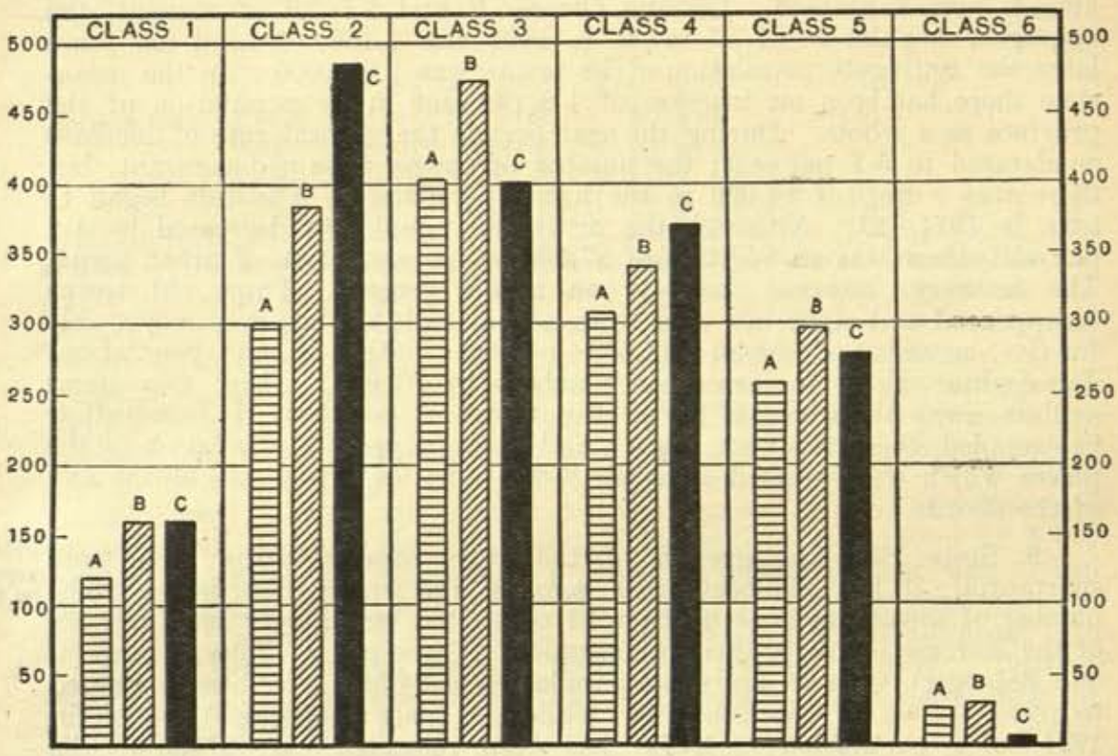
Diagram showing the variations since 1921 in the population of towns in each class.

A=Population of towns as classified in 1921.

B=Population of the same towns in 1931.

C=Population of towns as classified in 1931.

(Actual population shown in thousands.)



In every natural division of the province the urban population has not only increased, but has increased more rapidly than the rural population. Relatively, the Chota Nagpur plateau has done the best of all, for although the general rate of increase in this division was much higher than anywhere else, the proportion of town-dwellers has risen from 27 per mille to 30. In South Bihar, which comes next, the proportion has risen from 72 to 78. It is in Orissa, where the general rate of increase was lowest, that the towns have developed least. Here there are now 39 persons living in towns out of every thousand, as compared with 38 persons in 1921. Among individual districts, the proportion of town-dwellers has increased most noticeably in Singhbhum, Patna, Muzaffarpur, Gaya and Cuttack. The only districts in which it is lower than it was are Monghyr, Hazaribagh and Puri. Actually there has been a marked increase in the urban populations of Monghyr and Hazaribagh, but the rural areas in these districts have developed faster still. In Puri alone, which boasts but a single town, has there been a definite loss of urban population, and it will be seen later that there were special reasons to account for this.

The four cities

10. Before examining more closely, district by district, the fluctuations that have occurred in individual towns of the province, special mention may be made of the four cities, viz., Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Jamshedpur. A " city " is any town with a population of not less than 100,000 and any other large town which it may be deemed proper to distinguish in this particular way. The practical result of treating a place as a city is that

separate statistics are tabulated for it in some of the Imperial Tables, namely:—

VI.—Birthplace.

VII.—Age, sex and civil condition.

X.—Occupation or means of livelihood.

XIII.—Literacy.

Patna is the only town which by virtue of its size must necessarily be treated as a city. From Subsidiary Table IV at the end of this chapter, where certain miscellaneous information about these four special units is given, it will be seen that the other three cities have between 80,000 and 90,000 inhabitants apiece. Out of the 1,699,552 persons who reside in the 85 towns of Bihar and Orissa, 415,280—or nearly 25 per cent—reside in one or other of these four places. Towards the total increase of 289,482 in the urban population of the province since 1921, these four cities have contributed 101,504, or as much as 35 per cent. Each one of them has developed enormously, the rate of growth varying from 46 per cent in Jamshedpur to 22 per cent in Bhagalpur.

Patna.

11. Patna City, the capital of Bihar and Orissa, has a great past, but its glory is long since departed. Once upon a time the premier city of India, it was still in the early seventeenth century the "chiefest mart town of all Bengala." It owed its pre-eminence in those days—and earlier—to its commanding position on the Ganges, within a few miles of the confluence with this river of the Son, the Gogra and the Gandak. Its decline dates from the time when trade began to forsake the river. The last census report of this province contains an interesting account of an economic census of the Patna bazar, which reveals strikingly the extent to which this city has become the home of the petty trader and artificer. Among 1,443 units investigated only nine wholesale dealers were found, though some of the retail vendors supplied goods to smaller shops in the same line of business. Many of the shops were little more than adjuncts to the workshops of small artisans and mechanics, the proprietor being a manufacturer first and trader second. The trade of the bazar appeared to be almost wholly local, very few cases coming to light in which Patna shops supplied customers at any distance. In not one case did the vendor obtain any part of his stock direct from abroad. Shops selling tobacco, betel and aerated water were more numerous than any other type. The industries of Patna were found to be conducted for the most part on the same primitive lines as were in vogue a hundred years ago. In the whole city there were only fifteen industrial establishments having ten or more employees, and the total number of persons employed in them was less than a thousand. Detailed information is not available regarding developments in the trade and industry of the city during the last ten years, but there has been no radical change.

In 1881 Patna had 170,654 inhabitants; by 1921 this number had declined to 119,976. During these forty years its downward career was steady and unchecked, for the slight increase recorded in 1911 was due merely to the fact that plague had temporarily emptied the town at the previous census. Indeed, plague, cholera and general unhealthiness have played a large part in accelerating Patna's decline. It might have been supposed that the constitution of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province in 1911 and the establishment at Patna of the various offices, institutions and residences connected with the headquarters of a local Government would have brought about some increase in its population. If conditions during the following decade had been normal, this would almost certainly have been the case; but they were not. There is, however, reason to believe that the accuracy of the enumeration in 1921 was to some extent affected by the

non-co-operation movement, which was particularly aggressive in the Patna municipal area, and that the recorded decrease of 16,177 exaggerates the true loss of population during the last decade.

According to the present census the inhabitants of the city number 159,690. This represents an increase of 39,714, or 33.1 per cent, over the figure recorded in 1921. The expansion during these ten years may justly be termed phenomenal, and, broadly speaking, it may be attributed to the following causes, some of which are of course inter-connected:—(*a*) The rapid development of the New Capital area and the adjacent ward of Bankipore. (*b*) The extension of the University, with its associated colleges and schools, and the medical college in particular. (*c*) A large influx of immigrants and settlers from the mufassal. (*d*) An exceptionally high rate of natural growth among the resident population. With regard to the last of these items, it was only natural that the disasters of 1918-19 should have been succeeded by a period of intensive recuperation, which was further stimulated by favourable economic conditions. Even more conducive to rapid increase was the vast improvement in the health of the city, and above all the virtual disappearance of the plague and the greatly reduced mortality from cholera. In view of the fact that the abnormal increase recorded in the population of the capital city of the province has naturally attracted special notice and has given rise to suggestions that the returns were manipulated for political and communal purposes, it may be worth while to analyse the figures somewhat closely. The statement in the margin gives particulars for each sex of the actual population and the number of immigrants at each of the last two censuses. By "immigrants" is meant persons born outside the *district* of Patna. It will be seen that the number of such persons is now 11,500 more than it was in 1921. To this figure we may add at least 3,500 to cover the casualties that must have occurred among the former immigrants, assuming a moderate rate of mortality in their ranks. This however does not take into account movements into the city from other parts of the district, which must have been on a considerable scale. Nor does it allow for the return to the city of persons who had emigrated in the previous decade or earlier. Statistics of emigration are not available, but it may be confidently surmised that the number of fresh emigrants during this period was less than the number of those who were attracted back to their native city by its improved healthiness and restored prosperity. It is noticeable that males contribute just twice as much as females to the increase in the actual population since 1921. Immigrants from outside the district only account for a small part of this disproportion. Most of the remainder must be due either to the return of former emigrants or to the influx of settlers (among whom males would naturally predominate) from the mufassal. To assume that these two factors between them were responsible for a net increase of 7,500 in the city population is probably to under-estimate their effect rather than the reverse. With regard to the natural growth of the resident population, the vital statistics unfortunately give little assistance. It has been pointed out in the last chapter that the record of births and deaths is ordinarily less accurate in urban than in rural areas, and in Patna City it appears to have been uncommonly defective in the last decade, particularly in the closing years. This was possibly due to the confusion then prevailing in the municipal administration. The marginal statement shows the birth and death-rates per mille recorded during the last three years of this period in the rural areas of Patna district and in the city itself. Those relating to the city are obviously quite unreliable. If we suppose that the rate of natural growth in the city was equivalent to that recorded in other parts of the district, the excess of births over deaths in the decade as a whole was in the neighbourhood of 14,500.

	Actual population.		Immigrants.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1931	92,238	67,452	20,039	10,732
1921	65,777	54,199	12,433	6,836
Increase	26,461	13,253	7,606	3,896

	1928.		1929.		1930.	
	Births.	*Deaths.*	*Births.*	*Deaths.*	*Births.*	*Deaths.*
Rural areas ...	39.8	24.8	40.6	29.0	41.8	30.0
Patna City ...	15.9	19.3	15.4	11.2	17.5	11.4

The conclusions at which we have arrived may be briefly summarized. Towards the increase of just under 40,000 in the actual population of the city since 1921 the following factors are likely to have contributed :—

Immigration from outside the district	15,000
Return of former emigrants and influx from rural areas ...	7,500
Natural growth of resident population	14,500
Total	37,000

This leaves only about 3,000 to be accounted for, and it would not be unreasonable to ascribe this balance to defective enumeration at the previous census, caused by the non-co-operation movement.

Gaya.

12. In point of size Gaya city, which now has a population of 88,005, comes a long way behind Patna and a short head in front of the other two cities. Pilgrim traffic and the railway are its two main interests, and from them its importance is derived. Between 1891 and 1911 it fell on evil days, and in the course of these twenty years its numbers were reduced by nearly 40 per cent. But the heavy fall recorded in 1911 was largely unreal, as plague had spread panic in the town at the time of the census and there had been a general exodus of its inhabitants. Consequently the increase revealed by the next census should also be discounted, for, large as it was, it did not make good the whole of the apparent loss in 1911. During the last ten years, however, the recovery has been more genuine. The population has risen since 1921 by 20,443 or just over 30 per cent. Immigration accounts for only a small fraction of this increase; indeed, the foreign element in Gaya is less conspicuous now than it was a decade ago, for there were at that time 97 persons born outside the district in every 1,000 and to-day there are only 94. The extension of the municipal area by 1,840 acres accounts for a substantial part of the surplus, and the rest must be put down to natural growth, the return of former emigrants and an influx into the city from the surrounding countryside. The District Officer states that the tendency to forsake the villages and settle in town has been particularly noticeable in Gaya in recent years. There has been a marked increase in the number of petty shops, and several new rice, flour and oil-mills have been started. In Gaya, as in Patna, the male sex has increased its number much more rapidly than the female sex.

Bhagalpur.

13. Bhagalpur, though included in the select company of "cities", is little more than a large country town. The commercial and industrial elements are less strong than in any of the other three cities, and its chief industry—silk-weaving—is a cottage occupation. From 1901 to 1921 its population was falling away, largely because the health of the town was bad. Plague broke out from time to time, and cholera was very much in evidence, not to speak of the ravages of influenza in 1918 and the economic distress that followed. Since 1921 there has been a great improvement in the standard of health, and serious epidemics have been practically unknown. The increase of population in Bhagalpur, if less sensational than in the other cities, is still very pronounced. Its numbers have gone up by about 22 per cent from 68,878 to 83,847. There have been several important developments in the last decade. The city was supplied with electric power in 1929. New mills and factories have come into being and the number of grain *golas* has increased. Bhagalpur has many schools, and the students are much more numerous than they used to be, with the result that a number of hostels have been constructed for the accommodation of those who come from a distance. The manner in which Bhagalpur is developing is evident from the figures given in the margin.

	1931.	*1921.*
No. of females per 1,000 males ...	789	851
No. of foreign-born per mille ...	122	75

The proportion of females is still much higher than in the other three cities, but it is considerably lower than it was ten years ago. And the number of persons born outside the district (10,265)

is almost exactly double what it was in 1921 (5,166), so that Bhagalpur now has a stronger foreign contingent than Gaya. This invasion by outsiders has contributed materially to the growth of the city during the last decade.

Jamshedpur.

14. The industrial city of Jamshedpur is quite unlike any other city or town in the province—or indeed in the whole of India. The story of its birth in the wilderness in 1907 and its amazing development during the next fourteen years is told in the last census report, and reads like a fairy tale. The progress made in the last decade is hardly less remarkable, and the number of its inhabitants as revealed at the present census is 83,738. The credit for the creation of this modern city belongs to the Tata Iron and Steel Company. They have built it at a cost of over one crore of rupees, and they still spend about four lakhs annually on maintaining the services which it provides. To all intents and purposes Jamshedpur is a proprietary town of the Company, owned and administered by them, and its people enjoy the benefits of this highly efficient municipal government without paying any rates whatsoever. The town is administered through a Board of Works, consisting of representatives of the Steel Company and subsidiary companies, with two members of the general public: and the funds required for maintaining the municipal services, such as roads, water-supply, sewage, street lights, hospitals, schools, etc., are contributed by these companies in fixed proportions—about Rs. 40,000 by the subsidiary concerns and the rest by Tata's. It is true that Government have declared the town to be a "notified area" under the Municipal Act, and have appointed a committee for its administration. But the personnel of this committee is the same as that of the Board of Works mentioned above, and its functions are more or less confined to the realization and expenditure of pound fees, fees for the registration of carts and dogs, fines, and so forth; and this has not materially affected the almost complete control still exercised by the Steel Company over the upkeep and development of the town. Among the more important developments of the last ten years, brief mention may be made of the following. The *pukka* quarters built by the Company for its employees have doubled in number, from 2,756 to 5,483, while the houses and huts constructed by the employees and others have increased from 400 to 8,150. The supply of filtered domestic water is three times as great as it was in 1921, and there are now 60 miles of water-mains and 56 miles of drainage sewers. Provision for medical relief has been extended and improved, and in the main hospital there is at present accommodation for 140 indoor patients as against 42 at the beginning of the decade. In addition to the formerly existing high school and primary schools, three middle English schools and 22 other schools have been opened.

Despite the grave economic depression in the industrial world, the Steel Company itself has made considerable progress. New mines have been opened up, the plant has been improved and extended, and production has increased. The following figures will give some idea of the growth of this vast enterprise. The output of pig-iron has risen from 270,270 tons to 714,329 tons; of ingots from 182,107 tons to 624,539 tons; and of finished steel from 125,871 tons to 433,708 tons. During this period three Bessemer Converters have been installed for the making of steel; and for the production of finished steel in various forms (including sheet) five new mills have been opened and a sleeper press plant established. At the beginning of 1921 the leases held by the Company for the extraction of iron ore were confined—apart from certain unworked deposits in the Central Provinces—to the Mayurbhanj State, and the only mine actually in work at that time was Gorumahisani. In 1922 two other mines in this state, Sulipat and Badampahar, were opened up. In 1926 despatches were commenced from the new mines at Noamundi in Singhbhum district, and the working here is gradually being extended. In the same year a lease was taken out for iron ore at Joda in Keonjhar State, but owing to the lack of railway facilities this is not yet being operated. The total output of iron ore from the mines during these ten years amounted to some nine million tons. Unfortunately this period was not free from labour trouble. There was

a small works strike in September 1922, but labour at that time was not organized, and real leaders (as well as real grievances) were wanting; the strike collapsed after 35 days. But in 1928 the trouble was more serious and the strikers better organized. After a protracted struggle lasting five months, which caused serious financial loss to the Company and was productive of little or no real benefit to the workers, a compromise was arrived at.

Among the other industrial concerns established at Jamshedpur, the most important is the Tinplate Company of India, Ltd. This company started work in 1923, and the estimated capacity for which the plant was designed was 28,000 tons of finished tinplate per annum. But it has been found possible to increase this to 45,000 tons. The Company's main market consists in the supply of tinplate to the various oil companies in India for canning kerosene and petrol, and this absorbs about 75 per cent of the yearly output. Many other industrial enterprises sprang into life at Jamshedpur during these ten years, but economic conditions were against them and the majority were compelled to close down. Some of them were absorbed by the larger concerns. Mention may, however, be made of the Indian Steel Wire Products Company, which, after an initial failure, was bought and restarted by Sirdar Indra Singh, and is now working successfully.

Since the previous census was taken, the population of Jamshedpur has grown from 57,360 to 83,738—an increase of no less than 46 per cent. Mention has been made from time to time in the foregoing pages of various matters in respect of which this city furnishes a striking contrast to other urban units of the province. There is no congestion in Jamshedpur, and special care is taken to prevent the growth of slums and unhygienic bazars. Although the number of houses has increased by 100 per cent since 1921, there are still less than 1,000 houses per square mile, whereas in the other three cities the average is over 2,000. And it has already been noticed that the number of persons occupying each house is exceptionally low in Jamshedpur. Another point to which attention has been drawn is the disparity between the sexes (638 females to 1,000 males) which is more marked in this city than anywhere else, though not quite so marked as it was a decade ago. But it is the cosmopolitan character of Jamshedpur which above all else makes it unique in the province. Only one in every four of its inhabitants was born in the district of Singhbhum, and less than half of them were born in Bihar and Orissa. Since 1921 the number of immigrants from other districts and from outside the province has risen by 21,310, and this accounts for more than 80 per cent of the increase in the city's population.

Towns of North Bihar.

15. The district of Saran has three towns—Chapra, Siwan and Revelganj. Prior to the last decade, all these places had been steadily losing population ever since 1891, and when the census of 1921 was taken it was found that in the course of the preceding thirty years the total urban population of the district had been reduced from 88,500 to 62,500—a decrease of about 30 per cent. Plague and the decline in river-borne traffic were the two influences mainly responsible for this result. The present census reveals a striking recovery on the part of all these towns. The population of the district headquarters, Chapra, has risen from 42,415 to 47,448—a rate of growth twice as rapid as that recorded in the rural areas of the district. The immunity of the town from plague, which had caused such havoc here in the early years of the present century, has drawn many people back from the mufassal. In Siwan the rate of increase is higher still, being about 20 per cent. This town is growing in importance by virtue of its sugar mills. Revelganj, where the loss in the previous decade had been heaviest, is nowadays quite a small place, with some 8,800 inhabitants. Here the recovery has not been so marked as in the other two towns, but the percentage of increase is still somewhat greater than that achieved by the district as a whole. In olden days the position of this town on the banks of the Gogra made it a thriving centre of trade, and it is hardly likely to regain its former importance.

Of the two towns in Champaran, Motihari, although it is the district headquarters, is a good deal smaller than Bettiah, the headquarters of the northern subdivision. Both these places lost ground in the decade 1911—21, but they have made good the deficit with a handsome margin to spare, and are now more populous than at any previous stage in their history. For the district as a whole the rate of growth during the last decade was 10.6 per cent, whereas Motihari has increased its numbers by 26.9 per cent and Bettiah by 15 per cent. Development of trade is said to be primarily responsible for this rapid expansion. Certain courts and educational institutions have also been established during the last ten years.

The number of towns in Muzaffarpur district has increased from four to five. This is due to the advent since 1921 of the cantonment at Muzaffarpur, which is treated as a separate town. But, as only 237 persons were enumerated in the cantonment area at the present census, the new "town" has not added appreciably to the urban population of the district. Muzaffarpur itself has been on the down-grade for many years. Its high-water mark was in 1891, when the inhabitants numbered over 49,000. During the next twenty years there was a gradual decline, but in 1911—21 the loss of population amounted to no less than 25 per cent. Some part of this loss, however, was unreal, being due to an outbreak of plague at the time of the census. It is not surprising therefore that there has been a marked increase (+10,057) in the population of Muzaffarpur since 1921. It has almost, but not quite, regained the position it held twenty years ago, but it is still a long way short of the 1891 level. In Hajipur and Lalganj events have followed very much the same course as in Muzaffarpur itself, except that the gradual decline of these two towns dates right back from 1881. Between that year and 1921 the population of Hajipur fell from 25,078 to 16,760, and that of Lalganj from 16,431 to 7,148. During the last ten years each of these towns has just managed to recoup the loss sustained during the decade 1911—21. Muzaffarpur, Hajipur and Lalganj are all situated within the area in which plague established itself at the beginning of the century, and their decay up to 1921 is largely attributable to this fact. Sitamarhi is the only town in the district which has registered consistent progress during the last fifty years. The number of its inhabitants has grown in this period from 6,125 to 10,701. During the last decade, however, the increase was negligible, being one of 169 persons only.

The similarity between the variations of population in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts has been pointed out in Chapter I: this similarity extends to the urban population also. With the exception of Jaynagar, which only achieved urban status ten years ago, all the towns of Darbhanga were losing population more or less steadily for several decades prior to 1921. In 1891 the district headquarters boasted a population of 73,561, but thirty years later this number had dwindled to 53,700. The loss in 1911—21 was particularly heavy (−8,928), and although the last ten years have witnessed a substantial recovery, the population of Darbhanga to-day is still about 2,000 less than it was in 1911. In Madhubani, the second largest town of the district, the decline in previous years was much less marked, and, thanks to an increase of over 13 per cent in the population of this town since 1921, its numbers now stand higher than they ever did before. The same applies to Samastipur, another subdivisional headquarters. Here the increase during the last decade amounted to something over 23 per cent, and was more than sufficient to wipe out the previous deficits. Rosera recorded a more modest growth of 8.4 per cent, which is approximately equal to the progress of the rural areas of the district. But this town has a lot of leeway to make up before it regains the position it held in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A small increase of 485 persons was recorded in the population of the new town of Jaynagar.

Apart from the city which is its district headquarters, Bhagalpur has only one town, and that a very small one. The population of Colgong has never been much above or much below 5,000. Between 1911 and 1921 it

managed to increase its numbers by as much as 1,116, but the last decade has witnessed a slight set-back again. This municipality is in a small way a centre of trade for the adjacent countryside.

Purnea district has four towns, but none of them is large. The population of the district headquarters has remained more or less stationary for the last fifty years, with a slight tendency to decline. An increase of 1,372 during the last ten years has, however, more than cancelled its earlier losses. Nevertheless, in view of the steady growth of the rural population of this district, Purnea must be regarded as a decadent town. The railway centre of Katihar, on the other hand is markedly progressive. It was first treated as urban in 1901, when it had a population of 9,761. To-day its inhabitants number 15,864, of which rather more than 3,000 are contained in the railway settlement itself. During the last ten years this town has increased its numbers by 1,331. Situated at the junction of the Eastern Bengal and the Bengal and North-Western Railways, it is the focus of the whole of the railway system of the district, and various industries are springing up in the town for working up the raw material which passes through it. The growth of the trans-frontier trade with Nepal has added to the importance of this town. The other two urban areas of the district, Kishanganj and Forbesganj, have each added about 1,000 to their population since 1921. Kishanganj is the centre of the jute trade in Purnea district and has the reputation of being extremely unhealthy.

Towns of South Bihar.

16. In Patna district there are now more towns than in any other district. This was not so a decade ago. In 1921 Gaya had eight towns as against only six in Patna. But Sherghati in Gaya has since reverted to the status of a village, while two new towns have made their appearance in Patna. One of these is Fatwa, which has a population of 9,393 and is just as urban in character as many other places included in the list of towns. The second is the cantonment at Dinapur, which in 1921 was treated as a part of the Dinapur municipality but is now regarded as constituting a separate unit. With the exception of Mokameh, all the Patna towns have increased their population in the last ten years. Mokameh suffered a loss of 1,403, which is believed to be partially due to a re-arrangement of the railway administrative centres in the district. There has been a concentration at Khagaul of what were formerly three separate railway divisions, including the one at Mokameh. In these circumstances one would have expected a considerable increase in the population of Khagaul town, but actually it has only risen by about 200. The greatest increase (apart from that recorded in the capital city) occurred in Bihar Sharif, where there was an addition of 10,274, or 28 per cent, to the population of 1921. As a result of this effort, Bihar has regained almost the whole of the ground lost since 1881, when it was numbered among the most important towns of the province. The other two subdivisional headquarters at Dinapur and Barh have made steady progress during this decade, and the cantonment area at Dinapur has also contributed its share towards the expansion of the urban areas of this district.

All the towns in Gaya district, excepting the city itself, are quite small, the largest being Daudnagar which has a population of 11,699. But there have been some striking variations in the population of these towns during the last ten years. Nawada, which for some unexplained reason had managed to increase its numbers by 39.6 per cent in the previous decade, has lost the greater part of this surplus, the decrease amounting on this occasion to 21.5 per cent. It is reported that this town was visited by several epidemics of cholera, small-pox and influenza in recent years; there has also been some emigration from Nawada to the coal-fields and industrial centres. On the other hand, Aurangabad has increased its population by 53.7 per cent, Daudnagar by 37.5 per cent, and Jahanabad by 26 per cent. The last-named place owes some of its rapid growth to the establishment there of a civil court in the year 1925; immunity from the plague has also helped considerably. Aurangabad and Daudnagar are said to have been markedly free from epidemic diseases for the major portion of the decade, and there happened

to be several *barats* assembled in these two towns at the time when the census was taken. In the case of Aurangabad particularly, the normal population is so small that it would be appreciably affected by fortuitous gatherings of this kind. In the two remaining towns of Hasua and Tikari the progress was less sensational, but so far as Tikari is concerned it is at least noteworthy that the decline which had been going on consistently since 1881 has at last been arrested. In the course of forty years the population of this municipality had fallen from 12,187 to 4,827. To-day it stands at 5,481.

In each of the last three census reports the towns of Shahabad, which are six in number, have been described as decadent. In 1921 the only one which did not actually lose population was Arrah itself, and even then it only made good a small portion of the loss it has suffered in 1901—11. On the present occasion all these towns have recorded an increase, great or small. The population of Arrah had gone up by 20 per cent (from 40,769 to 48,922), while that of Buxar has risen by as much as 33.2 per cent (from 10,098 to 13,449). Dumraon, with an increase of 2 per cent, is the only town which has failed to keep pace with the general rise in population throughout the district. In Sasaram, Jagdispur and Bhabhua there have been increases of over 10 per cent. The virtual disappearance of the plague from the towns of this district has much to do with their striking recovery. For the rest, the District Officer expresses the opinion that there has been a marked tendency on the part of landlords and others to leave their villages and settle in urban centres. He points out also that the number of lawyers and school students is considerably greater than it was.

Of the six towns in Monghyr district, the four largest have increased their population substantially since 1921, and the two smallest have lost ground. Lakhisarai and Begusarai were treated as towns for the first time in 1921, and it is in these two places that the numbers have fallen away. In Begusarai the loss amounts to 1,323, and is due to the fact that cholera and plague were raging there at the time of the census, and many of the inhabitants had taken up their abode temporarily in grass huts outside the urban area. The decrease in Lakhisarai is more difficult to explain. In view of its commanding position on the railway and its growing importance as a collecting and distributing centre, it was expected to develop fairly rapidly, but actually its numbers have dropped from 10,673 to 8,813. The district headquarters of Monghyr has had a chequered history during the last fifty years, its population rising and falling alternately at each successive census. But on the whole it lost more than it gained, and in 1921 it had a population of 46,825 only as compared with 55,372 in 1881. This time it has achieved an increase of 13 per cent, which goes a long way towards wiping out the deficit. Apart from the natural growth of the population, the District Officer attributes this increase to the better medical and educational facilities now available for both sexes and to a marked improvement in the amenities of life, such as public gardens, play-grounds and cinema houses. Most of these improvements have been effected during the last five or six years. The important railway centre at Jamalpur continues to develop apace. Its population to-day (30,346) is more than double what it was thirty years ago (13,929). Two new hostels and a new hospital have been opened here during the last decade, and there has been a considerable expansion in the railway stores department. At Sheikhpura the establishment of a large high school is one factor which has contributed to the expansion of this town (+2,080, or 17 per cent) since 1921; another is the metalling of the Sheikhpura-Barbigha road, which enables people who would otherwise live in the country to manage their land from Sheikhpura town. Khagaria has steadily increased in size and importance since the opening of the Samastipur-Khagaria branch railway line in 1915, which rendered it a commercial centre for a considerable area. At the census of 1921 it showed a fairly heavy loss of population, but this must have been due to some temporary cause such as the prevalence of epidemic disease at that particular time. The large increase of 28 per cent recorded at the present census is therefore to some extent unreal, and the population to-day represents the normal increase which might be expected over the figure of 1911.

17. All the six towns of Orissa lost population during the decade 1911—21. On the present occasion three of them have registered a further decline, two have remained almost stationary, and one has achieved a remarkable recovery. This last is the headquarters station of Cuttack district. From 1881 to 1911 Cuttack made fairly steady progress and in the latter year it had a population of 52,528. The distress prevailing in Orissa at the time when the 1921 census was held must have caused many persons to leave the town in search of employment elsewhere, and this doubtless accounts for the drop of 1,521 recorded at the census. The numbers have now risen sharply to 65,263, which is 28 per cent in excess of the 1921 figure, but may be regarded as representing little more than the natural growth since 1911. To some extent the population of this town was temporarily augmented in 1931 by the presence of a fairly large staff engaged in settlement work. The other two towns in Cuttack district are Jajpur and Kendrapara, the headquarters of the two *mufassal* subdivisions. They have been declining in numbers and importance for many years, particularly Kendrapara. This town used to be a market of canal traffic, but the opening of the railway in 1900 was a severe blow to it. The pilgrim traffic at Jajpur has also diminished with the advent of the railway. During the last ten years the population of Kendrapara has decreased by about 2,000, and that of Jajpur by 342. **Towns of Orissa.**

Puri district has only a single town, after which the district is named. The fluctuations in the number of its inhabitants from decade to decade are governed to a very large extent by the volume of pilgrim traffic that happens to be present in the town at the time when the census is taken. The recorded figures suggest that the population has been falling away steadily for the last thirty years, but they are somewhat misleading. It is true that 49,334 persons were enumerated in this town in 1901, as compared with only 37,568 at the present census, but the following statement will show that in actual fact its permanent population to-day is appreciably larger than it was in 1901:—

	1891-1901.	*1901-11.*	*1911-21.*	*1921-31.*	*1901-31.*
Actual variation ...	+20,540	— 9,648	— 992	—1,126	**—11,766**
Variation in number of pilgrims.	+15,000	—12,000	—2,750	— 250	**—15,000**
Variation in permanent population.	+ 5,540	+ 2,352	+1,758	— 876	**+ 3,234**

At the time of the 1901 census it was estimated that no less than 17,000 pilgrims were present in the town owing to the fact that the census happened to coincide with a big festival. In 1931 the number was only 1,995. Except during the last decade, the permanent population of the town has been growing fairly steadily. This is due to the increasing popularity of Puri as a seaside health resort. But, when the present census was taken, money was scarce and most of the houses in the Balukhand area of the town which are wont to be occupied by health-seekers and holiday-makers were found vacant.

The two towns of Balasore and Bhadrak, like the district in which they are situated, have remained more or less stationary in point of numbers during the last decade. Indeed, there has been no appreciable variation in the population of Bhadrak town since 1901. Balasore, on the other hand, is definitely smaller than it used to be; between 1911 and 1921 its numbers decreased by as much as 20 per cent, and it has only recouped a very small fraction of this loss in the last ten years.

18. The three towns of Hazaribagh district are Giridih, Chatra and Hazaribagh itself. The district headquarters is many miles from the nearest railway station, but it has a pleasant climate and good schools, and is becoming more and more popular as a place for retirement. In the previous decade its population had remained stationary, but since 1921 it has increased by about 4,000, or something over 22 per cent. Giridih also has added largely **Towns of the Chota Nagpur plateau.**

to its numbers, though the increase is less marked than it was in 1911—21, when the coal industry was more prosperous. Since the beginning of the century the population of this town has risen from 9,433 to 21,122, and it is now slightly larger than the headquarters station. The third town, Chatra, has recorded only a very small increase (6.5 per cent) which is by no means commensurate with the natural growth of the district population. This is consistent with its previous history, for it has been on the down-grade ever since 1881.

Apart from its district headquarters, Ranchi has only two small towns—Lohardaga (7,577) and Bundu (6,487). Of these, the former had increased its population very slightly at the previous census and it has done the same again now. The extension of the narrow gauge railway line from Ranchi to Lohardaga does not appear to have led to the development which might have been expected. In 1921 Bundu suffered a loss of about 2,000 inhabitants, and in the last ten years it has wiped out three-quarters of this deficit. The prosperity of Bundu depends in a very large measure on the state of lac market. Ranchi town itself continues to expand in a remarkable manner. As the summer headquarters of the local Government, it has gained much in importance during the last twenty years. Like Hazaribagh, which it closely resembles in climate, it is a favourite place for retirement. It is centrally situated on the plateau, being within easy reach of the coal-fields in Manbhum and Hazaribagh and of the iron ore deposits in Singhbhum. The result of these natural advantages is that during the last half century Ranchi has developed from a comparatively insignificant place with only 18,443 inhabitants into a flourishing town with a population of over 50,000. The increase recorded since 1921 is more striking than at any previous census, amounting as it does to well over 25 per cent.

Daltonganj and Garhwa are the only two towns in Palamau district. They are situated close to one another, Daltonganj on the east of the river Koil and Garhwa on the west. Each of them had a population just under 10,000 in 1921, and in each case this number has now risen to about 12,000. The development of these two towns since the beginning of the present century has been extraordinarily rapid. In the course of thirty years Daltonganj has increased its numbers by over 100 per cent, and Garhwa by about 230 per cent. The former town is the terminus of the only railway in Palamau and is the trade centre for the eastern half of the district. Garhwa commands the markets in the western half and is also the channel for a considerable volume of traffic with Mirzapur district in the United Provinces and Sarguja State in the Central Provinces.

Manbhum district has four towns, and all of them are markedly progressive. Dhanbad is the headquarters of the colliery area and was promoted to urban status only ten years ago. During this period its population has risen from 11,973 to 16,356—an increase of about 36 per cent. Purulia, the headquarters town of the district, is steadily growing in importance in spite of the fact that the extension of the broad gauge railway line to Muri has diverted a good deal of the traffic which formerly passed through Purulia on its way to Ranchi and Lohardaga. Half a century ago this town had only 9,305 inhabitants; now it has 25,974. The increase achieved by it during the last decade was one of over 17 per cent, or slightly more than the general rate of increase for the district as a whole. Raghunathpur and Jhalda are the other two towns in Manbhum. They are both quite small, the population of the former being just over, and that of the latter just under, 7,000; each of them has made good progress since the previous census was taken.

In Singhbhum district there are four towns, including the city of Jamshedpur, of which some account has already been given. The combined population of the other three towns does not amount to much more than one-third of Jamshedpur's population. Jugsalai, with 8,721 inhabitants, appears in the list of towns for the first time. Chaibassa, which is the headquarters of the district, added substantially to its numbers, but the increase here (+1,607) was not so marked as in Chakradharpur (+3,247),

with the result that the latter place is now the second largest town in the district. The growth of the railway settlement at Chakradharpur is responsible more than anything else for the rapid expansion of this town.

The urban population of the Santal Parganas is distributed among five towns, each of which has made some progress during the last decade. The largest of them is Sahebganj, and the statement in the margin will show the violent ups and downs that have marked the history of this town during the last fifty years. Its original development between 1881 and 1891 was due to the construction of the railway, and ever since it has been growing in importance as a railway settlement and a centre of trade. But in 1901 and again in 1921 there was an outbreak of plague in the town at census time, which caused numerous deaths and indirectly reduced the population still more by driving many of the inhabitants out of the town. The numbers recorded at the present census are no higher than might reasonably be expected in view of the 1911 figure. Rajmahal town is nominally the headquarters of the subdivision in which Sahebganj is located, but it is no longer of any importance. With a population of only 3,685, it is the smallest town in British territory. It has increased its numbers by 231 during the last ten years, but this is far below the rate of natural growth for the district. Deoghar, which has a population of 14,217, is the second largest town in this district. Deoghar and Madhupur are favourite places of residence for Bengali gentlemen. Since 1921 both these places have added about 1,900 to their population, but in the case of Madhupur, which is much the smaller town of the two (8,965), the rate of growth represented by this addition is more considerable. The headquarters station of the district is Dumka, but it is quite a small place with only 9,471 inhabitants. This, however, represents an increase of over 2,000 (or 28 per cent) since the previous census was taken. The presence in the town of a large settlement staff and their families in February 1931 accounts for some part of the increase.

Year.			*Population.*
1881	...	...	6,512
1891	...	...	11,297
1901	...	...	7,558
1911	...	...	14,783
1921	...	...	11,880
1931	...	...	15,883

Rather more than half the urban population of Sambalpur district is to be found in the headquarters station. The remainder is shared between the two towns of Bargarh and Jharsugra. Each of the latter has increased its population by nearly 2,000 since 1921, and each of them has now just over 7,000 inhabitants. The rate of growth, therefore, has been exceptionally rapid in these two places. Jharsugra was treated as a town for the first time ten years ago, and its importance as a commercial centre is increasing. The population of Sambalpur itself has gone up from 13,594 to 15,017, which is on a par with the general rate of increase in this district.

In the whole of the Feudatory States there are but seven small towns, with an average population of 6,500 each. In 1921 the number of towns was six and their average population was just under 6,000. The newly promoted unit is Bolangir, the capital of Patna state, which indeed figured in the list of towns some decades ago but was rusticated for a while. The largest and the smallest towns in the States are both found in Sonpur, the inhabitants of the former (Nijgarh) numbering 8,506 and of the latter (Binka) only 3,326. Binka has been dwindling away steadily, and its claims to urban status would appear to be doubtful. The two towns of Dhenkanal state—Nijgarh and Bhuban—developed more rapidly than any others during the last decade, their combined population having increased by 2,580 or 22.5 per cent. No other town kept pace with the growth of the rural areas. In the States as a whole 99 persons out of every 100 still reside in villages.

The census village.

19. The census village, in British territory at least, is the *mauza*, the boundaries of which have been demarcated in survey and settlement operations. It may contain one group of houses, or it may contain many; on the other hand, there are not a few *mauzas* which contain no houses at all. The village, therefore, is not a residential unit, but a revenue unit. The history of the *mauza* in this province and the varying character developed

by it in different localities were dealt with fully in the last report and the narrative need not be repeated here. It will suffice to say that the census village approximates most closely to the residential village in the Chota Nagpur division (excluding Ranchi district), and differs from it most widely in North Bihar and Orissa. The average size of the census village in all the British districts taken together is almost exactly one square mile, but even within a single district there may be extreme variations. Thus, Monghyr contains both the largest and the smallest *mauza* in the province, the former covering more than 72,000 acres and the latter less than one acre.

Distribution of the rural population.

20. In these circumstances it is clear that there is little to be gained from an examination of the way in which the rural population is distributed between villages of different sizes. Subsidiary Table I appended to this chapter tells us that the average population of a village in Bihar and Orissa is 395, being highest in North Bihar (692) and lowest on the Chota Nagpur plateau (260). And the same table shows how large a proportion of the country folk live in villages with a population of under 500 and how large a proportion in bigger villages. But these figures really mean very little. They cannot even be used unreservedly for comparison with the corresponding figure of earlier censuses—for reasons which will now be explained.

The *mauza* being a geographical unit, with boundaries more or less permanently fixed, the number of such units undergoes little change. But the census tables show only the number of *inhabited* villages, and this number may and does fluctuate. The aggregate number of such villages in Bihar and Orissa in 1931 is given in Imperial Table I as 102,780, which is less by 1,459 than the corresponding figure ten years ago. Some part of this decrease may be due to the fact that villages which were formerly inhabited have since been deserted, but it would not be correct to put down the whole difference to this cause. The districts in which the fall is most noticeable are shown in the margin; in fact, these four districts account for 85 per cent of the whole discrepancy in British territory. So far as Manbhum is concerned, the explanation is that only about half the district had been surveyed in 1921, and in the other half the residential village was taken as the unit on that occasion. In the other three districts the reason must be sought in the failure of the local census staff to observe the instructions as to what constitutes a single village. A comparison, thana by thana, of the number of *mauzas* shown as inhabited in 1921 in these particular districts with the complete list of *mauzas* in the thana jurisdiction lists revealed that in several thanas of each district the former number was in excess of the latter. In Bhagalpur, for instance, Katoria thana contains only 202 *mauzas*, inhabited or otherwise; but it was shown as containing 755 inhabited villages in 1921. Such mistakes are very hard to prevent altogether, and Katoria thana furnishes a particularly glaring example of the anomalies of the *mauza* system. It is the most jungly and sparsely populated part of the district and boasts few residential units with a population of 500 apiece, but there is in it one *mauza*, Kadhar by name, which extends over 54,529 acres, contains no less than 226 separate hamlets, and has altogether 15,347 inhabitants. There are two other *mauzas* in this thana which between them have almost exactly the same area and population as Kadhar and contain 119 separate hamlets. This explains why in Subsidiary Table I we find that 67 per mille of the rural population in Bhagalpur district reside in villages with a population of over 5,000, while in 1921 the corresponding number was *nil*. There undoubtedly has been a substantial increase in the last decade in the proportion of persons living in the fairly large villages, *viz.* those with a population of not less than 2,000; and a considerable drop in the proportion of those living in villages with less than 500 inhabitants. But the exact measure of these variations cannot easily be determined nor, in view of the nature of the census "village", would the information be of great value.

	No. of inhabited villages in—	
	1931.	1921.
Bhagalpur ...	3,080	3,829
Manbhum ...	4,642	4,808
Monghyr ...	2,610	2,768
Cuttack ...	5,506	5,629

I.—Distribution of the population between towns and villages.

District and Natural Division.	Average population per— Town.	Village.	Number per mille residing in— Towns.	Villages.	Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of— 20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of— 5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***19,995***	***395***	***40***	***960***	***613***	***217***	***164***	***4***	***26***	***130***	***465***	***379***
North Bihar	***20,873***	***692***	***29***	***971***	***599***	***255***	***145***	***1***	***54***	***220***	***527***	***199***
Saran	23,492	561	28	972	673	203	125	...	14	112	598	276
Champaran	22,743	824	21	979	614	386	...	...	94	254	493	159
Muzaffarpur	16,448	704	28	972	520	365	112	3	66	192	549	193
Darbhanga	20,965	976	33	967	579	179	242	...	59	316	499	126
Bhagalpur	44,540	697	40	960	941	...	59	...	67	270	479	184
Purnea	11,556	515	21	979	...	678	322	...	30	159	544	277
South Bihar	***24,503***	***500***	***78***	***922***	***720***	***136***	***144***	...	***23***	***163***	***499***	***315***
Patna	35,242	676	153	847	819	87	94	...	27	177	574	222
Gaya	19,438	372	57	943	647	86	267	...	5	73	467	455
Shahabad	19,005	396	59	941	630	237	133	...	15	128	470	387
Monghyr	21,001	828	55	945	661	208	131	...	46	277	503	174
Orissa	***27,042***	***337***	***39***	***961***	***634***	***366***	...	...	***3***	***48***	***489***	***460***
Cuttack	29,519	379	41	959	737	263	...	...	4	55	533	408
Balasore	18,053	274	36	964	...	1,000	...	...	...	19	437	544
Puri	37,568	334	36	964	1,000	...	...	...	5	61	445	489
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***14,110***	***260***	***30***	***970***	***462***	***246***	***276***	***16***	***7***	***40***	***373***	***580***
Hazaribagh	16,053	241	34	966	828	...	172	...	16	64	340	580
Ranchi	21,537	391	41	959	782	...	218	...	...	48	407	455
Palamau	12,013	254	29	971	...	1,000	...	...	...	25	340	635
Manbhum	14,098	378	31	969	451	290	249	...	38	72	458	432
Singhbhum	28,609	271	123	877	732	192	76	...	...	25	369	606
Santal Parganas	10,444	197	25	975	...	576	353	71	...	22	263	715
Angul	...	139	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	29	352	619
Sambalpur	9,726	438	33	967	...	515	485	...	6	55	545	394
Orissa States	6,531	236	10	990	...	...	927	73	...	27	341	632
Chota Nagpur States	...	278	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	38	189	773

II.—Proportion of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who live in towns. Total Population.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal religions.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Zoroastrian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***40***	***36***	***88***	***72***	***3***	***685***	***457***	***61***	***856***
North Bihar	***29***	***25***	***45***	***440***	***7***	***28***	***414***	***1,000***	***1,000***
Saran	**28**	24	60	187	...	...	1,000	...	...
Champaran	**21**	16	40	497	...	281	600	...	1,000
Muzaffarpur	**28**	25	48	621	1,000	611	1,000	1,000	1,000
Darbhanga	**33**	28	62	714	...	...	145	...	...
Bhagalpur	**40**	31	103	501	35	...	246	...	...
Purnea	**21**	24	16	170	0·33	6	715	...	...
South Bihar	***78***	***64***	***193***	***607***	***4***	***670***	***769***	***620***	***902***
Patna	**153**	126	354	779	789	691	235	938	962
Gaya	**57**	48	131	910	1,000	410	810	53	1,000
Shahabad	**59**	46	205	188	...	788	961	1,000	250
Monghyr	**55**	49	109	713	...	125	250	1,000	1,000
Orissa	***39***	***33***	***206***	***540***	***10***	***359***	***674***	***8***	***444***
Cuttack	**41**	35	199	843	23	160	831	5	1,000
Balasore	**36**	36	353	364	10	667	...	1,000	...
Puri	**36**	36	21	130	...	1,000	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***30***	***31***	***102***	***45***	***3***	***826***	***276***	***57***	***860***
Hazaribagh	**34**	30	76	338	2	86	358	9	...
Ranchi	**41**	45	218	30	9	474	110	308	...
Palamau	**29**	29	58	16	1	273	1,000	...	...
Manbhum	**31**	30	63	222	0·47	...	...	667	...
Singhbhum	**123**	179	733	280	8	951	978	400	1,000
Santal Parganas	**25**	43	43	58	0·85	151	1,000	...	...
Angul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sambalpur	**33**	30	541	133	48	700	371	...	1,000
Orissa States	**10**	11	74	3	0·15	236	3	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

III.—Towns classified by population.

Class of Towns.	Number of towns of each class in 1931.	Proportion to total urban population.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Variation per cent at each succeeding census in the population of towns as classed at the previous census. 1931—21.	1921—11.	1911—01.	1901—1891.	1891—1881.	Variation per cent from 1881 to 1931 in— The population of towns as classed in 1881.	The total urban population of the province and of each class.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BIHAR AND ORISSA.	***85***	***100***	***824***	***+19·1***	***+3·3***	***−2·9***	***−6·8***	***+6·6***	***+11·9***	***+20·0***
I.—100,000 and over	1	**9·4**	731	+33·1	−11·9	+1·0	−18·4	−3·2	−6·4	−6·4
II.—50,000—100,000	7	**28·6**	783	+27·8	−8·4	−9·5	−12·6	+6·2	+4·8	+52·7
III.—20,000—50,000	12	**23·5**	859	+17·2	+3·4	−4·3	+4·2	+8·1	+13·5	+31·6
IV.—10,000—20,000	26	**21·7**	844	+10·6	+0·9	−2·2	−9·7	+6·0	+8·7	+22·7
V.—5,000—10,000 ...	36	**16·4**	877	+15·7	+21·3	+4·0	+0·2	+18·0	+63·3	−12·9
VI.—Under 5,000 ...	3	**0·4**	906	+19·3	+42·0	+12·0	+10·8	+37·4	+92·3	+112·1

IV.—Cities.

City.	Population.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Number of foreign born per mille.	Percentage of variation in population. 1921—1931.	1911—1921.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1881—1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Patna	159,690	10,645	731	193	+33·10	−11·9	+1·0	−18·4	−3·2	−6·43
Gaya	88,005	11,001	738	94	+30·25	+35·3	−30·0	−11·3	+5·2	+15·16
Bhagalpur ...	83,847	7,622	789	122	+21·73	−7·4	−1·9	+9·6	+1·3	+22·87
Jamshedpur ...	83,738	3,806	638	749	+45·98	...	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER III.—Birthplace and Migration.

Imperial Table VI gives statistics relating to the birthplace of all persons enumerated in Bihar and Orissa, and it is from this table that information is derived about migration from one part of the province to another and immigration from places outside its borders. As regards emigration to other parts of India, particulars have been obtained from the provinces and states concerned, while a few figures are also available in respect of persons born in Bihar and Orissa and enumerated outside India. The main statistics of both immigration and emigration have been summarized in the following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter :— **Reference to statistics.**

I.—Immigration.

II.—Emigration.

III.—Migration between natural divisions.

IV.—Migration between the province and other parts of India.

2. In the census schedules the unit of birthplace recorded for persons born in India was the British district or Indian State. For persons born in foreign lands the country of birth only was recorded. But, as explained in paragraph 24 of Chapter I, when the time came to extract and compile the information contained in the schedules, it was decided as a measure of economy that, in the case of persons born in some part of India outside the province where they were enumerated, the *province* of birth (and not the individual district) should be taken as the unit. Consequently although we know approximately how many of the natives of Bihar and Orissa have emigrated to other places, we have not the same knowledge about the natives of any individual district; although we can say that 471,601 persons born in this province were enumerated in Assam, we cannot say what proportion of this number came from Ranchi district; although it is on record that 24,004 natives of the United Provinces have found their way into Saran district, it is not recorded how many of these have simply crossed the border from some contiguous district and how many hail from more distant parts. This makes it difficult to estimate with confidence the direction and volume of the various currents of migration into and away from the province. **Record of birthplace.**

3. It is usual to distinguish five different types of migration, as follows :— **Types of migration.**

(1) *Casual.*—This covers the minor movements between neighbouring villages. Such movements do not appear in the census returns at all unless the villages in question happen to lie on opposite sides of the line which divides one district from another. Females usually figure prominently in migration of this type owing to the very common practice amongst Hindus of taking a wife from another village.

(2) *Temporary.*—Journeys on business, visits to fairs and places of pilgrimage, the temporary demand for labour when new roads, buildings or railways are under construction—these and similar causes are responsible for migration of this type. So also is the temporary displacement of population resulting from outbreaks of plague and other diseases in a particular area; and the prevalence of scarcity or distress for a limited period.

(3) *Periodic.*—This is really a special form of temporary migration, associated more particularly with the seasons of the agricultural year. When work is slack in the fields, labour moves away to find temporary employment elsewhere; and conversely at the busy harvest season it is often attracted from other parts. The seasonal movements of pastoral nomads would also come under this category. Periodic migration is of great volume and importance in Bihar and Orissa.

(4) *Semi-permanent.*—The natives of one place reside and earn their living in another, but retain their connection with their own homes, where they maintain and from time to time visit their families, and to which they return in their old age.

(5) *Permanent.*—This type of migration occurs when over-crowding drives people away from an area or the superior attractions of another area induce them to settle there for good.

It may be observed that periodic migration not infrequently tends to become semi-permanent, and semi-permanent migration to become permanent.

The census returns do not differentiate between the various types of migration, but there are various factors which make it possible in some measure to estimate their respective importance. One such factor is the distance between the birthplace and the place of enumeration. But here it must be borne in mind that, while casual migration is confined to the shorter movements from district to district, these same movements cover a considerable volume of migration of the more important types. The proportion of the sexes among migrants will often furnish a helpful clue to the nature of the movement. It has already been mentioned that females are ordinarily in excess in casual migration. This would be even more marked but for the fact that young married women often return to their parents' houses for their first confinement; and this practice has the further consequence that the child's birthplace will frequently be in some district other than that where he is brought up and subsequently resides. In migration of the periodic and semi-permanent types the male sex predominates very largely; but when the movement becomes permanent there is as a rule little difference between the number of males and females.

Immigration and emigration summarized and compared.

4. The first statement inserted below in the margin shows the number of immigrants in Bihar and Orissa and the proportion which they bear to the "actual" population, that is to say, the population *enumerated* within the province. The next statement shows the number of emigrants and their proportion to the "natural" population, or the population *born* within the province. Three broad conclusions suggest themselves from a consideration of these figures. The first is the general immobility of the population. As many as 959 persons in every thousand were born in the district where they were enumerated; and 931 in every thousand were enumerated in the district where they were born. The pursuit of agriculture, which is and has ever been the main occupation of the vast majority of the people, does not foster the spirit of adventure or furnish much scope for its gratification. The caste system and other social customs help to tie a man down to his own narrow circle, and the diversity of languages is another obstacle in the way of him who would break away to seek his fortune further afield.

Persons enumerated in the Province who were born in—	Number (000's omitted).	Percentage of Actual Population.
Bihar and Orissa—	**41,820**	**98.8**
District or state-group of enumeration	40,592	95.9
Contiguous districts or state-groups ...	1,031	2.4
Elsewhere in the province ...	197	0.5
Other parts of India—	**467**	**1.1**
Adjacent provinces or states ...	414	1.0
Elsewhere in India ...	53	0.1
Outside India—	**42**	**0.1**

Persons born in the Province who were enumerated in—	Number (000's omitted).	Percentage of Natural Population.
Bihar and Orissa—	**41,820**	**95.9**
District or state-group of birth ...	40,592	93.1
Contiguous districts or state-groups ...	1,031	2.4
Elsewhere in the province ...	197	0.5
Other parts of India—	**1,770**	**4.1**
Adjacent provinces or states ...	1,273	2.9
Elsewhere in India	497	1.1
Outside India—	**.047**	...

The second main point emerging from these two sets of figures is that on the balance Bihar and Orissa loses heavily by migration. For some 1,770,000 persons whom the province has sent out to other parts of India, it has received only about 467,000 in exchange. (No useful comparison can

be made in respect of migration to and from places outside India, as the statistics for emigrants of this class are hopelessly incomplete.) The net loss thus amounts to 1,303,000 persons, and is far greater than that sustained by any other province in India.* If we confine ourselves to migration between the British districts of this province and other parts of India, the loss is heavier still, for the emigrants number 1,908,000 and the immigrants 496,000. The Feudatory States receive nearly twice as many migrants as they send out. But it should be explained that the loss sustained by Bihar and Orissa on the balance of migrations is not a permanent one—at least, a great part of it is not. It has already been mentioned that the periodic type of migration is of great volume and importance in this province. The slack season in the fields begins after the winter rice crop has been gathered in, and it is then that the labourers embark on their annual pilgrimage in search of temporary employment abroad. In some places they return for the harvesting of the spring crops; elsewhere they wait for the monsoon to break before starting on the homeward journey. Thus it happens that the tide of seasonal emigration is at the full in February, and the normal population of the province is reduced to its lowest figure at about the time when the census is taken. On the present occasion, as observed elsewhere, this was even more true than usual, because the date of the census (the 26th February) was slightly earlier than it ordinarily is.

Large as is the disparity between the number of emigrants and the number of immigrants at the present census, it was still larger ten years ago. In 1921 the net loss sustained by the province as a whole (including the States) as the result of exchanges with other parts of India was 1,568,000. In the course of these last ten years the emigrants have decreased by 185,000 and the immigrants have increased by 79,000. The fall in the number of emigrants is due to the fact that in 1921 economic conditions were particularly unfavourable, and this not only intensified the normal flow of periodic emigration but also led to a considerable amount of temporary migration which was not directly connected with the season of the year. In 1931 conditions were much more favourable; the volume of periodic migration was probably below normal and certainly much less than in 1921, while the industrial depression in Bengal and elsewhere had driven back many would-be emigrants to their homes. On the other hand, there are several factors which may be held responsible for the increase in the number of immigrants—an increase, be it noted, of well over 20 per cent. (*a*) Some of the returned emigrants would have brought with them wives and children acquired during their sojourn abroad. (*b*) The development of the urban and industrial areas in this province during the last ten years has attracted many settlers from outside the province. (*c*) The economic conditions in Bihar and Orissa towards the end of the decade compared favourably with those prevailing in other provinces which had been more seriously affected by depression in the industrial world.

The third and last general conclusion that we may draw from the summarized figures on the previous page is that the difference between immigration and emigration is not merely quantitative: it extends also to the character of the movement. We have seen that out of every thousand persons enumerated in the province only 41 had been born outside the district in which they were residing. Of these 41 immigrants no less than 24—or well over half—had been born in contiguous districts of Bihar and Orissa, and a fairly high proportion of the remainder must have been born in contiguous districts of the adjacent provinces. Only 5½ per cent of the total number of immigrants come from places further afield than the neighbouring provinces and states of India, and nearly half of this handful come from foreign countries. It is clear, therefore that immigration to this province from the more distant parts of India is almost negligible. Contrast with this the record of the emigrants. Only about one-third of their total number were found in districts contiguous to their

* Complete figures for 1931 are not available at the time of writing, but in 1921 Bihar and Orissa lost 1,567,968 persons by migration, while in the United Provinces, which came next, the loss was only 974,642.

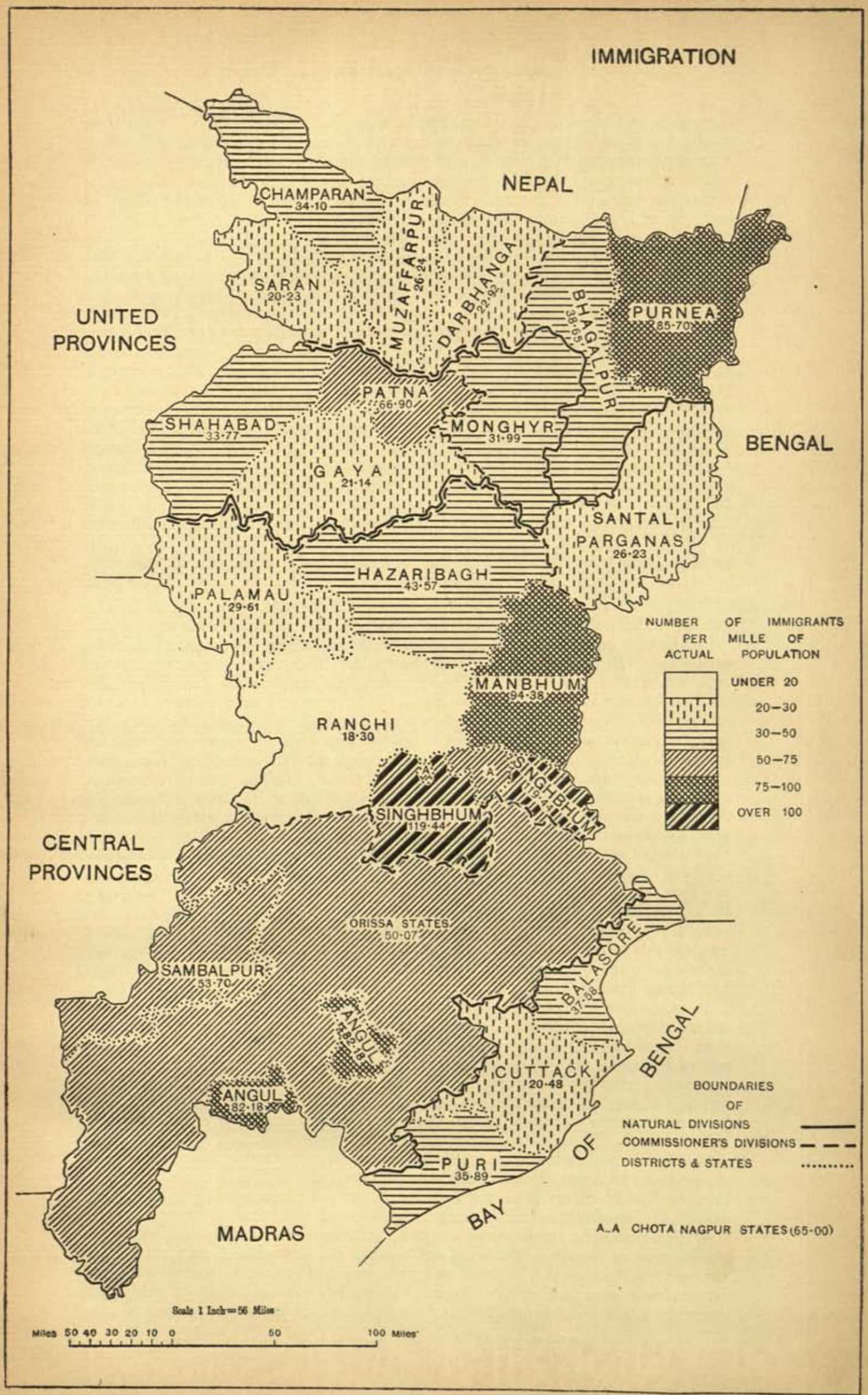
birthplace, and the proportion would be still smaller if particulars of emigration to places outside India were available. Among the natives of Bihar and Orissa enumerated in other provinces and states of India, nearly 5 lakhs of persons (or 28 per cent) had penetrated to the non-adjacent territories; whereas only 53,000 persons (or 11 per cent of the corresponding class of immigrants) had found their way into Bihar and Orissa from an equal distance. It must, however, be admitted that the greater degree of adventurousness which appears to characterize the emigrants from this province is attributable entirely to the heavy recruitment for the tea gardens in Assam. That small province absorbs nearly 95 per cent of the persons who were born in Bihar and Orissa and enumerated in non-adjacent units.

Immigration in individual districts.

5. The following table shows the number and proportion of immigrants in the various districts of the province, and these proportions are illustrated in the map opposite:—

District.	Number of immigrants.	Number per mille of actual population.
North Bihar—		
Saran	50,306	20.23
Champaran	73,160	34.10
Muzaffarpur	77,176	26.24
Darbhanga	72,566	22.92
Bhagalpur	86,378	38.65
Purnea	187,404	85.70
South Bihar—		
Patna	123,535	66.90
Gaya	50,491	21.14
Shahabad	67,320	33.77
Monghyr	73,171	31.99
Orissa—		
Cuttack	44,572	20.48
Balasore	37,224	37.58
Puri	37,152	35.89
Chota Nagpur Plateau—		
Hazaribagh	66,109	43.57
Ranchi	28,683	18.30
Palamau	24,246	29.61
Manbhum	170,914	94.38
Singhbhum	111,058	119.44
Santal Parganas	53,807	26.23
Angul	18,305	82.18
Sambalpur	47,312	53.70
Orissa States	223,592	50.07
Chota Nagpur States	12,130	65.0

The only district where outsiders account for 10 per cent of the population is Singhbhum, and more than half the total number of immigrants into that district are concentrated in Jamshedpur city. Here, as in Manbhum, it is the industrial activity that attracts: in Purnea it is the light pressure on the soil and the low incidence of rents. In Angul, too, the pressure is light, but foreigners are not made welcome to its fields, and the high proportion of immigrants in this case is due rather to the fact that the total population of the district is very small, and comparatively few strangers therefore make a conspicuous showing. Patna district has a relatively large percentage of immigrants; this is because it contains the capital city of the province, where there are commercial and industrial interests, many educational institutions, and a large number of Government officials: the cantonment at Dinapur also contributes substantially to the foreign element in the district. Immigration is rarest of all in Ranchi, where less than one person in 50 was born outside the district; and the proportion would be even lower were it not for the fairly large number of outsiders to be found in the town of Ranchi itself. In this district the aboriginal cultivators cling jealously to their ownership of the soil and resent the intrusion of strangers. The alienation of their lands is also made more difficult by special legislative


IMMIGRATION
NEPAL
CHAMPARAN 34·10
SARAN 20·23
MUZAFFARPUR 26·24
DARBHANGA 22·92
BHAGALPUR 38·65
PURNEA 85·70
UNITED PROVINCES
PATNA 66·90
SHAHABAD 33·77
MONGHYR 31·99
BENGAL
GAYA 21·14
SANTAL PARGANAS 26·23
HAZARIBAGH 43·57
PALAMAU 29·61
MANBHUM 94·38
RANCHI 18·30
A A
SINGHBHUM 119·44
SINGHBHUM 119·44
CENTRAL PROVINCES
ORISSA STATES 50·07
SAMBALPUR 53·70
BALASORE 37·88
ANGUL 82·18
ANGUL 82·18
CUTTACK 20·48
BENGAL
PURI 35·89
BAY OF
MADRAS
NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS PER MILLE OF POPULATION ACTUAL
UNDER 20
20—30
30—50
50—75
75—100
OVER 100
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
A..A CHOTA NAGPUR STATES (65·00)
Scale 1 Inch=56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

provisions. There are only three districts in which the number of immigrants is less now than it was ten years ago. These are Purnea, Palamau and the Santal Parganas. In the Orissa States, which for this purpose are treated as a single unit, there has also been a marked decrease, apparently owing to the fact that in 1921 there was a good deal of purely temporary migration from the neighbouring British districts where the prevailing scarcity was more acutely felt than in many of the states. It has been suggested in the first chapter of this report that the decrease in Purnea is probably unreal, and may be due to defective recording of birthplaces in that district. There are several other districts where the number of immigrants, while appreciably larger than it was a decade ago, has not increased so rapidly as the rest of the population, so that the proportion is somewhat lower than before. But in nine districts of the province, as well as in the Chota Nagpur states, the growth of immigration has more than kept pace with the general increase. In Hazaribagh, for instance, the number of immigrants has nearly doubled itself in this short period (from 36,305 to 66,109) and the proportion of these persons per mille of the actual population has risen from 28.4 to 43.6. In Singhbhum and Patna there are about 50 per cent more immigrants than there were in 1921. In the former district the number has shot up from 77,317 to 111,058 and the proportion from 101.8 to 119.4; in the latter the number has gone from 86,012 to 123,535 and the proportion from 54.6 to 66.9. In Shahabad and Balasore the figures are only slightly less striking. Indeed, it was largely owing to increased immigration that Balasore did not record an actual loss of population.

Emigration from individual districts.

6. As already explained, the number of emigrants from individual districts is not known. But the growth in the actual population of any given district, when scrutinized in conjunction with the vital statistics for the decade and the variation in the number of immigrants, will usually give some indication whether the emigrants from that district are more, or less, numerous than they were in 1921. This procedure has actually been followed in Chapter I when the fortunes of the various districts during the last ten years were under examination. As a result, it is possible to say with some confidence that the only districts whose emigrants have increased in number to any marked extent are Saran, Muzaffarpur and Champaran. All these districts lie in the densely peopled tract of North Bihar, and it is not at all surprising that the additional strain imposed on the resources of the soil by the growth of population since 1921 has been in some measure relieved by a quickening of the stream of emigration. In the case of all other districts the number of emigrants would appear either to have remained more or less stationary or to have fallen away. The drop has been particularly heavy for Patna, Purnea, the three coastal districts of Orissa, and five out of the eight districts on the Chota Nagpur plateau. (Hazaribagh, Palamau and Sambalpur are the three districts on the plateau where the drop is least noticeable: Sambalpur indeed may have registered a small increase.) In 1921 there were as many as eight districts which had sent abroad over 10 per cent of their natural population. The number and proportion of the emigrants from these districts, as then recorded, is shown in the margin. It will be observed that six out of the eight are situated in the natural division of Chota Nagpur. During the last ten years the fall in the number of emigrants or the growth of the natural population (or, more usually, a combination of these two causes) has lowered the proportion of emigrants from each one of these districts, with the result that it is now almost certainly below 10 per cent in the case of Angul, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh and Monghyr. For Ranchi the percentage has probably dropped to somewhere in the neighbourhood of 15; and for the Santal Parganas, Cuttack and Sambalpur it would be very little more than 10. Saran is now close on the heels of these four districts in respect of the proportion of its emigrants,

	Actual number.	*Per-centage.*
Ranchi	348,172	21.0
Santal Parganas ...	297,913	14.8
Angul ...	25,489	13.3
Singhbhum ...	100,849	12.9
Cuttack ...	255,821	11.2
Sambalpur ...	92,015	11.0
Hazaribagh ...	147,535	10.6
Monghyr ...	223,544	10.2

while in point of actual numbers it possibly comes second to Ranchi. Emigrants from the Feudatory States, taken as a single unit, have risen in number from 108,812 to 125,800, but the percentage remains unchanged at 2.7.

Districts which gain by the exchange.

7. It has been seen that the province as a whole loses heavily by migration. The same is true of most, but not all, of the individual districts. Ten years ago there were three districts (in addition to the States) where, owing to a favourable balance of migrations, the actual population was in excess of the natural population. These districts were Champaran, Purnea and Manbhum. It can now be definitely asserted that Patna and Singhbhum have been added to this select company, while Puri and Angul neither lose nor gain appreciably by the exchange. In the Feudatory States there has always been an excess of immigrants over emigrants, but during the last decade this excess was reduced from 154,000 to 108,000. It has been mentioned above that in 1921 the number of immigrants into the states from neighbouring British districts was abnormally large. This number has now fallen, and at the same time there has been an increase of emigration, which appears to be largely the result of greater enterprise.

Immigration in cities.

8. It is natural that immigrants should figure more conspicuously in towns than in the country, and more conspicuously in the larger towns than in the smaller ones. Most of all are they in evidence in the four "cities" of the province, and this has already formed the subject of comment in the preceding chapter. But it is perhaps worth while to exhibit the figures in somewhat greater detail here. The following statement gives information for the cities corresponding with the information given for the province as a whole in the first statement on page 104:—

Persons enumerated in cities who were born in—	All four Cities.		Patna.		Gaya.		Bhagalpur.		Jamshedpur.	
	Number.	Percentage of actual population.	Number.	Percentage of actual population.	Number.	Percentage of actual population.	Number.	Percentage of actual population.	Number.	Percentage of actual population.
Bihar and Orissa	**53,603**	**85.1**	**150,240**	**94.1**	**84,659**	**96.2**	**80,606**	**96.1**	**38,098**	**45.5**
District of enumeration.	303,237	73.0	128,919	80.7	79,736	90.6	73,582	87.8	21,000	25.1
Contiguous districts or state-groups.	31,082	7.5	17,638	11.0	3,819	4.3	4,267	5.1	5.358	6.4
Elsewhere in the province.	19,284	4.6	3,683	2.3	1,104	1.3	2,757	3.3	11,740	14.0
Other parts of India.	**60,115**	**14.5**	**8,969**	**5.6**	**3,179**	**3.6**	**3,158**	**3.8**	**44,809**	**53.5**
Adjacent provinces or states.	47,299	11.4	7,691	4.8	2,413	2.7	2,270	2.7	34,925	41.7
Elsewhere in India.	12,816	3.1	1,278	0.8	766	0.9	888	1.1	9,884	11·8
Outside India ..	**1,562**	**0.4**	**481**	**0.3**	**167**	**0.2**	**83**	**0.1**	**831**	**1.0**

These four places between them contain just one per cent of the total provincial population. But they have appropriated 6.4 per cent of the total number of immigrants, 12.8 per cent of the immigrants from "other parts of India" and just under 25 per cent of the immigrants from non-adjacent provinces and states. The geometrical progression of these three figures is as significant as it is singular. Alike in the volume and in the range of immigration, Jamshedpur is of course beyond all comparison with the other cities. Since 1921 the number of immigrants in these four places taken together has grown by as much as 40,000 (from 72,000 to 112,000), the increase varying from 2,000 in Gaya to 21,000 in Jamshedpur.

Migration within the province.

9. Migration within the province, although it covers a large proportion of the movement of the population, is of little real importance. Five-sixths of it consists simply in crossing over the line which separates one district

from the next. Most of this migration is of the "casual" type, as may be seen from the fact that females preponderate so largely in the statistics. Out of 1,031,000 persons who were enumerated in districts contiguous to those in which they were born, only 394,000 are of the male sex. Purnea and Manbhum are the only two districts in the province in which the male immigrants from contiguous districts outnumber the females. This is because the movement into these particular districts from adjacent parts partakes more of the semi-permanent type of migration. The influx into Purnea is largely for the purpose of taking up land, while that into Manbhum is connected with labour in the coal-fields. Hazaribagh district contributes a large number of the Manbhum immigrants, and this explains why Hazaribagh is one of the few localities from which more males emigrate into the adjacent districts than females. During the last decade there has been a remarkable increase of immigration into Patna district from the immediate vicinity. The number of persons born in contiguous districts and enumerated in Patna has gone up from 71,000 to 101,000. The two sexes have shared equally in this increase, which indicates that the movement is by no means confined to the casual type.

There is very little migration between non-contiguous districts of the province. Manbhum (57,000), Purnea (46,000) and Singhbhum (20,000) are between them the destination of more than 60 per cent of the migrants in this class. The main source of supply for Purnea is Monghyr and Darbhanga, supplemented by Saran and Muzaffarpur. Manbhum is fed chiefly from Monghyr and Gaya, while minor streams emanate also from the other two South Bihar districts of Patna and Shahabad. Be it remembered that we are at present considering only the currents of migration between non-contiguous districts of the province; but it is noteworthy that Manbhum gets between five and six times as many immigrants from Monghyr and Gaya as it does from the adjacent districts of Ranchi and Singhbhum, which appear to provide practically no labour at all for the coal-fields. The flow towards Singhbhum from other parts of the province is much less in volume than that towards Purnea or Manbhum, and is more widely dissipated; but Cuttack, Sambalpur and the four districts of South Bihar may be distinguished as the origin of the larger part of it. It will be noticed that Monghyr district figures prominently as a source of supply in each of these movements. This is largely due to its geographical situation and the special railway facilities that it enjoys. Gaya, which comes second in this respect, also enjoys a favourable position on the railway. Migration between the coastal districts of Orissa and other British districts of the province is practically non-existent, apart from the minor current (already noticed) flowing from Cuttack to Singhbhum. Out of 197,000 persons born in the province and enumerated in non-contiguous districts of it, less than 3,500 were enumerated in Orissa. The Chota Nagpur districts, as we have seen, attract plenty of immigrants from a fair distance, but they send out very few in return. There are no half-measures about the primitive tribes when it comes to leaving their native village. Either they decline to go any further than the district next door, or else they are up and away to Assam, Calcutta and such-like places. The only exception worthy of notice is a subsidiary current of migration from Sambalpur to the districts of Hazaribagh and Singhbhum.

Migration to and from other parts of India.

10. Migration between the province and other parts of India is of considerable importance. Bihar and Orissa gives much more than it receives, but this is wholly due to the acquisitiveness of Bengal and Assam. In our traffic with these two provinces we suffer a net loss of 1,451,082 persons, while our dealings with all other parts of India yield a net gain of about 147,500. Among the other provinces with which there is any appreciable interchange, the only one which takes more than it gives is Burma. The United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Madras, the Punjab, Bombay—the immigrants from all these areas are well in excess of the emigrants. In this part of the world, therefore, the general trend of migration is from west to east.

Immigration from other provinces.

11. Subsidiary Table IV gives statistics of the immigrants from and the emigrants to all provinces and states in India, as recorded at the last two

censuses. The statement in the margin shows the percentage contributed by each important unit towards the total number of immigrants into Bihar and Orissa. (The Bengal states are included with Bengal, the Madras states with Madras, and so on.) There has been a net increase of 79,495 in the number of immigrants since 1921, and all the units shown in the margin have contributed something towards that increase. The growth in immigration from Bengal is, however, much the most noticeable. The number of persons born in that province and enumerated in Bihar and Orissa has risen from 116,922 to 157,524. Four-fifths of this number were enumerated in districts which are in direct contact with the Bengal border, and it is difficult to determine how much of the movement in these cases was casual and how much of it was due to economic causes. The difficulty is enhanced because, in the first place, the part of Bengal from which these immigrants came is not known, and, secondly, the districts of this province which would in any case be most likely to attract immigrants—such as Manbhum, Singhbhum and Purnea—happen to lie on the boundary. It is significant, though, that the influx into these particular districts during the last ten years has been much more marked than in the case of the other bordering districts of Balasore and the Santal Parganas; also that, whereas in the two latter districts female immigrants are in the majority, the proportions of the sexes are about equal in Purnea and Manbhum, while in Singhbhum male immigrants are slightly in excess. Patna and Hazaribagh are the only two districts not adjacent to Bengal which contain a goodly number of Bengalis, and in both these places it has risen sharply since 1921. In Patna there are now 6,545, as compared with 4,250 a decade ago; and in Hazaribagh 4,203 against 2,402.

	1931.	1921.
Bengal	33.8	30.2
United Provinces ...	27.1	30.0
Central Provinces ...	19.1	20.0
Madras	8.7	9.3
Rajputana Agency ...	4.4	4.9
Punjab	3.3	2.0
Bombay	1.6	1.8

Immigrants from the United Provinces number 126,539, which is 10,745 more than they numbered in 1921. Well over half are absorbed by the contiguous districts of Shahabad, Saran and Champaran. Manbhum (10,000) and Patna (6,000) are the most important centres of attraction elsewhere, and the current is quickening towards both these districts. The open spaces of Purnea, and the easy terms on which they may be appropriated, have drawn over 5,000 immigrants across the whole breadth of Bihar, but their number is now decreasing.

The districts which border on the Central Provinces can claim no share in the increased number of immigrants from that area. Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Singhbhum, none of which touches the provincial boundary line, account for as many as 45,000 natives of those provinces, or just over half the total number enumerated in Bihar and Orissa. So far as Manbhum and Singhbhum are concerned, the movement is not a new one, though it has gained impetus in the last ten years. But Hazaribagh had only about 4,000 immigants from the Central Provinces in 1921; now it has about 15,000. The coal-fields are the attraction. No other stream of immigration from outside the province has developed to such a marked extent during this period.

Three-quarters of the immigrants from Madras are to be found in the districts of Orissa or in the Feudatory States. Nearly all the rest have made their way to Singhbhum or Manbhum. The increase in Singhbhum (from 3,500 to 8,000) is striking, and covers practically the whole of the increase in the volume of immigration from Madras to this province.

Rajputana and the Punjab provide most of the immigrants from the more distant parts of India. Those from the Punjab are just twice as numerous now as they were in 1921, thanks mainly to the special attractions of Jamshedpur city. The settlers from Rajputana are more widely dispersed over the province. Manbhum and Singhbhum have rather more than any other districts, but elsewhere on the Chota Nagpur and throughout the administrative division of Bhagalpur a fair sprinkling of them is to be found.

Emigration to other provinces.

12. The marginal statement shows the distribution per cent of the emigrants from this province between the various principal units of destination. The overwhelming importance of Bengal and Assam, which between them take 9 emigrants out of every 10, is immediately apparent. The outward flow from Bihar and Orissa to each one of the units here shown, excepting the Central Provinces, has diminished since 1921, and the net decrease in the total number of emigrants to other parts of India is 184,695, or nearly 10 per cent. With regard to the Central Provinces, the explanation is that ten years ago there was acute scarcity in Chattisgarh which completely dried up the normal stream of migration to that area from the Chota Nagpur plateau. In 1911 the number of persons born in Bihar and Orissa and enumerated in the Central Provinces (including the associated states) was about 128,500; at the time of the following census there were only 32,500. The number recorded on the present occasion (52,000) must therefore be regarded as still very much below the normal.

	1931.	*1921.*
Bengal	64.3	62.8
Assam	26.6	29.2
United Provinces ...	3.9	4.0
Central Provinces ...	2.9	1.7
Burma	1.1	1.1
Madras	0.7	0.9

Apart from Assam, Burma is the only province not in immediate contact with Bihar and Orissa to which there is a perceptible current of migration. At the present census 18,732 emigrants from this province were enumerated there, which is nearly 2,000 below the 1921 figure. Shahabad ordinarily supplies the largest quota. Some forty years ago two estates in the Pegu and Toungoo districts respectively were granted to Shahabad landlords to stimulate migration, and the colonists are still there. The Orissa districts—and Puri in particular—send a fair number of their people to Burma, and there are minor currents in the same direction from Saran and Patna.

Emigration to the United Provinces is confined almost entirely to the districts of Bihar proper and consists of little else than minor movements of the casual variety. In 1921, for example, the two border districts of Saran and Shahabad furnished two-thirds of the total number of the emigrants. Saran alone contributed over 28,000, out of whom 27,000 were enumerated in contiguous districts of the United Provinces, and 23,000 of these were females. Nor does the Madras flow call for any special notice. It is very limited in volume, and only the districts and states in the extreme south contribute anything towards it.

The extent of the migration from Bihar and Orissa to Bengal may be gauged from the fact that, home-loving and firmly rooted in the soil as its people are, one person out of every 30 born in the province was found to be residing in Bengal when the present census was taken. The actual number was about 1,139,000, which represents a drop of nearly 89,000 as compared with the previous census. The great bulk of this migration is periodic, though of course matrimonial alliances and other "casual" movements account for a good deal of the traffic between districts on the border, and there is an appreciable amount of semi-permanent and permanent change of residence. It is of interest to note that in 1931 Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial districts of Howrah, Hughli and the 24-Parganas were the destination of almost exactly half the emigrants to Bengal from this province. In these four districts male emigrants outnumbered females by about 5 to 1, whereas in the rest of Bengal the ratio was about 3 to 2. It is largely on account of the depression in the industrial areas of Bengal that there has been such a substantial fall in the sum total of migration to that province. For reasons already given it is not possible to determine with any great accuracy the localities in Bihar and Orissa which contributed most towards this great host of migrants. In 1921 the four natural divisions sent out their emissaries in approximately the proportions noted in the margin. We know that from North Bihar alone emigration in general has increased during the decade, while in Chota Nagpur it has diminished more markedly than in

North Bihar	10
South Bihar	9
Orissa	6
Chota Nagpur plateau ...	15

any other part of the province. Among individual districts the Santal Parganas at that time topped the list with the colossal figure of over 200,000. The movement from this district, however, was largely of a special nature, connected with the general tendency of the Santals to gravitate in an easterly direction, and more will be said of this movement in Appendix VI. Ranchi with 164,000 emigrants to Bengal, and Saran and Cuttack with something over 114,000 each, came next in order, each one of them well removed from the boundary line dividing the two provinces. The number sent out from Saran is now doubtless greater than before, but from the other two districts it would be less. Towards the end of Chapter I figures have been quoted showing the sums of money remitted to post-offices in Bihar and Orissa during the last six years of the decade, and it has been observed that these represent to a large extent the contribution made by emigrants towards the wealth of the province, though they do not cover that portion of an emigrant's savings, substantial as it usually is, which he may bring with him on his person when he returns home. It will be seen from the figures just mentioned that the yearly average of remittances by money-order was in the neighbourhood of eight crores of rupees. Most of this comes from Bengal and Assam, and of the two provinces Bengal's share was much larger. During the three years immediately preceding the census remittances to the single district of Saran averaged well over one crore per annum, and those to Cuttack averaged about 80 lakhs. And it has just been noticed that these two districts supply a very high proportion of the emigrants to Bengal.

This province is the most important recruiting ground for labour in the tea-gardens of Assam. In fact, it supplies the tea industry with about twice as many labourers as all the rest of India put together—excepting, of course, Assam itself. Emigration to the gardens is not periodic except in the sense that recruits are most plentiful during the slack season of the agricultural year. Also, the introduction of short-term contracts does make it possible now for a man to get back home again before the busy time in the fields begins. But formerly (and to a lesser extent this is still the case) the more usual thing would be for a labourer to stay and work in the gardens for at least a year or two. If he liked the life, he would probably go and fetch his family, and in such cases he would as a rule remain on for anything from two to five years, or he might even settle down permanently there. The aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur are specially sought after for this work, and in 1921 nearly three-quarters of the total number of emigrants to Assam were born on the plateau. Of the remainder, rather more than half came from the three coastal districts of Orissa, and Bihar proper supplied a relatively small proportion. At the present census 471,786 emigrants from this province were enumerated in Assam. This is nearly 100,000 less than the number found there in 1921, but in that year the conditions were quite abnormal. The statement in the margin shows the number of persons recruited each year since 1917-18 under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act. The figures include dependants, and the year runs in each case from the 1st July to the 30th June. It is probable that a fair number of the persons recruited in 1930-31 left their homes after the census. For the decade ending on the 30th June 1930 the total number of recruits (169,043) was less than for the single year 1918-19, when the scarcity and distress was responsible for a rush of emigration unlike anything that had been known before. It is said that the increase of emigration from 1927-28 onwards was due largely to the popularity of the system of recruitment for short terms of six, nine or twelve months.

1917-18	12,462
1918-19	178,918
1919-20	68,466
1920-21	10,537
1921-22	5,428
1922-23	4,968
1923-24	11,044
1924-25	9,238
1925-26	13,705
1926-27	16,475
1927-28	20,322
1928-29	42,731
1929-30	34,595
1930-31	33,092

Migration to and from places outside India.

13. One in every thousand persons enumerated in the province was born outside India. The actual number of these immigrants from foreign countries was 42,000, out of whom about 36,500 come from Nepal alone. Great Britain and Ireland account for another 3,000 and Afghanistan for

1,500, which leaves barely a thousand for all other countries combined. Further mention is made below of immigration from Nepal. For the rest, a battalion of British infantry at Dinapur is mainly responsible for the fact that Europeans in Patna district just run into four figures. Ranchi has many foreign missionaries, and in the industrial centres of Manbhum and Singhbhum Europeans are fairly numerous; so that these three districts between them contain about half the natives of Europe that are not to be found in Patna. Immigrants from Afghanistan are almost exclusively males, less than 3 per cent of their number belonging to the tender sex. They are most numerous in Purnea (372), Manbhum (147) and Singhbhum (138). Jamshedpur city is the meeting-place of all races and nationalities found in the province.

Statistical information regarding emigration to places outside India is limited to the fact that 44 natives of Bihar and Orissa were enumerated in Ceylon (Colombo) and 3 in Hongkong. Emigration from the province to the colonies was never on a large scale, and is probably more restricted now than it used to be. In Great Britain and other European countries there are doubtless a number of Indian students, visitors and the like from Bihar and Orissa, while the children of European Government officials, born during the residence of their parents in this country, are not a few. But most of the emigration to places outside India is directed to other Asiatic countries, and in particular Nepal.

As is natural, the districts of North Bihar which border on Nepal contain most of the immigrants from that country. In Purnea and Bhagalpur they are not very numerous, but the three districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga account for 29,000 between them. Outside North Bihar there are only 4,000 all told. In the three districts just mentioned the female immigrants outnumber the males by as much as 3 to 1, while in the rest of the province males are in a substantial majority. This again is not unnatural. The fact that Nepalese subjects who settle in India forfeit their ancestral lands tends to discourage the movement of males across the frontier, but this would not apply equally to women, who frequently find husbands (particularly among the lower castes) in the adjacent British territory. A wife from Nepal has the great advantage that one does not have to pay any *chumauna* for her. The women of that country are also in demand as maid-servants, *ayahs* and so forth. Although there is a good deal of movement across the frontier in the opposite direction—from Bihar to Nepal—it is of a very different kind. Nearly all of it is temporary, and nearly all the emigrants belong to the male sex. Alliances between Indian women and Nepalese men do not seem to find favour on either side. The lands in Nepal are generally more fertile than in the adjacent districts of Bihar, and the pressure on the soil is light. There are large areas of jungle and waste land awaiting reclamation; no *salami* has to be given for such lands, and no rent is demanded for them for the first two or three years; living, too, is comparatively cheap. Thus, the Terai offers many attractions to the residents of the highly-cultivated, over-crowded areas on this side of the border. But it has its disadvantages, too. The climate is particularly unhealthy, and there is little in the way of medical aid. Wild animals cause great damage to the crops, and there is a feeling that neither property nor person commands quite the same respect as at home. The system of produce rent obtains widely in Nepal, and this is not popular. So, although people do cross over to that country for purposes of cultivation, they do not as a rule settle down permanently. There is a good deal of temporary emigration among the labouring classes at harvest time, which is stimulated by the somewhat higher wages obtainable in Nepal. Merchants go there in large numbers to purchase rice and other commodities, and the fact that there are no trading classes among the Nepalese has led a number of petty shopkeepers to establish themselves in the *hats* and villages across the frontier. But they seldom make a permanent home in Nepal, nor do they penetrate any distance into the interior.

I.—Immigration (actual figures).

District and natural division where enumerated.	Born in (000's omitted). District or Natural Division. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Contiguous districts in Province. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Other parts of Province. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Contiguous Provinces and States. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Other parts of India.* Persons.	Males.	Females.	Outside India. Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***41,820***	***20,824***	***20,996***	...	...	...	...	...	...	***414***	***207***	***207***	***53***	***35***	***18***	***42***	***17***	***25***
North Bihar	***14,893***	***7,458***	***7,435***	***125***	***55***	***70***	***5·7***	***3·2***	***2·5***	***95***	***45***	***50***	***8·8***	***5·8***	***3***	***34***	***10***	***24***
Saran	**2,436**	1,204	1,232	**23**	6	17	**1·9**	·9	1	**24**	8	16	**1·5**	1	·5	·3	·2	·1
Champaran	**2,073**	1,050	1,023	**36**	14	22	**2·3**	1·4	·9	**22**	11	11	**1·7**	1	·7	**11·5**	3·7	7·8
Muzaffarpur	**2,864**	1,420	1,444	**60**	18	42	**2·9**	1·3	1·6	...	...	...	**4·3**	2·5	1·8	**9·6**	3·2	7·4
Darbhanga	**3,094**	1,550	1,544	**57**	15	42	**3·7**	2·4	1·3	...	...	...	**3·7**	2·2	1·5	**8·3**	1·6	6·7
Bhagalpur	**2,148**	1,091	1,057	**65**	26	39	**10·5**	7·5	3	...	...	...	**8·9**	5·7	3·2	**1·5**	·5	1
Purnea	**1,999**	1,024	975	**102**	53	49	**46**	31	15	**30**	15	15	**7·6**	5·1	2·5	**2·2**	1·3	·9
South Bihar	***8,352***	***4,219***	***4,133***	***97***	***41***	***56***	***5·6***	***3·6***	***2***	***39***	***18***	***21***	***20***	***12***	***8***	***2·4***	***1·9***	***·5***
Patna	**1,723**	899	824	**101**	42	59	**5·4**	3·5	1·9	...	...	...	**15**	9	6	**1·5**	1·2	·3
Gaya	**2,338**	1,173	1,165	**42**	15	27	**2·6**	1·7	·9	...	...	...	**5·3**	3·3	2	**·2**	·1	·1
Shahabad	**1,926**	974	952	**33**	10	23	**3·2**	1·8	1·4	**28**	11	17	**3·1**	1·9	1·2	**·2**	·16	·04
Monghyr	**2,214**	1,116	1,098	**60**	21	39	**5·4**	3·5	1·9	...	...	...	**7·3**	4·5	2·8	**·46**	·33	·13
Orissa	***4,139***	***1,981***	***2,151***	***34***	***9***	***25***	***3·6***	***2·3***	***1·3***	***27***	***13***	***14***	***6·2***	***4·1***	***2·1***	***·4***	***·3***	***·1***
Cuttack	**2,132**	1,014	1,118	**35**	8	27	**2·5**	1·5	1	...	...	...	**6·3**	3·7	2·6	**·18**	·14	·04
Balasore	**953**	466	487	**23**	8	15	**·8**	·6	·2	**11**	4·7	6·5	**2·1**	1·5	·6	**·1**	·1	...
Puri	**998**	487	511	**23**	6	17	**1**	·7	·3	**8**	3·5	4·5	**5·1**	3	2·1	**·1**	·1	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***13,975***	***6,951***	***7,024***	***183***	***92***	***91***	***15***	***11***	***4***	***237***	***121***	***116***	***34***	***22***	***12***	***5·4***	***3·9***	***1·5***
Hazaribagh	**1,451**	719	732	**34**	14	20	**6·6**	4	2·6	...	...	...	**25**	14	11	**·6**	·4	·2
Ranchi	**1,538**	764	774	**14**	4	10	**6**	4	2	**2**	·8	1·4	**·6**	3·6	2·4	**·5**	·3	·2
Palamau	**794**	398	396	**18**	8	10	**·7**	·5	·2	**5**	2·5	2·5	**·9**	·5	·4	**·1**	·1	...
Manbhum	**1,640**	835	805	**47**	26	21	**57**	40	17	**33**	17	16	**32**	21	11	**1·4**	1	·4
Singhbhum	**819**	405	414	**23**	10	13	**20**	14	6	**20**	11	9	**47**	29	18	**1·9**	1·5	·4
Santal Parganas	**1,998**	1,002	996	**22**	9	13	**5·4**	3·5	1·9	**22**	10	12	**4·4**	2·6	1·8	**·2**	·1	·1
Angul	**204**	103	101	**13**	4	9	**1·4**	1	·4	**4**	1	3	**·2**	·1	·1	**·02**	·01	·01
Sambalpur	**834**	413	421	**23**	8	15	**3**	1·9	1·1	**11**	4·9	6·5	**10**	4·3	5·7	**·11**	·09	·03
Orissa States	**4,242**	2,104	2,138	**168**	66	102	**5·9**	3·4	2·5	**36**	17	19	**12**	6	6	**·3**	·2	·1
Chota Nagpur States	**174**	87	87	**10**	3	7	**1**	·7	·3	...	...	...	**1·4**	·9	·5	**·04**	·03	·01

*1,186 persons whose birthplace was returned as "India" without further specification, and 1,315 persons whose birthplace was not returned at all, have been treated in this table as having been born in "Other parts of India".

II.—Emigration (actual figures).

District and natural division of birth.	Enumerated in (000's omitted). District or Natural Division. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Contiguous districts in Province. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Other parts of Province. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Places outside the Province. Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bihar and Orissa ...	***41,820***	***20,824***	***20,996***	...	...	...	...	...	...	***1,770***	***1,146***	***624***
North Bihar	***14,893***	***7,458***	***7,435***	***96***	***41***	***55***	***12***	***9***	***3***	...	...	...
Saran	2,436	1,204	1,232	32	17	15	15	12	3			
Champaran	2,072	1,050	1,022	24	6	18	3	2	1			
Muzaffarpur	2,864	1,420	1,444	82	25	57	14	10	4			
Darbhanga	3,094	1,550	1,544	66	21	45	18	12	6			
Bhagalpur	2,148	1,091	1,057	117	54	63	5	3	2			
Purnea	1,999	1,024	975	9	5	4	2	1	1			
South Bihar	***8,352***	***4,219***	***4,133***	***104***	***42***	***62***	***88***	***59***	***29***			
Patna	1,723	899	824	56	20	36	11	7	4			
Gaya	2,338	1,173	1,165	77	29	48	32	22	10			
Shahabad	1,926	974	952	23	10	13	17	12	5			
Monghyr	2,214	1,116	1,098	84	28	56	43	27	16			
Orissa	***4,132***	***1,981***	***2,151***	***57***	***18***	***39***	***12***	***8***	***4***			
Cuttack	2,132	1,014	1,118	53	19	34	9	6	3			
Balasore	953	466	487	24	6	18	2	1	1			
Puri	996	487	511	27	6	21	1·9	1·4	·5			
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***13,975***	***6,951***	***7,024***	***98***	***38***	***60***	***3***	***2***	***1***			
Hazaribagh	1,451	719	732	48	26	22	3	2	1			
Ranchi	1,538	764	774	40	17	23	3	2	1			
Palamau	794	398	396	12	4	8	1·1	·7	·4			
Manbhum	1,640	835	805	19	7	12	3	2	1			
Singhbhum	819	405	414	43	18	25	4	2	2			
Santal Parganas	1,998	1,002	996	53	24	29	1·1	·7	·4			
Angul	204	103	101	16	6	10	·6	·4	·2			
Sambalpur	834	413	421	44	19	25	7	4	3			
Orissa States	4,242	2,104	2,138	80	25	55	·115	·072	·043			
Chota Nagpur States	174	87	87	·8	·4	·4	·071	·023	·048			

N.B.—Information regarding the district of birth of the above persons is not available. They were enumerated in the following localities:—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Contiguous Provinces and States.	1,273	855	418
Other parts of India.	497	291	206
Outside India.	·047	·041	·006

III.—Migration between natural divisions (actual figures) compared with 1921.

Natural division in which born.		Number enumerated (000's omitted) in each natural division. North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.	Total.
1		2	3	4	5	6
Total	1931 ...	**267**	**163**	**70**	**477**	**977**
	1921 ...	**268**	**134**	**52**	**439**	**893**
North Bihar	1931 ...	[14,893]	80	·394	27	**107**
	1921 ...	[13,740]	68	·327	27	**96**
South Bihar	1931 ...	87	[8,352]	·692	104	**192**
	1921 ...	101	[7,440]	·405	112	**214**
Orissa	1931 ...	·293	·807	[4,132]	68	**69**
	1921 ...	·264	·515	[3,945]	73	**74**
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1931 ...	43	21	36	[13,975]	**100**
	1921 ...	46	19	22	[11,944]	**87**
Outside Province	1931 ...	137	61	33	278	**509**
	1921 ...	121	47	29	226	**423**

IV.—Migration between the Province and other parts of India (actual figures).

Part I.—Bihar and Orissa (including feudatory states).

Province or State.	Immigrants from Province or State named in column 1.			Emigrants to Province or State named in column 1.			Excess (+) or Deficiency (—) of immigrants over emigrants.	
	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	*466,563*	*387,068*	*+79,495*	*1,770,173*	*1,954,868*	*—1,84,695*	*—1,303,610*	*—1,567,800*
British Territory	**427,635**	**344,809**	**+82,826**	**1,723,274**	**1,912,554**	**—189,280**	**—1,295,639**	**—1,567,745**
Ajmer-Merwara	123	132	—9	105	335	—230	+18	—203
Andamans and Nicobars	4	4	...	620	1,473	—853	—616	—1,469
Assam	2,024	892	+1,132	471,601	570,642	—99,041	—469,577	—569,750
Baluchistan	11	44	—33	44	150	—106	—33	—106
Bengal	157,504	116,860	+40,644	1,124,930	1,207,268	—82,338	—967,426	—1,090,408
Bombay (*including* Aden)	6,876	4,237	+2,639	1,167	3,065	—1,898	+5,709	+1,172
Burma	298	217	+81	18,732	20,616	—1,884	—18,434	—20,399
Central Provinces and Berar	81,573	62,817	+18,756	25,488	14,565	+10,923	+56,085	+48,252
Coorg	6	1	+5	...	...	...	+6	+1
Delhi	359	541	—182	715	246	+469	—356	+295
Madras	36,457	35,927	+530	†12,047	17,032	—4,985	+24,410	+18,895
North-West Frontier Province	824	281	+543	136	129	+7	+688	+152
Punjab	15,051	7,278	+7,773	1,156	651	+505	+13,895	+6,627
United Provinces	126,525	115,588	+10,937	66,533	76,382	—9,849	+59,992	+39,206
Indian States	**37,457**	**41,852**	**—4,395**	**46,899**	**42,314**	**+4,585**	**—9,442**	**—462**
Assam States (*Manipur and Tribal areas*)	6	57	—51	185	...	+185	—179	+57
Baluchistan States	5	3	+2	...	...	...	+5	+3
Baroda State	63	153	—90	113	42	+71	—50	+111
Bengal States	20	62	—42	13,920	20,339	—6,419	—13,900	—20,277
Bombay States*	440	2,850	—2,410	333	866	—533	+107	+1,984
Central India (*Agency*)	2,075	2,158	—83	985	708	+277	+1,090	+1,450
Central Provinces States	7,744	14,506	—6,762	26,431	17,874	+8,557	—18,687	—3,368
Gwalior State	184	1,246	—1,062	102	95	+7	+82	+1,151
Hyderabad State	468	349	+119	564	580	—16	—96	—231
Kashmir State	92	364	—272	23	32	—9	+69	+332
Madras States (*including* Cochin and Travancore).	4,329	99	+4,230	1	5	—4	+4,328	+94
Mysore State	403	347	+56	58	101	—43	+345	+246
North-West Frontier Province (*Agencies and Tribal areas*).	475	48	+427	23	...	+23	+452	+48
Punjab States	279	579	—300	125	28	+97	+154	+551
Rajputana (*Agency*)	20,756	18,812	+1,944	452	333	+119	+20,304	+18,479
Sikkim State	26	13	+13	305	...	+305	—279	+13
United Provinces States	14	206	—192	3,200	1,311	+1,889	—3,186	—1,105
Western India Agency*	78	...	+78	79	...	+79	—1	...
French and Portuguese Settlements	**285**	**125**	**+160**	...	...	...	**+285**	**+125**
India, unspecified	**1,186**	**282**	**+904**	...	...	...	**+1,186**	**+282**

Part II.—Bihar and Orissa (British territory only).

Province or State.	Immigrants from Province or State named in column 1.			Emigrants to Province or State named in column 1.			Excess (+) or Deficiency (—) of immigrants over emigrants.	
	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	*495,876*	*390,088*	*+105,788*	*1,907,597*	*2,112,106*	*—204,509*	*—1,411,721*	*—1,722,018*
British Territory	**386,316**	**298,947**	**+87,369**	**1,682,462**	**1,864,643**	**—182,181**	**—1,296,146**	**—1,565,696**
Ajmer-Merwara	121	129	—8	100	335	—235	+21	—206
Andamans and Nicobars	4	4	...	583	1,473	—890	—579	—1,469
Assam	1,794	832	+962	443,412	535,565	—92,153	—441,618	—534,733
Baluchistan	7	42	—35	44	150	—106	—37	—108
Bengal	149,396	107,180	+42,216	1,114,260	1,200,751	—86,491	—964,864	—1,093,571
Bombay (*including* Aden)	6,140	3,825	+2,315	†778	1,065	—287	+5,362	+2,760
Burma	253	146	+107	18,344	20,189	—1,845	—18,091	—20,043
Central Provinces and Berar	63,223	45,885	+17,338	24,457	10,683	+13,774	+38,766	+35,202
Coorg	6	1	+5	...	...	...	+6	+1
Delhi	309	509	—200	710	245	+465	—401	+264
Madras	26,006	19,238	+6,768	†11,968	17,032	—5,064	+14,038	+2,206
North-West Frontier Province	782	256	+526	129	129	...	+653	+127
Punjab	13,386	6,372	+7,014	1,150	645	+505	+12,136	+5,627
United Provinces	124,989	114,628	+10,361	66,537	76,381	—9,854	+58,462	+38,247
Indian States	**108,989**	**90,822**	**+17,267**	**225,135**	**247,463**	**—22,328**	**—117,046**	**—156,641**
Assam States (*Manipur and Tribal areas*)	6	55	—49	185	...	+185	—179	+55
Baluchistan States	5	3	+2	...	...	...	+5	+3
Baroda State	47	107	—60	110	42	+68	—63	+65
Bengal States	19	62	—43	12,842	19,675	—6,833	—12,823	—19,613
Bihar and Orissa States	79,915	56,546	+23,369	183,309	209,504	—26,195	—103,394	—152,958
Bombay States*	350	2,463	—2,113	†222	167	+55	+128	+2,296
Central India (*Agency*)	1,902	1,790	+112	953	708	+245	+949	+1,082
Central Provinces States	5,128	9,806	—4,678	22,625	14,885	+7,740	—17,497	—5,079
Gwalior State	173	1,176	—1,003	102	95	+7	+71	+1,081
Hyderabad State	431	327	+104	564	580	—16	—133	—253
Kashmir State	78	311	—233	23	32	—9	+55	+279
Madras States (*including* Cochin and Travancore).	38	96	—58	1	5	—4	+37	+91
Mysore State	372	333	+39	58	101	—43	+314	+232
North-West Frontier Province (*Agencies and Tribal areas*).	475	33	+442	23	...	+23	+452	+33
Punjab States	89	446	—357	125	28	+97	—36	+418
Rajputana (*Agency*)	18,987	17,059	+1,928	436	330	+106	+18,551	+16,729
Sikkim State	26	13	+13	305	...	+305	—279	+13
United Provinces States	4	196	—192	3,200	1,311	+1,889	—3,196	—1,115
Western India Agency*	44	...	+44	†52	...	+52	—8	...
French and Portuguese Settlements	**285**	**121**	**+164**	...	...	...	**+285**	**+121**
India, unspecified	**1,186**	**198**	**+988**	...	...	...	**+1,186**	**+198**

* In 1921 the *Western India Agency* was included in *Bombay States*.

† Approximate. Exact figures are not available.

IV.—Migration between the province and other parts of India (actual figures)—*concluded.*

PART III.—BIHAR AND ORISSA STATES.

Province or State.	Immigrants from Province or State named in column 1.			Emigrants to Province or State named in column 1.			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigrants over emigrants.	
	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	***233,911***	***263,030***	***—29,115***	***125,800***	***108,812***	***+16,988***	***+108,111***	***+154,218***
British Territory	**224,628**	**255,366**	**—30,734**	**120,727**	**104,457**	**+16,270**	**+103,901**	**+150,909**
Ajmer-Merwara	2	3	—1	5	...	+5	—3	+3
Andamans and Nicobars	...	...	...	37	...	+37	—37	...
Assam	230	60	+170	28,189	35,077	—6,888	—27,959	35,017
Baluchistan	4	2	+2	...	...	...	+4	+2
Bengal	8,108	9,680	—1,572	10,670	6,517	+4,153	—2,562	+3,163
Bihar and Orissa	183,309	209,504	—26,195	79,915	56,546	+23,369	+103,394	+153,958
Bombay (*including* Aden)	736	402	+334	†389	2,000	—1,611	+347	—1,598
Burma	45	71	—26	388	427	—39	—343	—356
Central Provinces and Berar	18,350	16,932	+1,418	1,031	3,882	—2,851	+17,319	+13,050
Coorg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	50	32	+18	5	1	+4	+45	+31
Madras	10,451	16,689	—6,238	†79	...	+79	+10,372	+16,689
North-West Frontier Province ...	42	25	+17	7	...	+7	+35	+25
Punjab	1,765	1,006	+759	6	6	...	+1,759	+1,000
United Provinces	1,536	960	+576	6	1	+5	+1,530	+959
Indian States	**9,283**	**7,576**	**+1,707**	**5,073**	**4,355**	**+718**	**+4,210**	**+3,221**
Assam States (*Manipur and Tribal areas*)	...	2	—2	...	...	...	...	+2
Baluchistan States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baroda State	16	46	—30	3	...	+3	+13	+46
Bengal States	1	...	+1	1,078	664	+414	—1,077	—664
Bombay States *	90	387	—297	†111	699	—588	—31	—312
Central India (*Agency*)	173	368	—195	32	...	+32	+141	+368
Central Provinces States	2,616	4,700	—2,084	3,806	2,989	+817	—1,190	+1,711
Gwalior State	11	70	—59	...	...	...	+11	+70
Hyderabad State	37	22	+15	...	...	...	+37	+22
Kashmir State	14	53	—39	...	...	...	+14	+53
Madras States (*including* Cochin *and* Travancore).	4,291	3	+4,288	...	...	...	+4,291	+3
Mysore State	31	14	+17	...	...	...	+31	+14
North-West Frontier Province (*Agencies and Tribal areas*).	...	15	—15	...	...	...	...	+15
Punjab States	190	133	+57	...	...	...	+190	+133
Rajputana (*Agency*)	1,769	1,753	+16	16	3	+13	+1,753	+1,750
Sikkim State	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
United Provinces States	10	10	...	...	...	...	+10	+10
Western India Agency *	34	...	+34	†27	...	+27	+7	...
French and Portuguese Settlements	...	4	—4	...	...	...	...	+4
India, unspecified	...	84	—84	...	...	...	...	+84

* In 1921 the *Western India Agency* was included in *Bombay States.*

† Approximate. Exact figures are not available.

CHAPTER IV.—Age.

Reference to statistics.

The age statistics are contained in Imperial Table VII, where they are combined with statistics relating to sex and civil condition. Part I of that table is a provincial summary, showing the distribution by age of the total population and of each religious community. In this part separate figures are given for each year of life up to the fifth; thereafter they are arranged in quinary age-groups up to 70, all persons of 70 and over being comprised in a single group. The age-groups are shown as 5—10, 10—15 and so on, the second figure of each group being *exclusive*. For instance, the group 5—10 includes all persons aged 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 years, but not those aged 10. Parts II and III of Imperial Table VII give statistics in detail for districts and cities respectively, but in these parts fewer age-groups are shown. Up to the age of 20 no change is made, but persons between 20 and 60 are distributed between four decennial groups, and a single group is allotted to all those aged 60 and over. In these two parts separate figures are given for the religions which are locally important. Imperial Table VIII contains age statistics of selected castes and tribes.

At the end of this chapter the following subsidiary tables will be found:—

I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the province and in each natural division.

II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion.

III.—Variation in population at certain age-periods.

IV.—Proportion of (1) children to persons aged 15—40 and to married females aged 15—40; (2) persons over 60 to persons aged 15—40; and (3) married females aged 15—40 to total number of females:—

Part I.—By natural divisions and districts.

Part II.—By religions and natural divisions.

V.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.

VI.—Proportion in certain castes of (1) children to persons aged 14—43 and to married females aged 14—43; (2) persons over 43 to persons aged 14—43; and (3) married females aged 14—43 to total number of females.

VII.—Reported birth-rate by sex and natural divisions.

VIII.—Reported death-rate by sex and natural divisions.

IX.—Reported death-rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years.

X —Reported deaths from certain diseases in each year of decade.

Accuracy of the returns.

2. The enquiry into the ages of the population is one of the most important and interesting aspects of the census operations; unfortunately, however, the statistics which it provides are proverbially inaccurate. For this ignorance and superstition are largely responsible. As pointed out by Mr. Marten in the all-India census report of 1921, "there is a traditional reticence regarding the mention of a person's age which probably has its origin in the same class of ideas as that which causes a taboo on the mention of names. The age, like the name, is considered to be an intimate part of a man's personality which, if given away, might be used in some magical means to cause him injury." Apart from this, it is the exception rather than the rule for any person in India to know his own age or that of his wife or child. It is true that the practice of preparing

a horoscope whenever a child (and particularly a male child) is born is supposed to be widespread among the Hindu population, but how far it is really observed, even among the better classes, is open to some doubt. In any case the horoscope is seldom consulted for the benefit of the enumerator, and the record of age is in consequence mainly the result of guess-work. It is usual, however, for the author of a census report to fortify himself—and, as far as may be, his public—with the theory that, while little reliance can be placed on the recorded age of any particular individual, it is nevertheless possible to extract from the mass a reasonably accurate estimate of the age constitution of the population as a whole; also that, the types of error being more or less constant, periodic changes in the age constitution from one census to another can be traced with some approach to confidence. Mention is made below of some of the more important tendencies towards error observable at every census.

Common types of error.

3. *Tendency to exaggerate age.*—This is very common in the advanced age-periods, and is more marked among females than among males. It is a more or less natural phenomenon in a population which matures early and has a short expectation of life. Another class in which exaggeration is habitual is that of young married women, the psychology of the East in this matter being in strong contrast to Western experience. There is perhaps a feeling that added years confer dignity and importance, and to this extent the exaggeration would be conscious; but marriage and motherhood may often cause a girl or young woman to appear genuinely older than she is.

Tendency to understate age.—The obloquy incurred by Hindu parents who fail to marry their daughters before puberty frequently causes the age of unmarried girls who have attained this age to be understated. This affects the age-period 10—15. On the part of males there is a tendency for persons on or beyond the threshold of middle age to indulge in chronological inexactitudes, particularly if they are contemplating matrimony. Hence the tendency is strongest among bachelors and widowers.

Preference for particular numbers.—Lack of knowledge of a person's exact age commonly leads to the use of round numbers in making an approximate estimate. For this reason numbers ending in 0 and 5 are much in evidence in the census returns. In 1921 the ages of 400,000 persons were tabulated by annual age-periods for the use of the actuary by whom the age statistics are always subjected to expert analysis, and it was found that about 25 per cent of these persons had returned an age ending in 0, and about 18 per cent an age ending in 5. The order in which the remaining digits are favoured is as follows:—2, 8, 4, 6, 3, 7, 1, 9. It will be noticed that, excepting the digit 5, odd numbers are very much at a discount. Observation of the results of this preference for particular numbers, which is well-established and fairly constant in all parts of the country, induced the Government actuary to devise a new method of grouping the population by age-periods, which has been put into effect at the present census for the first time. This method calls for a brief explanation.

New method of grouping by ages.

4. In the past the practice has been simply to assemble together the age statistics, as actually recorded, in quinary groups without any adjustment. By this means the distortion caused by the habit of plumping on multiples of 5 and other favourite digits was to some extent reduced; but the result was not satisfactory. Persons whose age was recorded as ending in 0 or 5 figured at the bottom of each group, and many of them should in reality have been included in the next younger group. It was accordingly decided that in the first place the statistics should be assembled in groups of which 0 and 5 should be the *central* digits, so that persons whose real age was slightly above or below that actually recorded should as far as possible be accommodated in the appropriate group. Moreover, instead of having uniform groups comprising five years apiece, those containing the digit 5 should consist of three years only, and those containing the digit 0 of seven years—thus: 4—6, 7—13, 14—16, 17—23, and so on. The digits which figure in the ternary groups are therefore those which come second,

birth of illegitimate children; but among the people generally deliberate contraception has made no headway. This circumstance, coupled with the universality of marriage, is responsible for an abnormally high birth-rate, the effect of which would be even more pronounced were it not for the heavy mortality among infants. At the same time, the expectation of life is very low, and visitations of famine and epidemic disease are apt to cause considerable fluctuations in the adult age-categories. In France, on the other hand, birth-control is practised on an exceptionally wide scale, there is a much longer expectation of life, and violent fluctuations are comparatively rare. The conditions prevailing in this province are for the most part reproduced in a less extreme form in Japan; while England and Wales differs from France in that contraceptive practices are less universal and have been in vogue for a shorter period. The diagrams bring out very clearly the operation of these main factors on the age constitution of the four different populations. In the left-hand diagram the line by which France is represented comes perilously near to being a straight horizontal. The number of persons in that country aged 60 and over is approximately the same as the number below ten years of age, while in Bihar and Orissa (despite the tendency already noticed to exaggerate the age of elderly persons) the ratio is one to seven. Contrast again the abrupt fall in the second age-category out here with the distinct rise recorded by both the Western countries—a rise which, in the case of France, is continued even into the third age-category. Of course it should not be forgotten that in this province the disasters of 1918-19 are responsible for an abnormal depletion in the number of persons aged 10—20, but even when allowance is made for this the contrast will be sufficiently striking.

Sundburg's age categories.

8. Another method of examining the age constitution of the population of this province and comparing it with that found elsewhere is by applying Sündbürg's theories as to the balance of the population at different age-periods. His contention was that half the total population is always made up of persons between 15 and 50 years of age, while the fluctuations in the lower and higher categories respectively indicate whether the population is progressive, stationary or retrogressive. The typical groupings are given in the marginal statement, together with the figures for Bihar and Orissa at each of the last three censuses and for the other countries to which attention has already been directed, *plus* Italy. Sündbürg's calculations were based primarily on conditions prevailing in the West, and we have already seen that these are very different from Oriental conditions, which might well operate to destroy the equilibrium postulated by him. But actually it will be seen that this province conforms more nearly than any of the Western countries (or Japan) to his theory that half the population is contained in the middle group. Indeed it approximates with singular exactitude—and more so at the present census than at either of the previous ones—to his conception of a typically progressive population. All the Western countries shown in the statement tend to be retrogressive—Italy less so than the others. England and Wales and France both show a heavy piling-up in the middle group. This appears to be a legacy from the time when birth-control was less general, and the children of those days have not yet filtered through to the advanced group; in course of time, if present tendencies continue, the equilibrium will doubtless be restored, and there will be a resultant increase in the proportion of old persons. Already France has progressed much farther in this direction than her neighbour.

		Number per mille aged—		
		0—15.	15—50.	50 and over.
	Progressive ...	*400*	*500*	*100*
	Stationary ...	*330*	*500*	*170*
	Retrogressive ...	*200*	*500*	*300*
Bihar and Orissa	1931 ...	402	502	96
	1921 ...	397	496	107
	1911 ...	402	488	110
Japan (1925)	...	367	482	151
Italy (1921)	...	310	495	195
England and Wales (1921)	...	278	532	190
France (1926)	...	225	521	254

Age distribution by natural divisions.

9. The distribution of the population by age in each natural division is given in Subsidiary Tables I and IV at the end of this chapter. In the margin the results are summarized in accordance with Sündbürg's age-categories. The outstanding feature of this statement is the large excess of persons aged 15—50 in Orissa. This is due to a consistently low birth-rate for many years, coupled with a heavy mortality in the exposed age-periods due to unfavourable agricultural conditions. Balasore has suffered more than either of the other districts. On the Chota Nagpur plateau the proportion of children is exceptionally high, not so much because more of them are born as because fewer die. It is noticeable that in Ranchi, Singhbhum and the Chota Nagpur States, where the proportion of married women at the reproductive ages is smaller than anywhere else in the province, the average size of the family is largest. On the other hand, the low standard of comfort among the aboriginal tribes shortens the span of their life, and the number of persons aged 50 and over is in consequence abnormally low. North Bihar diverges very little from the proportions recorded in the province as a whole. The average for this division is affected by a shortage of elderly people in Purnea district (where malaria is not conducive to long life) and by a high proportion of children in Purnea and Bhagalpur. In South Bihar, and more especially in the district of Patna, persons of an advanced age are more numerous than in any other part of the province; the middle group is to some extent depleted by emigration to other parts of Bihar and Orissa as well as to places further afield.

	Number per mille aged—		
	0—15.	15—50.	50 and over.
North Bihar ...	400	501	99
South Bihar ...	390	499	111
Orissa ...	351	542	107
C. N. Plateau ...	424	494	82

Age distribution in cities.

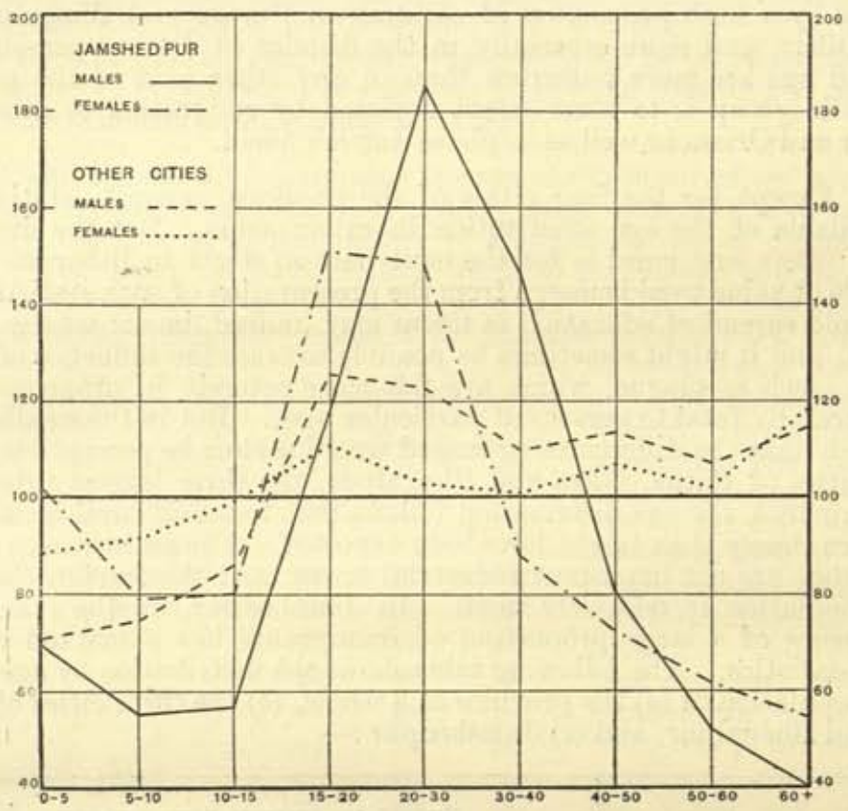
10. Except for the four cities of the province, separate statistics are not available of the age constitution in urban areas. But the distinction between urban and rural is for the most part so slight in Bihar and Orissa that little of value would emerge from the presentation of such statistics. The more rapid spread of education in towns may, indeed, be not wholly without its effect, and it might sometimes be possible to trace the influence of certain diseases, such as plague, which are felt more severely in urban areas and prove specially fatal to persons at particular ages. But in the smaller towns it is likely that the differences so caused would seldom be perceptible. Even in the cities of Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur, the three largest urban units in the province, the age distribution follows that found in rural areas a good deal more closely than might have been expected. The main reason for this is that they are not important industrial towns, and the foreign element in their population is relatively small. In Jamshedpur, on the other hand, the presence of a large proportion of immigrants has a marked effect on the age statistics. The following table shows the distribution by age-periods of the population of (*a*) the province as a whole, (*b*) the three cities of Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur, and (*c*) Jamshedpur :—

AGE-PERIOD.	NUMBER PER MILLE IN EACH AGE-PERIOD.					
	Bihar and Orissa.		Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur cities.		Jamshedpur.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
0—5	148	154	105	136	103	156
5—10	141	129	105	118	78	102
10—15	123	109	106	108	70	87
15—20	83	86	104	95	98	130
20—30	172	182	211	187	318	270
30—40	144	144	158	145	211	127
40—50	98	95	111	101	79	69
50—60	56	57	60	58	29	35
60 and over	35	44	40	52	14	24

In the next table the above proportions for Jamshedpur and the other three cities are shown as percentages of the proportions for the province as a whole, and the figures thus arrived at are illustrated by means of a diagram.

AGE-PERIOD.	Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur cities.		Jamshedpur.	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
0—5 ...	70.9	88.3	69.6	101.3
5—10 ...	74.5	91.5	55.3	79.1
10—15 ...	86.2	99.0	56.9	79.8
15—20 ...	125.3	110.5	118.1	151.2
20—30 ...	122.7	102.7	184.9	148.4
30—40 ...	109.7	100.7	146.5	88.2
40—50 ...	113.3	106.3	80.6	72.6
50—60 ...	107.1	101.8	51.8	61.4
60 and over ..	114.3	118.2	40.0	54.5

Diagram showing the proportional numbers of males and females in various age-periods in (a) *Jamshedpur and* (b) *other cities, expressed as percentages of the corresponding proportions in the whole province.*



The main point to notice is that in the cities the proportion of persons in the early and middle working age-periods is specially high. This phenomenon is common to all the four cities, but is much more marked in Jamshedpur; it is common to both the sexes, but is much more noticeable in the male sex. Up to the age of about 40 Jamshedpur exhibits (in a more extreme form) much the same characteristics as the other three cities; but whereas in Patna, etc., the proportion of the population in the more advanced age-periods continues in excess of the provincial average, in Jamshedpur it sinks far below. The shortage of old people in Jamshedpur is more relative than absolute, and results from the extremely high proportion of the early middle-aged; also, it must be remembered that Jamshedpur is itself but a few years old, and its original population, starting young, has not yet had time to grow many grey hairs. With regard to young children in Jamshedpur, although there is a vast difference in the *proportion* of males and females below five years of age, there is

practically none in the *absolute* numbers. The female proportion is so much higher because the number of adult women is immensely less than the number of men.

Age distribution by religion and caste.

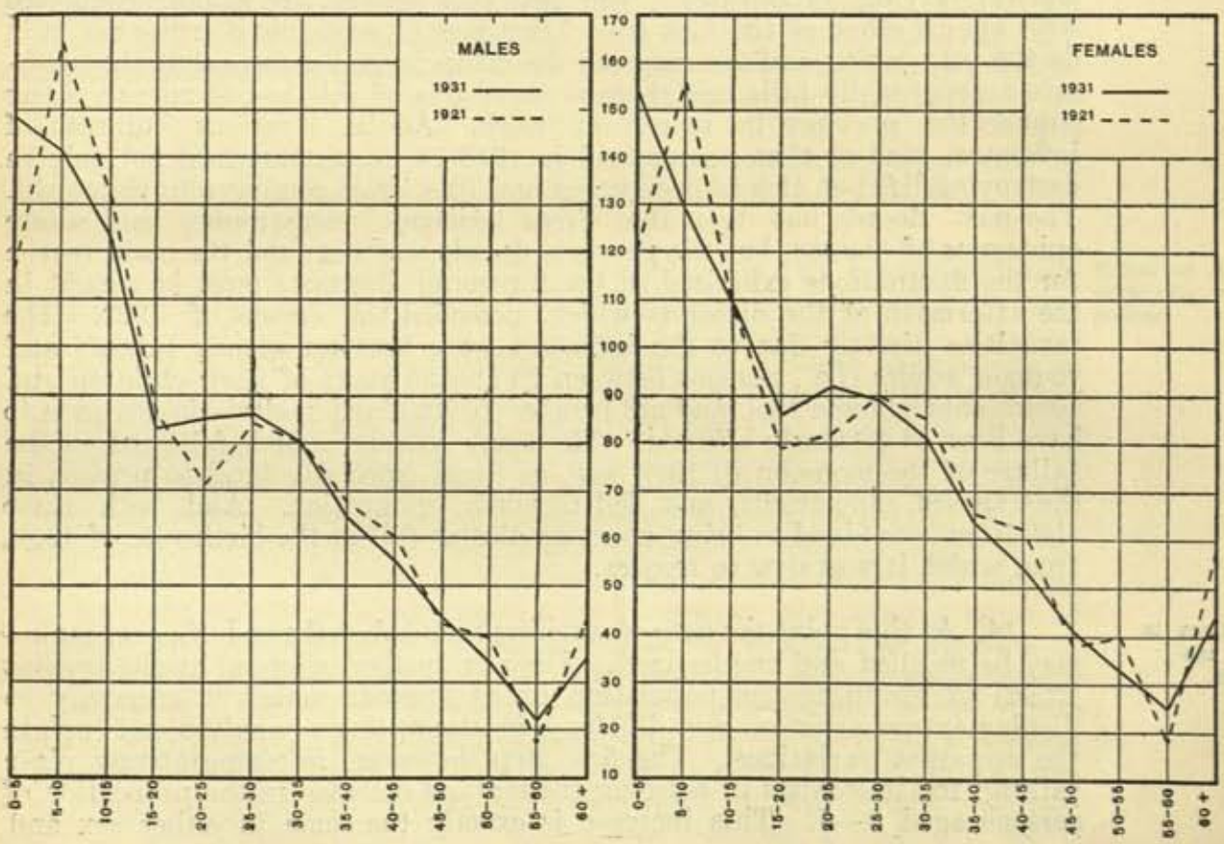
11. Subsidiary Tables II and IV (Part II) show the age distribution by religion. As the great majority of Christians in this province are aboriginals, the proportion of persons at different ages is in their case much the same as with the adherents of tribal religions. Normally an aboriginal does not marry before attaining puberty, and there is nothing to prevent a widow from marrying again. The average size of their family is distinctly larger than among Hindus and Muslims, and the proportion of children and young people is consequently higher; the average duration of life is a good deal shorter. As between Hindus and Muslims, the latter are more numerous in the early age-periods, as the marginal statement shows. This subject is further discussed in Chapter XI, where a comparison is made between the natural rates of growth of the two communities. Proportional statistics for selected castes are given in Subsidiary Tables V and VI. Among the higher castes, such as Brahmans, Rajputs and Babhans, the number of children is relatively low, and there is a much larger proportion of elderly people. This position is reversed with the castes at the other end of the social scale, e.g., Chamars and Musahars. Goalas, Koiris and the like come midway between these two extremes.

Age.	*Proportional number of Muslims expressed as a percentage of the corresponding proportion of Hindus.*	
	Males.	Females.
0—5 ...	105.7	104.4
5—10 ...	110.0	108.3
10—15 ...	105.9	104.9
15—20 ...	96.2	100.3
20—40 ...	95.0	98.9
40—60 ...	92.8	90.0
60 and over ...	102.8	92.2

Variations in age distribution since 1921.

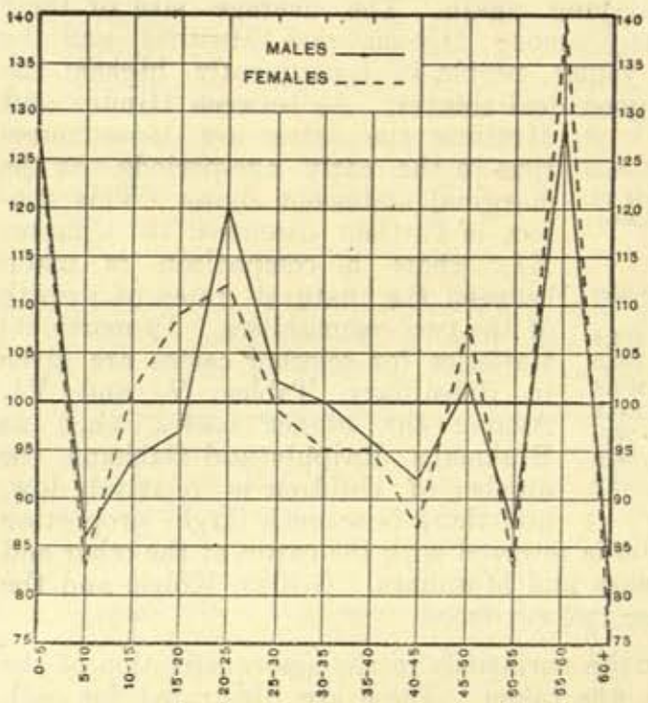
12. We may now consider the variations in the age constitution of the province since the last census was taken. These are illustrated for each sex in the diagram below, the key to which will be found in Subsidiary Table I at the end of the chapter:—

Diagram showing the age distribution in Bihar and Orissa of 1,000 persons of each sex at the last two censuses.



The variations are more clearly brought out in the following diagram and statement, where the proportion in each age-period at the present census is expressed as a percentage of the corresponding proportion in 1921 :—

Diagram showing the proportional numbers of males and females in various age-periods in 1931, expressed as percentages of the corresponding proportions in 1921.



Age-period.	*Males.*	*Females.*
0—5 ...	128	128
5—10 ...	86	83
10—15 ...	94	101
15—20 ...	97	109
20—25 ...	120	112
25—30 ...	102	99
30—35 ...	100	95
35—40 ...	96	95
40—45 ...	92	87
45—50 ...	102	108
50—55 ...	87	83
55—60 ...	129	139
60 and over	81	77

Causes of variation.

13. The factors which usually operate in this country to cause marked fluctuations in the distribution of the population between the different age-periods are (1) famine and agricultural scarcity; (2) the selective incidence of certain diseases, such as plague and influenza; (3) migration, and (4) varying birth-rates. The last two factors are usually connected with one or other of the first two. In times of economic distress not only do the very young and the very old die off in large numbers, but the birth-rate automatically falls and there is an exodus of able-bodied men to places outside the province in search of work. Again, a serious outbreak of influenza, such as that experienced in 1918-19, is instrumental not only in destroying life but also in preventing new lives from coming into the world. The past decade has been free from economic catastrophes and severe epidemics of disease, but the previous decade was not; and the main reason for the fluctuations exhibited in the foregoing diagrams must be sought in the aftermath of the disasters which preceded the census of 1921. The casualties directly due to the influenza were heaviest among infants and younger adults (i.e., persons between 20 and 35 years of age); children and adolescents suffered less, and old people—particularly males—do not seem to have been so seriously affected. The acute scarcity which followed on the failure of the monsoon in 1919 was, as usual, specially fatal to persons in the exposed age-periods, and led to much emigration. And both these visitations combined to bring about an abrupt fall in the birth-rate of 1919, from which it was slow to recover.

Variations in early age-periods.

14. At this point the note of warning sounded at the end of paragraph 4 may be recalled and emphasized. The new method adopted at the present census of grouping the population in age-periods makes it necessary to display extreme caution and diffidence in attempting to analyse and explain the apparent variations. The first step, however, is comparatively plain sailing, for it consists in noticing the marked increase in the proportion of persons aged 0—5. This increase is exactly the same in either sex and

amounts to 28 per cent. The explanation of course is that the appalling infant mortality caused by the influenza and scarcity in the closing years of the previous decade, combined with the abnormal fall in the birth-rate during those years, was responsible for a very low proportion in this age-period in 1921. Our difficulties begin at once with the second step, where we are confronted with a substantial decline in both sexes in the proportion of persons aged 5—10. There appears to be no valid reason for this. It is true that the birth-rate during the first half of the decade 1921—31 was distinctly lower than the birth-rate during the corresponding period of the previous decade. But at the same time the death-rate also was much lower, and—which is the important point—the fall in the death-rate among infants was (as will be seen in a subsequent paragraph) even more pronounced than among the rest of the population. *Prima facie* one would have expected the proportion of children aged 5—10 to be at least as high in 1931 as it had been ten years earlier. But this difficulty is completely overshadowed by the problem presented by the 10—15 group. Obviously the proportion in this group, which represents the survivors of the few unfortunate children born during the latter part of the 1911—21 decade, should be much lower than it was at the previous census. But we find that in the male sex it is only very slightly below the former proportion, while in the female sex it is actually 1 per cent higher. Nor is this the worst. We are asked to believe that, whereas in 1921 there were 4,482,163 persons aged 0—5, there are now 4,893,370 persons aged 10—15. Making a reasonable allowance for casualties, the latter figure represents a departure from normal expectations of about one million persons. The explanation of this discrepancy appears to be two-fold. On the one hand, the returns of the previous census under-stated the number of children below five years of age owing to the partiality for the round number 5, which was commonly given for children who in reality were slightly below or above that age; all such children were included in the 5—10 group, whereas many of them should have been credited to the lower one. On the other hand, the method of grouping adopted at the present census has undoubtedly resulted in an over-statement of the persons aged 10—15. It will be recalled that this group is made up of half the persons whose ages were actually returned as 14—16 *plus half those returned as 7—13*. Now, in ordinary circumstances this might yield approximately accurate results; but it so happens that on the present occasion there was a quite abnormal shortage of persons aged 11, 12 and 13. for these are the persons who were born during the disastrous years 1918—20. There can therefore be little doubt that far more than half the population between the ages of 7 and 13 should by rights have been credited to the 5—10 group. Herein lies the explanation (*i*) of the unreal fall featured by the diagrams in the proportion of persons aged 5—10, and (*ii*) of the failure on the part of the diagrams to register the fall which has undoubtedly taken place in the proportion of persons aged 10—15.

Variations at other age-periods.

15. Variations at other age periods must be dealt with more summarily, but enough has been said to show that they cannot be taken at their face value. In the period 15—20 there has been a slight reduction in the male proportion and a substantial increase in the female. These fluctuations do not seem to be connected to any great extent with the aftermath of the influenza and agricultural scarcity. They are due to a change in the sex ratio at this period of life, for which the explanation is not immediately apparent. It may be that the revised method of grouping ages has operated differently with the different sexes. The variations from 20 to 45 are largely attributable to the balance of migrations and the selective incidence of the influenza epidemic. It has been mentioned that persons between 20 and 35 years of age were hit specially hard by this disease, and after a lapse of ten years one would naturally expect to trace the depressing influence of this factor in the age-groups 35—40 and 40—45. This expectation is fulfilled, but it is noticeable that the depression is more marked in the female than in the male sex. The principal reason for this is that the losses sustained by the male sex at these ages have been partially recouped by the return to their homes of persons who emigrated in large numbers shortly before the last census was taken. One would also expect to find a sharp

recovery in the proportion of persons between 20 and 30 years of age, but the diagrams suggest that the recovery is confined to the first half of that period, where it is very pronounced. Here we become involved once more in the complications introduced by the new method of grouping. According to actuarial calculations the net effect of the errors resulting from the old method was to under-state the number of persons in the 20—25 group and to exaggerate the number in the 25—30 group. These errors have now been eliminated, with the result that the gain in the former group has been magnified beyond its true proportions, while in the latter group it has been obscured. Finally, the violent fluctuations in the two most advanced age-periods should be discounted altogether. The returns indicate that there has been an increase of 39 per cent in the proportion of females aged 55—60 and a decrease of 23 per cent in the (much larger) proportion of females aged 60 and over; among males the variations are similar but slightly less pronounced. But with elderly persons the age 60 is a prime favourite in the census schedules; so much so that the actuary reports that, in order to rectify the resultant error in the 1921 grouping, it was necessary to transfer 44 per cent of the persons aged 60—65 to the next younger group. On the present occasion half the persons included in the "unsmoothed" group 57—63 have been taken to the 55—60 category, and this has led to a heavy (but quite unreal) increase in that category and to a heavy (but equally unreal) fall in the number of persons aged 60 and over. In actual fact the indications are that the proportion of persons between 55 and 60 years of age is almost exactly the same now as it was in 1921, while there has been a slight rise in the proportion of persons whose true age is not less than 60. This is much more what we should expect to find, seeing that old people suffered so severely in the previous decade from the general economic distress.

Effects of influenza in Shahabad and Palamau.

16. Shahabad and Palamau are two districts in which the influenza epidemic raged with special virulence, but which were affected comparatively little by the agricultural scarcity of 1919-20. It will therefore be of interest to examine the age fluctuations in these localities. In Shahabad the decade 1911—21 witnessed a decline of 2.6 per cent in the total population of the district. The loss was very severe in the age-periods 0—5 and 20—40, which it will be remembered were those singled out by the influenza scourge as the object of special attack; the intermediate age-periods suffered no loss at all. In the following decade, when the general rate of increase was 9.9 per cent, we should naturally look for (*a*) a much slower rate of growth in the age-periods 10—15 and 30—50, and (*b*) a marked recovery in the periods 0—5 and 20—30. All these conditions are in fact satisfied, except that (here as elsewhere) the 10—15 group belies expectations, having obviously appropriated a large slice of the population which should properly be included in the 5—10 group. In Palamau events followed much the same course. During the decade 1911—21 the number of persons below 5 years of age decreased, while the increase in the case of persons aged 20—40 was very much smaller than in the other age-periods. The following decade saw a rapid growth in the 0—5 and 20—30 groups, and a distinct lag in the 10—15 and 30—50 groups. Here again there has clearly been some confusion between the second and third categories at the present census.

SHAHABAD.	*Variation per cent in actual population.*	
	1921—31.	1911—21.
All ages ...	**+ 9.9**	**—2.6**
0—5	+32.5	−9.8
5—10	− 8.3	+5.8
10—15	+ 9.4	+1.9
15—20	+32.9	+2.5
20—30	+19.4 }	−9.1
30—40	+ 2.9 }	
40—50	+ 2.9	...

PALAMAU.	*Variation per cent in actual population.*	
	1921—31.	1911—21.
All ages ...	**+11.6**	**+ 6.7**
0—5	+40.3	− 3.3
5—10	− 6.9	+17.1
10—15	+ 6.4	+13.1
15—20	+28.5	+12.9
20—30	+18.9 }	+ 4.6
30—40	+ 6.4 }	
40—50	+ 5.3	...

Legacies of the more remote past.

17. So far no attempt has been made to go further back than the decade 1911—21 in search of an explanation for abnormalities in the age constitution of the population. But more remote events have of course played a very large part in determining the present state of affairs. Owing to the inaccuracy of the age returns and the inter-play of many cross currents, it is not often possible to trace clearly through several successive decades the influence of any particular event, but occasional glimpses may be obtained. Thus, the years 1896-97 witnessed a famine in North Bihar, the effect of which is still clearly discernible in the relative dearth of persons who to-day are comprised in the age-period 30—40. To some extent, however, the effect of this famine is merged in the two last censuses with the selective incidence of the influenza epidemic.

Variation per cent in actual population.

NORTH BIHAR.

	1891—1901.	1901—11.	1911—21.	1921—31.
All ages ...	**+ 0.1**	**+ 2.1**	**— 0.7**	**+ 8.2**
0—10 ...	− 3.0	+ 4.0	− 3.5	+10.2
10—20 ...	+ 5.7	− 3.0	+ 3.0	+13.8
20—30 } ...	+ 1.3	+ 3.9	− 1.0	+15.5
30—40 }				+ 4.1

Variations in the exposed age categories.

18. Variations from census to census in the proportion of young children and old people to persons in the middle age-periods are usually held to afford a fairly clear indication of the progressive character (or otherwise) of the population as a whole. Something has already been said on this subject in comparing the population of Bihar and Orissa, when distributed between Sündbürg's age-categories, with the population of other countries. In Subsidiary Table IV the line of approach is not quite the same. Sündbürg's three periods embraced the *whole* of the population, whereas this subsidiary table concerns itself particularly with persons between 15 and 40 years of age and shows how, at each of the last four censuses, the number of such persons compares with (*i*) the number of children below 10, and (*ii*) the number of persons aged 60 and over. It also shows the variations that have occurred in the proportion of children to married women aged 15—40, and in the proportion of such married women to the total number of females. Unfortunately, the new method of age-grouping renders most of these comparisons more or less without value. For example, there appears to have been a marked decrease (not only in the province as a whole but in every natural division) in the proportion of old persons, which now stands lower than at any previous period since the beginning of the century. This is probably not in accordance with the facts. Again, in relation to persons aged 15—40 the proportion of children below 10 years of age is shown as only very slightly higher than in 1921 and distinctly lower than in 1911; while in relation to married women at the reproductive ages the proportion is even below that of 1921. This again is quite misleading, being due to the unreal decline at the present census in the 5—10 age-period. The table is, however, undoubtedly correct in giving prominence to the marked increase in the proportion of married females at the reproductive ages, which has never previously been so high, and from this it follows that *more* families, not *bigger* families, is the main reason for the substantial increase that has undoubtedly taken place in the proportion of young children. For the rest the chief value of Subsidiary Table IV lies not so much in the comparison it exhibits with previous censuses as in the local variations at the present one. But in this connexion it is unnecessary to traverse again the ground that has been briefly covered in paragraph 9 above.

Infant mortality.

19. The causes which are responsible in this country for an exceptionally high death-rate among infants and very young children are well-known and need not be discussed in this report. It will suffice to set forth the facts and the more recent developments. Out of 9,093,498 deaths reported during the last decade in the British districts of the province, no less than 1,760,802 related to infants below one year of age, and 1,777,874 related to children between the ages of 1 and 5 years. That is to say, nearly one death in five occurred during the first twelve months of life and

nearly two deaths in five occurred before the age of 5 was attained. Actually it is probable that these statistics fail to convey the whole truth, for there is reason to believe that many children who are still-born or who die after one or two days do not figure at all in the record of vital occurrences. Dreadful as the figures are, they yet represent a substantial improvement over the returns of the previous decade. The comparative rates are given in the margin. For purposes of comparison a truer picture will be obtained by neglecting the years 1918—20, during which the havoc wrought by the influenza epidemic not only upset the normal proportions altogether but caused a serious dislocation in the whole system of recording vital occurrences, with the result that a large number of births and deaths went unreported. It will be seen that, as compared with the first seven years of the previous decade, the infant mortality rate has fallen from 226 per mille to 180, and among slightly older children the rate has fallen from 74 per mille to 59. It is true that the all-round improvement in public health is reflected in a general drop in the death-rate for all ages, but columns 5 and 6 of the above statement show that the decline is more pronounced among infants, etc., than among older persons. Statistics in greater detail, and for each sex separately, will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter. It is noticeable that, in spite of the greater care and attention which is undoubtedly bestowed on male infants, the mortality among them (197 per mille) is much higher than among females (163 per mille). Once again this phenomenon is not confined to the early age-periods, but the disparity is a good deal more marked in the first year of life than at any subsequent period with the possible exception of the very old.

Period.	*Death-rate per mille.*			*Percentage on column 2 of—*	
	All ages.	0—1.	1—5.	Column 3.	Column 4.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1921—30 ...	27	180	59	667	219
1911—20 ...	35	221	78	631	223
1911—17 ...	32	226	74	706	231

It should be explained that the mortality rates so far quoted are calculated on the total population below one year of age (or, as the case may be, between 1 and 5 years) according to the census of 1921. Another, and on the whole a more accurate, method of arriving at the death-rate among infants is to base the calculations on the number of live births reported each year. In a rapidly increasing population such as we have had during the last decade the resultant figures will obviously be lower, and a less gloomy picture will emerge. For the decade as a whole the mortality rate given by the latter method is 143 per mille for both sexes combined, instead of 180: for males alone it is 152 and for females 132. In comparison with the rest of British India, this province has nothing to be ashamed of. The rates given in the margin relate in each case to the decade 1921—30 and are calculated on the number of live births per annum. One cannot fail to be struck by the varying standards in different European countries—from Hungary at one end of the scale (where conditions approximate very closely to those in British India as a whole) to Norway at the other end. Japan furnishes the nearest equivalent to conditions in this province. It may be stated that in every single one of these countries mortality among infants was less heavy in the latter half of the decade than in the first half; and in this respect India generally and Bihar and Orissa in particular conform to the general rule.

Infant mortality per 1,000 children born.

Bihar and Orissa*	**143**
India *	179
Mexico	198
Ceylon	182
Hungary	180
Japan	148
Italy	124
Germany	108
France	92
England and Wales	72
United States	71
Switzerland	59
Norway	51

* *British districts only.*

20. It is a truism that a high birth-rate does not necessarily lead to a rapid increase of population. An eloquent commentary on this is furnished by the marginal statement. During the last decade the birth-rate in this province has been lower than at any previous period since the beginning of the century, but owing to a yet greater fall in the death-rate the population has increased far more rapidly. Even so, the rate of survival is still inferior to that recorded in England and Wales (with a much lower birth-rate) in the decade 1901—11. In the next chapter it will be seen that a high birth-rate does not even imply a specially high standard of fertility among married women. **Survival rate.**

		Birth rate.	*Survival rate.*
Bihar and Orissa	1901—11 ...	41	6
	1911—21 ...	39	4
	1921—31 ...	36.5	10
England and Wales	1901—11 ...	27	12
	1911—21 ...	23	8.5
	1921—31 ...	19	6.5

I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the province and in each natural division (five censuses).

Age.	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BIHAR AND ORISSA.										
0—1	255	258	290	284	333	327	Not available.			
1—2	266	282	96	96	130	131				
2—3	305	335	203	217	263	275				
3—4	328	344	283	315	316	343				
4—5	326	322	285	290	299	299				
5—10	1,408	1,392	1,641	1,555	1,593	1,498				
10—15	1,226	1,086	1,310	1,077	1,241	1,009				
15—20	834	863	856	787	806	751				
20—25	853	923	713	822	726	851				
25—30	862	892	844	899	876	926				
30—35	802	808	798	851	836	844				
35—40	643	635	668	653	644	609				
40—45	553	541	602	618	576	587				
45—50	439	408	417	383	369	358				
50—55	337	328	389	401	383	407				
55—60	231	246	175	181	174	185				
60—65	169	203	225	303	240	323				
65—70	74	92	71	89	71	90				
70 and over	110	142	134	179	134	187				
Mean Age	**23·0**	**23·6**	**23·6**	**24·6**	**23·3**	**24·4**				
North Bihar.										
0—5	1,381	1,458	1,140	1,195	1,286	1,310	1,274	1,309	1,298	1,374
5—10	1,470	1,337	1,651	1,550	1,619	1,498	1,563	1,453	1,616	1,488
10—15	1,266	1,096	1,237	980	1,211	945	1,261	987	1,214	957
15—20	787	805	827	719	786	692	824	749	764	680
20—40	3,141	3,287	3,043	3,283	3,053	3,202	3,008	3,221	2,961	3,196
40—60	1,581	1,557	1,619	1,636	1,556	1,598	1,589	1,619	1,654	1,643
60 and over	374	450	474	637	489	665	481	662	493	663
Mean Age	**23·4**	**24·0**	**24·1**	**25·3**	**23·8**	**25·2**	**23·8**	**25·1**	**24·1**	**25·2**
South Bihar.										
0—5	1,429	1,527	1,127	1,203	1,283	1,330	1,259	1,293	1,301	1,363
5—10	1,358	1,246	1,580	1,475	1,515	1,411	1,373	1,251	1,525	1,386
10—15	1,185	1,057	1,234	996	1,187	947	1,218	975	1,262	1,000
15—20	833	846	805	727	742	675	835	759	769	688
20—40	3,114	3,190	3,000	3,238	3,150	3,342	3,157	3,324	2,952	3,160
40—60	1,543	1,602	1,734	1,679	1,628	1,629	1,647	1,696	1,673	1,699
60 and over	438	532	530	682	496	666	511	702	518	704
Mean Age	**24·0**	**24·5**	**24·7**	**25·7**	**24·3**	**25·4**	**24·6**	**25·9**	**24·3**	**25·7**
Orissa.										
0—5	1,340	1,275	1,052	978	1,252	1,214	1,306	1,305	1,246	1,268
5—10	1,209	1,063	1,502	1,344	1,438	1,323	1,319	1,247	1,438	1,348
10—15	1,159	992	1,424	1,201	1,317	1,123	1,273	1,083	1,370	1,154
15—20	974	959	935	888	876	854	952	941	1,020	947
20—40	3,336	3,402	2,980	3,273	3,116	3,198	3,048	3,033	2,803	2,884
40—60	1,729	1,791	1,707	1,780	1,551	1,673	1,665	1,747	1,614	1,689
60 and over	353	429	400	536	450	615	437	644	449	700
Mean Age	**24·3**	**25·4**	**24·1**	**25·6**	**23·9**	**25·3**	**24·1**	**25·4**	**23·7**	**25·3**
Chota Nagpur Plateau.										
0—5	1,655	1,717	1,219	1,288	1,470	1,534	1,416	1,524	1,494	1,605
5—10	1,427	1,340	1,709	1,682	1,664	1,616	1,600	1,630	1,770	1,686
10—15	1,228	1,122	1,404	1,194	1,283	1,083	1,382	1,144	1,373	1,126
15—20	845	905	895	836	844	834	804	887	833	814
20—40	3,184	3,194	3,027	3,135	3,029	3,096	2,892	2,989	2,763	2,941
40—60	1,383	1,360	1,417	1,396	1,350	1,361	1,399	1,356	1,395	1,324
60 and over	278	362	329	439	361	476	357	470	382	504
Mean Age	**22·1**	**22·4**	**22·4**	**23·0**	**22·2**	**22·8**	**22·1**	**22·6**	**21·9**	**22·5**

II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion (three censuses).

Age.	1931. Males.	1931. Females.	1921. Males.	1921. Females.	1911. Males.	1911. Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hindu.						
0—5	1,451	1,514	1,134	1,180	1,310	1,345
5—10	1,384	1,270	1,619	1,537	1,563	1,474
10—15	1,214	1,072	1,298	1,069	1,329	1,000
15—20	838	859	856	781	805	746
20—40	3,189	3,279	3,053	3,243	3,117	3,257
40—60	1,568	1,558	1,606	1,610	1,538	1,567
60 and over	356	442	434	581	448	611
Mean Age	**23·4**	**24·0**	**23·8**	**24·9**	**23·6**	**24·8**
Muslim.						
0—5	1,533	1,580	1,345	1,276	1,403	1,414
5—10	1,523	1,376	1,730	1,611	1,718	1,553
10—15	1,286	1,125	1,304	1,014	1,355	960
15—20	806	862	821	753	764	697
20—40	3,031	3,343	2,891	3,234	2,897	3,235
40—60	1,455	1,402	1,538	1,520	1,474	1,512
60 and over	366	413	471	592	489	629
Mean Age	**22·6**	**23·0**	**23·4**	**24·4**	**23·1**	**24·5**
Christian.						
0—5	1,796	1,832	1,430	1,447	1,714	1,744
5—10	1,543	1,459	1,718	1,732	1,658	1,674
10—15	1,345	1,276	1,532	1,403	1,459	1,354
15—20	866	945	937	883	814	816
20—40	2,888	2,907	2,776	2,883	2,779	2,851
40—60	1,266	1,243	1,385	1,258	1,345	1,244
60 and over	296	348	323	396	331	417
Mean Age	**21·1**	**21·3**	**21·4**	**21·7**	**21·1**	**21·5**
Tribal religions.						
0—5	1,761	1,810	1,317	1,364	1,587	1,633
5—10	1,531	1,437	1,780	1,688	1,774	1,688
10—15	1,287	1,190	1,456	1,251	1,345	1,162
15—20	821	904	896	901	865	884
20—40	2,990	3,026	2,849	3,020	2,796	2,938
40—60	1,327	1,288	1,374	1,358	1,270	1,260
60 and over	283	355	328	418	363	445
Mean Age	**21·4**	**21·7**	**21·8**	**22·5**	**21·3**	**21·8**

III.—Variation in population at certain age periods (three decades).

Natural Division.	Period.	Variation per cent in population. All ages.	0—10.	10—15.	15—40.	40—60.	60 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bihar and Orissa ...	**1901 to 1911**	**+8·1**	**+11·5**	**+4·6**	**+8·3**	**+4·8**	**+6·1**
	1911 to 1921	**−1·2**	**−5·5**	**+4·9**	**−0·8**	**+2·8**	**−5·5**
	1921 to 1931	**+11·5**	**+14·8**	**+8·2**	**+14·6**	**+7·9**	**−12·2**
North Bihar ...	1901 to 1911	+3·1	+4·0	−2·3	+2·3	+0·2	+2·9
	1911 to 1521	−0·7	−3·5	+2·3	−0·1	+2·5	−4·6
	1921 to 1931	+8·2	+10·2	+15·5	+10·2	+4·3	−18·9
South Bihar ...	1901 to 1911	+0·7	+7·7	−2·0	−1·4	−1·9	−3·7
	1911 to 1921	−3·5	−5·2	+2·1	−4·2	+1·9	+1·5
	1921 to 1931	+12·4	+16·1	+13·1	+15·5	+7·2	−10·2
Orissa	1901 to 1911	+0·9	+1·8	+4·4	+1·8	−4·6	−0·5
	1911 to 1921	−4·6	−11·1	+2·5	−4·0	+3·2	−15·9
	1921 to 1931	+5·1	+5·5	−13·7	+12·7	+6·1	−12·6
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1901 to 1911	+25·6	+26·7	+17·6	+27·9	+23·6	+27·3
	1911 to 1921	+0·1	−6·1	+9·9	−1·6	+3·8	−8·3
	1921 to 1931	+16·7	+21·5	+5·6	+19·7	+13·8	−2·9

IV.—Proportion of (1) children to persons aged 15—40 and to married females aged 15—40; (2) persons over 60 to persons aged 15—40; and (3) married females aged 15—40 to total number of females (four censuses).

PART I.—BY NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

Natural Division and District.	Number of children under 10 (both sexes)— Per 100 persons aged 15—40.				Per 100 married females aged 15—40.				Number of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15—40. 1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***71***	***70***	***73***	***71***	***163***	***167***	***170***	***164***	***9***	***11***	***11***	***14***	***11***	***15***	***12***	***16***	***35***	***33***	***33***	***33***
North Bihar	***70***	***70***	***73***	***72***	***160***	***162***	***164***	***162***	***10***	***11***	***12***	***16***	***13***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***35***	***34***	***34***	***34***
Saran	**69**	75	73	73	**155**	173	159	153	**12**	**13**	15	19	15	19	15	19	**35**	32	33	33
Champaran	**69**	69	69	67	**159**	163	157	157	**8**	**10**	11	15	12	16	12	16	**36**	34	35	34
Muzaffarpur ...	**70**	70	73	70	**158**	157	159	154	**11**	**14**	14	19	15	20	15	20	**34**	33	34	34
Darbhanga	**70**	69	73	74	**156**	153	157	162	**10**	**11**	13	17	14	17	13	17	**35**	35	35	34
Bhagalpur	**73**	69	73	73	**165**	159	168	166	**9**	**11**	11	14	10	15	11	15	**36**	35	35	35
Purnea	**72**	70	76	73	**171**	173	190	187	**8**	**7**	9	10	9	12	10	12	**36**	35	33	33
South Bihar	***70***	***69***	***70***	***64***	***158***	***162***	***160***	***147***	***11***	***13***	***14***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***35***	***33***	***34***	***34***
Patna	**66**	64	64	57	**156**	154	153	133	**13**	**15**	17	20	15	18	15	19	**35**	33	34	35
Gaya	**71**	71	71	65	**160**	164	161	150	**11**	**12**	14	16	13	16	13	16	**36**	34	34	34
Shahabad	**66**	69	65	64	**154**	166	154	150	**8**	**12**	11	17	10	15	10	16	**36**	33	34	33
Monghyr	**75**	71	78	69	**163**	160	169	154	**12**	**14**	15	17	14	18	13	17	**35**	33	34	34
Orissa	***56***	***60***	***65***	***65***	***133***	***142***	***152***	***151***	***8***	***10***	***10***	***13***	***11***	***15***	***11***	***16***	***35***	***32***	***33***	***33***
Cuttack	**57**	63	67	66	**135**	145	155	154	**9**	**11**	11	15	12	17	11	17	**34**	32	33	33
Balasore	**51**	52	61	64	**126**	128	145	148	**7**	**8**	8	10	9	13	10	15	**36**	34	33	34
Puri	**60**	63	65	63	**136**	150	153	149	**9**	**9**	10	12	12	14	11	16	**36**	32	34	34
Chota Nagpur Plateau...	***76***	***74***	***81***	***83***	***179***	***185***	***192***	***197***	***7***	***9***	***8***	***11***	***9***	***12***	***10***	***12***	***34***	***32***	***32***	***31***
Hazaribagh... ...	**80**	79	83	77	**179**	183	190	174	**6**	**8**	8	10	10	11	9	11	**36**	33	33	33
Ranchi	**86**	85	93	93	**203**	210	219	218	**8**	**10**	9	13	11	14	10	13	**32**	29	30	29
Palamau	**82**	83	83	83	**185**	193	195	191	**6**	**8**	9	11	8	12	7	10	**35**	33	33	33
Manbhum	**65**	65	73	75	**160**	170	181	180	**7**	**9**	8	10	10	13	10	13	**36**	33	34	33
Singhbhum... ...	**72**	70	79	77	**202**	208	216	218	**6**	**8**	7	10	9	11	8	10	**30**	28	28	28
Santal Parganas ...	**80**	73	85	89	**191**	180	200	210	**8**	**9**	10	12	11	13	12	15	**33**	32	32	31
Angul	**72**	69	76	75	**169**	180	188	186	**7**	**9**	7	10	8	11	8	11	**34**	30	32	32
Sambalpur	**64**	68	70	...	**142**	155	155	...	**9**	**12**	11	15	10	15	...	...	**36**	34	35	...
Orissa States ...	**75**	76	79	...	**177**	188	188	...	**6**	**8**	7	10	8	11	...	...	**34**	31	33	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	**79**	78	78	...	**202**	214	201	...	**7**	**10**	9	13	10	13	...	...	**31**	28	30	...

PART II.—BY RELIGIONS AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.

Religion and Natural Division.	Number of children under 10 (both sexes)— Per 100 persons aged 15—40.				Per 100 married females aged 15—40.				Number of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15—40. 1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.		Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***71***	***70***	***73***	***71***	***163***	***167***	***170***	***164***	***9***	***11***	***11***	***14***	***11***	***15***	***12***	***16***	***35***	***33***	***33***	***33***
Hindu	**69**	69	72	69	**159**	163	165	159	**9**	**11**	11	14	11	15	12	16	**35**	33	34	34
Muslim	**76**	76	80	76	**167**	171	176	169	**10**	**10**	13	15	12	16	14	16	**36**	33	33	33
Tribal	**84**	80	89	...	**211**	212	220	...	**7**	**9**	9	11	10	12	...	...	**31**	29	29	...
North Bihar	***70***	***70***	***73***	***72***	***160***	***162***	***164***	***162***	***10***	***11***	***12***	***16***	***13***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***35***	***34***	***34***	***34***
Hindu	**69**	69	72	71	**159**	160	161	160	**10**	**12**	13	16	13	17	12	17	**35**	34	34	34
Muslim	**75**	76	80	76	**166**	172	177	173	**9**	**10**	12	14	11	16	14	16	**36**	34	33	33
Tribal	**95**	87	104	...	**223**	222	254	...	**8**	**7**	11	9	12	12	...	...	**33**	31	29	...
South Bihar	***70***	***69***	***70***	***64***	***158***	***162***	***160***	***147***	***11***	***13***	***14***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***13***	***17***	***35***	***33***	***34***	***34***
Hindu	**69**	69	79	63	**158**	161	160	147	**11**	**13**	14	17	12	16	12	17	**36**	33	34	34
Muslim	**77**	77	79	71	**164**	164	162	147	**13**	**14**	18	19	18	19	17	20	**35**	33	33	33
Tribal	**91**	77	105	...	**199**	167	235	...	**8**	**7**	12	14	12	10	...	...	**35**	35	31	...
Orissa	***56***	***60***	***65***	***65***	***133***	***142***	***152***	***151***	***8***	***10***	***10***	***13***	***11***	***15***	***11***	***16***	***35***	***32***	***33***	***33***
Hindu	**56**	60	64	65	**133**	143	151	151	**8**	**10**	10	13	11	15	11	16	**35**	32	33	33
Muslim	**59**	72	79	71	**130**	157	172	162	**8**	**8**	12	14	12	16	11	16	**37**	32	33	33
Tribal	**73**	74	90	...	**172**	180	208	...	**4**	**6**	5	9	9	10	...	...	**36**	32	32	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau...	***76***	***74***	***81***	***83***	***179***	***185***	***192***	***197***	***7***	***9***	***8***	***11***	***9***	***12***	***10***	***12***	***34***	***32***	***32***	***31***
Hindu	**73**	73	78	79	**172**	179	183	184	**7**	**9**	8	11	9	12	9	12	**35**	32	33	32
Muslim	**79**	77	88	84	**183**	184	190	189	**7**	**8**	10	12	10	12	10	12	**36**	34	34	34
Tribal	**84**	80	89	...	**211**	212	222	...	**7**	**9**	9	11	10	12	...	...	**31**	28	29	...

V.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.

Caste.	Males. 0—6.	7—13.	14—16.	17—23.	24—43.	44 and over.	Females. 0—6.	7—13.	14—16.	17—23.	24—43.	44 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Babhan	149	163	62	114	312	200	163	149	51	108	310	219
Brahman	159	165	68	121	306	181	165	152	55	123	312	193
Chamar	216	197	64	101	285	137	213	164	59	114	303	147
Gaura	182	171	83	125	286	153	168	151	55	129	317	180
Goala	189	186	62	102	303	158	202	165	57	109	305	162
Karan	153	161	66	132	295	193	131	138	57	128	334	212
Kayasth	164	168	65	116	295	192	183	159	54	112	298	194
Khandait	163	166	77	148	296	180	153	149	88	143	290	177
Koiri	188	176	60	102	305	169	198	157	54	108	310	173
Munda ... *Hindu* ...	237	182	65	103	296	127	233	166	57	113	287	144
Do. ... *Christian* ...	230	208	73	100	258	131	237	179	72	116	259	137
Do. ... *Tribal* ...	243	196	71	91	262	137	237	182	71	104	269	137
Musahar	215	193	61	92	291	148	238	167	57	110	296	132
Oraon ... *Hindu* ...	270	188	57	90	262	133	241	161	59	94	284	161
Do. ... *Christian* ...	248	199	73	102	254	124	254	180	68	113	252	133
Do. ... *Tribal* ...	245	193	64	93	265	140	250	167	61	104	269	149
Rajput	159	169	64	115	309	184	169	151	51	112	312	205
Santal ... *Hindu* ...	218	190	70	115	290	117	233	166	72	132	273	124
Do. ... *Christian* ...	214	200	73	112	276	125	196	201	76	117	279	131
Do. ... *Tribal* ...	223	198	64	101	284	130	237	173	65	118	271	136
Tanti	190	186	62	102	301	159	187	160	55	115	316	167
Teli	197	186	63	106	299	149	204	167	57	119	299	154

VI.—Proportion in certain castes of (1) children to persons aged 14—43 and to married females aged 14—43; (2) persons over 43 to persons aged 14—43; and (3) married females aged 14—43 to total number of females.

Caste.	Number of children under 14 (both sexes)— Per 100 persons aged 14—43.	Per 100 married females aged 14—43.	Number of persons over 43 per 100 aged 14—43. Males.	Females.	Number of married females aged 14—43 per 100 females of all ages.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Babhan	65	182	41	47	36
Brahman	65	175	37	39	37
Chamar	85	181	30	31	42
Gaura	67	167	31	36	38
Goala	79	187	34	34	41
Karan	57	156	39	41	35
Kayasth	72	198	40	42	36
Khandait	62	153	37	34	39
Koiri	76	179	36	37	41
Munda ... ... *Hindu* ...	88	222	27	32	36
Do. ... ... *Christian* ...	97	268	30	31	32
Do. ... ... *Tribal* ...	99	251	32	31	33
Musahar	90	197	33	29	41
Oraon ... ... *Hindu* ...	101	225	32	37	37
Do. ... ... *Christian* ...	102	269	29	31	33
Do. ... ... *Tribal* ...	100	228	33	34	36
Rajput	67	190	38	43	36
Santal ... ... *Hindu* ...	85	219	25	26	37
Do. ... ... *Christian* ...	87	241	27	28	34
Do. ... ... *Tribal* ...	92	224	29	30	37
Tanti	76	170	34	24	41
Teli	80	185	32	32	41

VII.—Reported birth-rate by sex and natural divisions.

Year.	Number of births per 1,000 of each sex (Census of 1921). Province. Males.	Province. Females.	North Bihar. Males.	North Bihar. Females.	South Bihar. Males.	South Bihar. Females.	Orissa. Males.	Orissa. Females.	Chota Nagpur Plateau. Males.	Chota Nagpur Plateau. Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1921	36	33	36	33	39	36	35	29	34	33
1922	37	34	34	31	39	37	42	36	35	34
1923	39	36	36	33	41	39	42	36	38	36
1924	37	34	35	32	42	39	39	32	37	35
1925	37	34	35	32	40	38	37	31	39	37
1926	39	36	37	35	44	42	34	28	38	37
1927	39	36	38	36	44	42	37	30	37	35
1928	40	37	37	35	43	42	43	35	39	38
1929	37	35	36	33	40	39	39	32	35	34
1930	37	35	34	32	42	40	42	35	38	36
Average of decade ...	**38**	**35**	**36**	**33**	**41**	**39**	**39**	**32**	**37**	**36**

VIII.—Reported death-rate by sex and natural divisions.

Year.	Number of deaths per 1,000 of each sex (Census of 1921).									
	Province.		North Bihar.		South Bihar.		Orissa.		Chota Nagpur Plateau.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1921	35	31	29	24	40	45	39	33	31	28
1922	26	23	26	23	36	24	34	28	23	19
1923	26	24	24	21	29	27	35	30	24	21
1924	31	27	31	27	33	31	41	36	24	21
1925	25	22	23	20	25	23	40	36	22	19
1926	27	24	25	21	30	28	40	35	24	21
1927	26	24	25	22	30	28	33	28	22	20
1928	27	24	27	24	27	26	32	28	23	20
1929	28	26	29	25	29	28	33	30	24	21
1930	31	28	35	31	32	30	29	26	25	22
Average of decade ...	**28**	**25**	**27**	**24**	**31**	**29**	**36**	**31**	**24**	**21**

IX.—Reported death-rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years.

Number of deaths per mille living at the same age according to the census of 1921.

Age.	Average of decade.		1921.		1925.		1927.		1930.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All ages	**28**	**25**	**35**	**31**	**25**	**22**	**26**	**24**	**31**	**28**
Under 1 year	197	163	200	174	187	154	190	179	190	156
1—5	64	55	68	60	55	47	67	58	79	68
5—10	13	11	19	17	10	9	11	10	15	13
10—15	10	8	14	12	8	7	8	7	10	9
15—20	12	12	16	14	10	10	11	11	13	12
20—30	16	14	21	18	13	12	14	13	17	16
30—40	18	15	24	20	16	13	16	14	19	17
40—50	23	18	30	23	20	16	20	15	25	20
50—60	38	33	49	43	35	31	33	29	43	38
60 and over	73	59	94	76	69	56	66	54	81	66

X.—Reported deaths from certain diseases in each year of decade.

Disease and year.	Bihar and Orissa.		Actual number of deaths in—				Disease and year.	Bihar and Orissa.		Actual number of deaths in—			
	Actual no. of deaths.	No. per mille.	N. Bihar.	S. Bihar.	Orissa.	C. Nagpur Plateau.		Actual no. of deaths.	No. per mille.	N. Bihar.	S. Bihar.	Orissa.	C. Nagpur Plateau.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cholera ...	**633,149**	**1·9**	**313,632**	**205,969**	**68,171**	**45,377**	**Small-pox** ...	**132,098**	**0·4**	**37,979**	**35,028**	**36,700**	**22,391**
1921 ...	90,088	2·7	10,776	68,325	5,821	5,766	1921 ...	7,836	0·2	2,531	3,112	514	1,679
1922 ...	26,805	0·8	15,365	1,640	9,205	595	1922 ...	2,560	0·1	1,019	661	433	447
1923 ...	8,198	0·2	2,266	2,148	2,056	1,728	1923 ...	3,161	0·1	1,447	402	1,068	244
1924 ...	77,480	2·3	42,954	21,751	5,878	6,897	1924 ...	6,932	0·2	4,021	674	1,602	635
1925 ...	17,336	0·5	11,617	2,114	2,412	1,193	1925 ...	14,382	0·4	3,543	1,283	8,013	1,544
1926 ...	27,268	0·8	11,166	8,293	6,270	1,536	1926 ...	34,873	1·0	6,056	7,788	15,359	5,660
1927 ...	49,022	1·4	17,253	17,784	7,853	6,132	1927 ...	34,661	1·0	10,967	11,767	6,993	4,934
1928 ...	77,103	2·3	42,100	19,179	11,409	4,415	1928 ...	13,567	0·4	4,439	3,874	1,655	3,599
1929 ...	104,034	3·1	42,814	35,101	13,285	12,834	1929 ...	6,671	0·2	2,221	2,385	195	1,870
1930 ...	155,215	4·6	117,321	29,661	3,982	4,251	1930 ...	7,455	0·2	1,726	3,082	868	1,779
Fever ...	**6,120,565**	**18**	**2,555,345**	**1,481,142**	**602,381**	**1,481,697**	**Plague** ...	**112,552**	**0·3**	**84,048**	**28,258**	...	**246**
1921 ...	769,871	23	278,431	218,514	71,699	201,227	1921 ...	16,504	0·5	9,236	7,034	...	234
1922 ...	578,656	17	249,879	134,685	58,016	136,076	1922 ...	15,066	0·4	12,091	2,975	...	...
1923 ...	599,840	18	240,233	145,477	63,590	150,540	1923 ...	28,911	0·9	20,410	8,499	...	2
1924 ...	660,635	19	281,421	162,461	72,183	144,570	1924 ...	10,792	0·3	7,792	2,996	...	4
1925 ...	557,224	16	224,366	128,817	69,084	134,957	1925 ...	6,788	0·2	5,752	1,036	...	...
1926 ...	584,444	17	235,712	143,434	62,548	142,750	1926 ...	8,381	0·2	6,579	1,798	...	4
1927 ...	559,360	16	243,525	136,796	50,038	130,001	1927 ...	6,112	0·2	5,323	789	...	1
1928 ...	564,979	17	247,055	128,160	52,231	137,533	1928 ...	7,627	0·2	6,436	1,190	...	1
1929 ...	602,038	18	270,103	133,359	53,541	146,035	1929 ...	8,266	0·2	6,969	1,297	...	...
1930 ...	643,518	19	285,620	149,439	50,451	158,008	1930 ...	4,105	0·1	3,461	644	...	...

CHAPTER V.—Sex.

Reference to statistics.

The distinction of sex is maintained in almost all the census tables, but for the purpose of this chapter Imperial Table VII, where the sex statistics are combined with those for age, civil condition and religion, is the most important. In Imperial Table VIII similar statistics are given for selected castes and tribes. At the end of this chapter the following subsidiary tables will be found :—

I.—General proportions of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions.

III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions and natural divisions.

IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes and tribes.

V.—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex—(*a*) in the whole province during each year of the last three decades, and (*b*) in each natural division during the decade 1921—30.

VI.—Actual number of deaths reported for each sex at different ages.

Bihar and Orissa compared with other provinces and countries.

2. The actual population of the province, as enumerated at the present census, is made up of 21,082,560 males and 21,247,023 females. That is to say, there are 1,008 females for every thousand males. The statement in the margin shows how Bihar and Orissa compares in this respect with India as a whole and with certain other countries. With the exception of Madras, Bihar and Orissa is the only province in India where the female sex is in a majority. In Madras there are as many as 1,025 females to every thousand males; while in the Punjab, at the other end of the scale, the proportion sinks as low as 832.

Females per 1,000 males.

Bihar and Orissa (1931)	**1,008**
India (1931)	940
England and Wales (1931) ...	1,087
Germany (1925)	1,067
Japan (1930)	990
United States (1930)	976
Australia (1921)	967

Effect of migration.

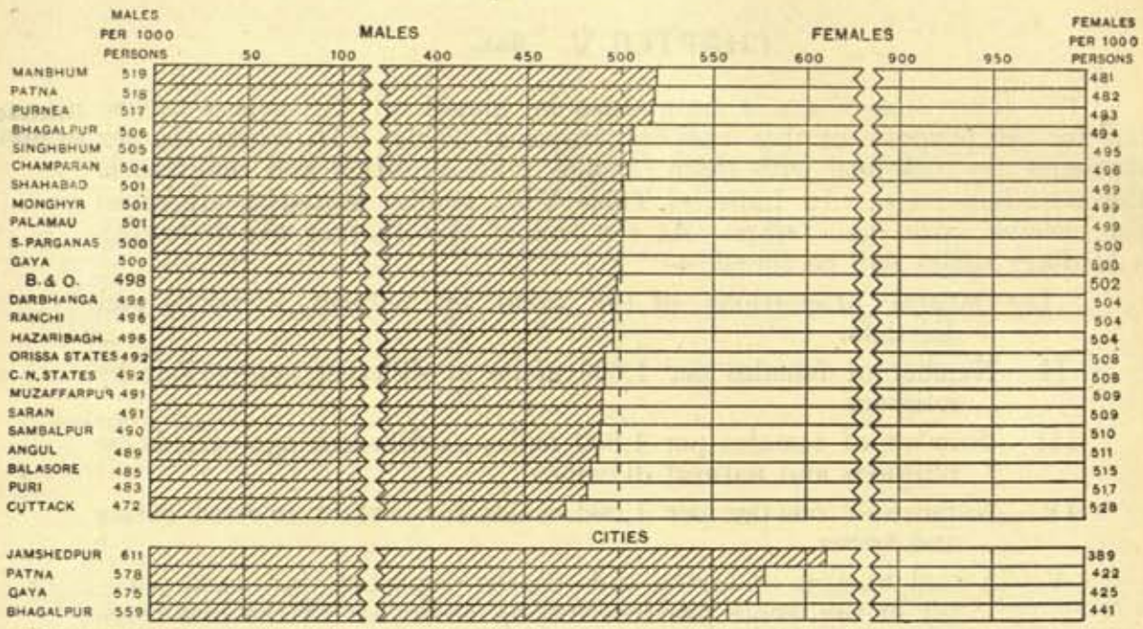
3. Migration is responsible for the fact that the sex proportions in this province do not conform to the general rule elsewhere in India. If we have regard to the *natural*, as opposed to the *actual*, population of Bihar and Orissa—or in other words to the persons *born* within its borders as opposed to the persons *enumerated* within them—males out-number females in the ratio of 1,000 to 984. As explained in Chapter III, this province loses more by emigration than any other Indian province, and since the majority of the emigrants belong to the male sex the inevitable result is to swell the proportion of females in the resident population. It is customary to tabulate figures showing the sex ratio in the natural population of each district, but this cannot be done on the present occasion as the birth-district of persons enumerated outside the province is not known.*

Sex proportions in different localities.

4. The proportion of females to males in the actual population of each district is given in Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter and is illustrated in the map overleaf. The same facts are exhibited in a slightly different form in the following diagram, where the districts are arranged in descending order of masculinity. The sex proportions in the four cities are shown separately in the diagram, and are markedly different from the proportions elsewhere. This matter, however, has already been discussed on pages 85-86 *ante* as being one of the distinguishing features between urban and rural populations.

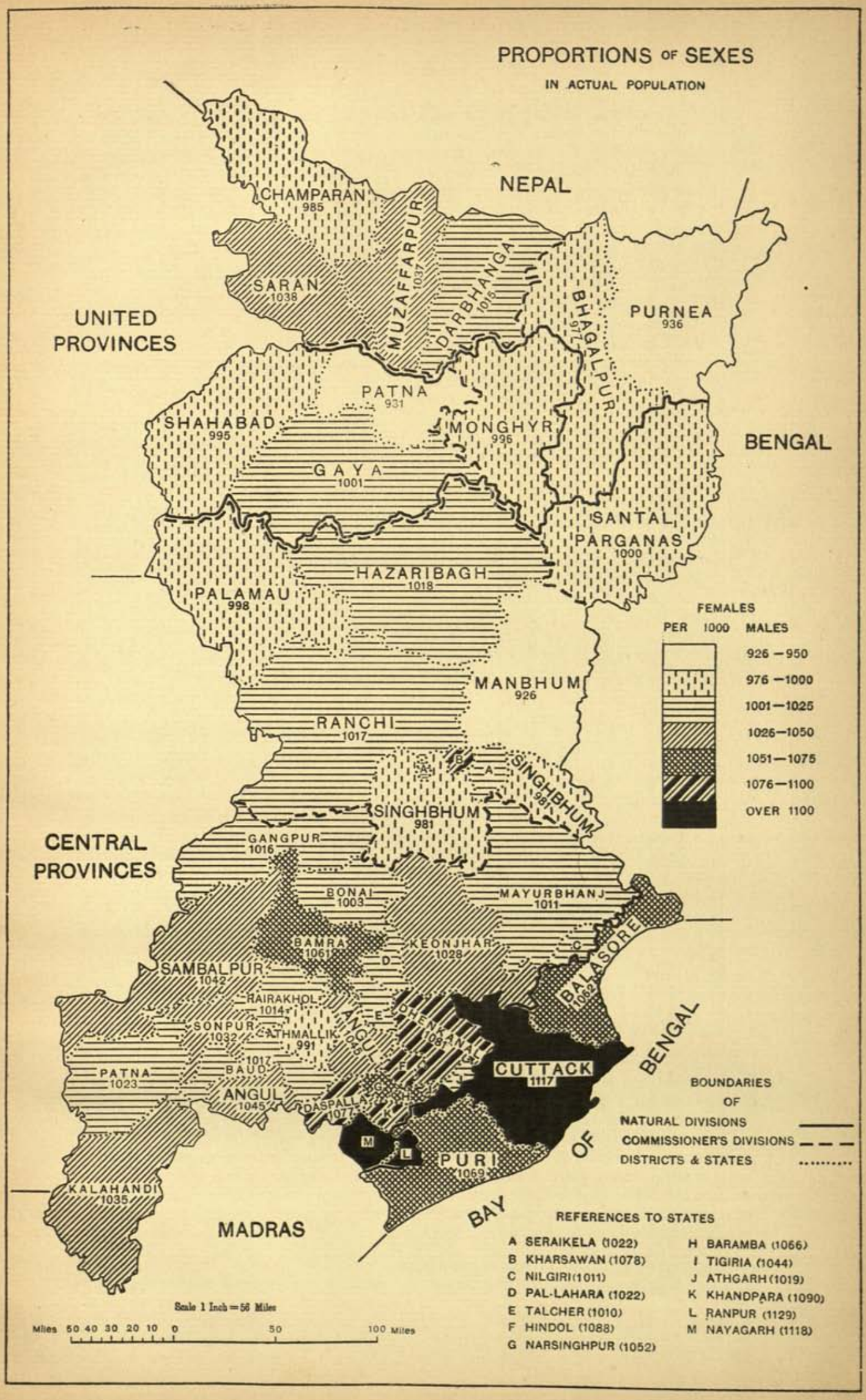
* *See* paragraph 24 of Chapter I *ante*.

Diagram showing the proportions of the sexes in the actual population of districts and cities.



There are ten districts with an excess of males and ten with an excess of females. In the remaining district (Santal Parganas) the balance is almost exactly even; actually there is a surplus of 370 males in a total population of over two millions. In the Feudatory States as a whole there are 1,033 females to every thousand males; as between the individual states there is a good deal of variation, but Athmallik is the only one where males are in the majority. Generally speaking, the map shows that *the female ratio* is high in the south of the province and much lower in the north.* The two principal exceptions to this are the districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum, where immigration on an extensive scale into the industrial areas has operated to disturb the normal proportions more than usual. These, however, are not the only districts in which the influence of migration is clearly perceptible It has been seen in paragraph 7 of Chapter III that there are five districts in the province of which it can be definitely stated that the number of immigrants is greater than the number of emigrants. These districts are Manbhum, Patna, Purnea, Singhbhum and Champaran; and it is significant that each one of them figures prominently in the list of districts where the male sex predominates. Again, Saran loses much more by emigration than any other district in Bihar proper; and of all the Bihar districts Saran has the highest female ratio. In Orissa, Cuttack sends abroad a greater number of its sons than either Balasore or Puri and in exchange receives a lower proportion of settlers from outside—with the result that the excess of females is more pronounced in that district than in the neighbouring ones. On the other hand, although the balance of migrations is responsible for a good deal, it does not by any means account for the general tendency of females to preponderate in the south and males in the north of the province. It does not, for instance, explain why Ranchi, which suffers a much greater net loss from migration than any other district in Bihar and Orissa, should have a far lower female ratio than Puri, which neither gains nor loses appreciably from the exchange. It does not explain why there is an excess of females in the Feudatory States, where immigrants have always outnumbered emigrants, while in Monghyr, where the outward flow of migration is very marked, the sex proportions are reversed. The statistics compiled at the previous census showed that in the *natural* population of the two Bihar divisions females were in a minority, whereas in the rest of the province (but particularly in the coastal districts of Orissa) they were more numerous than males. One factor which has doubtless contributed towards this state of affairs is the prevalence of plague in the Bihar districts during the first two decades of the century: this disease is

* This expression is used, here and elsewhere in the chapter, to denote the proportion of females to males.


PROPORTIONS OF SEXES
IN ACTUAL POPULATION
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 985
SARAN 1038
MUZAFFARPUR 1037
DARBHANGA 1015
BHAGALPUR 977
PURNEA 936
PATNA 931
SHAHABAD 995
MONGHYR 996
GAYA 1001
SANTAL PARGANAS 1000
HAZARIBAGH 1018
PALAMAU 998
MANBHUM 926
RANCHI 1017
SINGHBHUM 981
GANGPUR 1016
BONAI 1003
MAYURBHANJ 1011
BAMRA 1061
KEONJHAR 1028
SAMBALPUR 1042
BALASORE 1062
RAIRAKHOL 1014
SONPUR 1032
ATHMALLIK 991
DHENKANAL 1081
PATNA 1023
BAUD 1017
ANGUL 1045
DASPALLA 1077
CUTTACK 1117
PURI 1069
KALAHANDI 1035
FEMALES PER 1000 MALES
926 — 950
976 — 1000
1001 — 1025
1026 — 1050
1051 — 1075
1076 — 1100
OVER 1100
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (1022)
B KHARSAWAN (1078)
C NILGIRI (1011)
D PAL-LAHARA (1022)
E TALCHER (1010)
F HINDOL (1088)
G NARSINGHPUR (1052)
H BARAMBA (1066)
I TIGIRIA (1044)
J ATHGARH (1019)
K KHANDPARA (1090)
L RANPUR (1129)
M NAYAGARH (1118)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

particularly fatal to women. Again, the same unfair discrimination characterized the influenza outbreak of 1918-19, which was felt with much less severity in Orissa than in other parts of the province. Famine, on the other hand, and acute agricultural distress usually differentiate against the male sex, and since the beginning of the century Orissa has had far more than her due share of such privations. The combined effect of these influences may be held to be responsible to some extent at least for the remarkable transformation in the sex proportions exhibited in the marginal statement. The Chota Nagpur plateau has remained comparatively immune from plague, but did not escape the onslaught of the influenza epidemic; on the whole it is not nearly so liable to floods and crop failures as Orissa. The result is that the fluctuations in the sex ratio during the last thirty or forty years have not been so pronounced as in the other natural divisions, but on the whole the preponderance of females has been growing less and less marked. It will be seen in paragraph 7 below that racial considerations play their part in determining the sex proportions in this part of the province.

Females per 1,000 males in natural population.

	1921.	1891.
North Bihar ...	996	1,030
South Bihar ...	962	1,041
Orissa	1,047	1,031

5. The outstanding feature of the last decade is the relative decline in the proportion of females in the actual population. While the male population has increased since 1921 by 2,375,849 persons, the increase in the number of females is only 1,998,647. The general tendency is observable in all the four natural divisions, but, as the marginal statement shows, it is most conspicuous in Orissa and least conspicuous on the plateau. In part this change in the sex ratio is due to the return to the province of a large number of persons (mostly males) who had been compelled to emigrate during the closing years of the previous decade. But this explanation does not in reality carry us very far. The total number of immigrants into the province and of emigrants to places outside it, in 1931 and in 1921, is given in the margin for each sex separately. While the net loss caused to the male sex by migration is about 155,000 less than it was ten years ago, the loss to the female sex has also been reduced by some 118,000. The difference between these two figures obviously cannot account for the fact that the increase in the male population since 1921 is greater by 377,000 than the increase in the female population. Or, to put it in another way, migration cannot explain why the proportion of females to every thousand males in the *natural* population has declined from 999 to 984. For an explanation of this phenomenon we naturally look to the vital statistics, but unfortunately we look in vain.

Variations since 1921.

Females per 1,000 males in actual population.

	1931.	1921.
Bihar and Orissa ...	**1,008**	**1,029**
North Bihar ...	1,001	1,029
South Bihar ...	983	1,002
Orissa ...	1,092	1,133
C. N. Plateau ...	1,006	1,014

	Males.		*Females.*	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Emigrants ...	1,146,361	1,246,900	623,859	707,968
Immigrants ...	258,348	204,254	251,489	217,990
Excess of Emigrants	888,013	1,042,646	372,370	489,978

6. Indeed, the vital statistics definitely suggest that during the last decade the rate of natural increase has been more rapid among females than among males. For the Feudatory States the record of vital occurrences is incomplete, so they must be left out of account. The relevant figures for British territory are given in the margin. Taking both sexes together, the difference between the two sets of figures (after allowance has been made for the effects of migration) is, as pointed out on pages 14-15 *ante*, surprisingly small; but, when the sexes are considered separately, the difficulty of reconciling the discrepancies becomes

Comparison with vital statistics.

	Increase in actual population.	*Excess of reported births over reported deaths.*
Persons ...	**3,682,158**	**3,254,095**
Males ...	2,033,613	1,563,825
Females ...	1,648,545	1,690,270

insuperable. It is only in the natural division of Orissa that the figures are roughly in accordance with expectation. The excess of male births over male deaths in that locality is 63,846, whereas in the case of females the corresponding figure is only 32,039; in order to bring these statistics into agreement with the recorded growth of actual population, we must assume that migration was responsible for a further addition of some 70,000 to the male population and some 40,000 to the female. Nor is such an assumption altogether unreasonable, for we know that the reversal in the tide of migration during the last decade was specially marked in Orissa. The North Bihar figures reproduced in the margin, are the most intractable of all. Here again there is nothing to cause surprise in the statistics for both sexes combined. It has been seen on page 31 that in North Bihar, unlike the rest of the province, the flow of migration during the last decade has continued to be in an outward direction, with the result that the census returns do not reflect the full extent of the natural increase in population. But it is preposterous to suppose that migration has operated to cause a net reduction of 174,000 in the female population of North Bihar and a net addition of nearly 100,000 to the male population. There appears to be no doubt that, in recording sex, either the vital statistics of the census returns are inaccurate. It is not easy to see why the village *chaukidar* should report that the deceased A. B. was a male when in reality she was not; still less why he should report that a girl has been brought into the world when the proud parents are rejoicing over the birth of a son. But something of this kind must actually have happened fairly often unless we are to fix the blame on the census enumerator or (which is more likely) on the copyist

	Increase in actual population.	*Excess of reported births over reported deaths.*
Persons ...	**1,155,843**	**1,231,447**
Males ...	673,399	574,683
Females ...	482,444	656,764

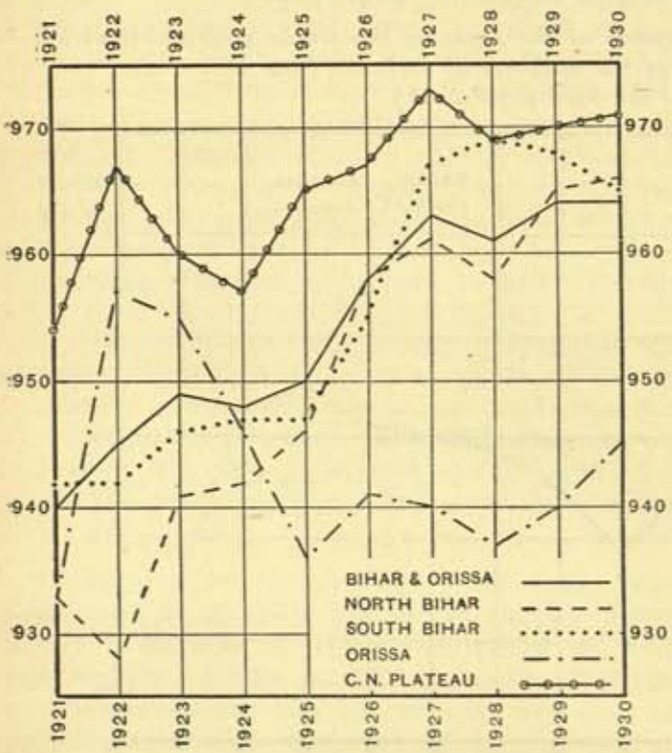
Here it should be explained that all the particulars recorded in the census schedules were copied out on to " slips ", a separate slip being used for each person. In the top right-hand corner of each slip there was a printed symbol, which took the form either of a circle or a square. The circle denoted *male* and the square denoted *female*, and the first thing the copyist was supposed to do was to ascertain the sex of each individual and to select a slip with the appropriate symbol. Having done this, no further entry was made on the slip in regard to the sex of the individual concerned. It is clear that a negligent copyist, unless his work was very carefully checked, might easily make a mistake in this matter. It is less clear why, assuming such mistakes to have occurred, the female sex should on the balance derive so much advantage from them. In this connexion it is relevant to observe that the present difficulty is not a new one. Subsidiary Table V shows that in the decades 1911—20 and 1901—10 the rate of natural increase was distinctly more rapid among females than among males, and yet both those decades witnessed a decline in the proportion of females in the census returns. Moreover, on each of the former occasions there had been a progressive increase in the volume of emigration, which would tend to enhance the discrepancy between the two sets of figures. If we are to presume that the vital statistics are on the whole more accurate than the census returns, it must necessarily follow that the proportion of females in the actual population has been steadily increasing for the last thirty years, and that, if in 1901 there were 1,047 females to every thousand males, there must now be something like 1,100 instead of 1,008, which is the figure actually returned at the present census. It seems quite unreasonable to suppose that there has been a consistent and cumulative error of this nature and extent in the census returns, especially in view of the fact that the progressive decline in the female ratio since the beginning of the century is a feature common to the whole of India. One is therefore constrained to make a scapegoat of the *chaukidar* after all.

Sex proportions at birth.

7. The whole world over, more boys are always born than girls. According to the vital statistics, the ratio in this province during the last decade was 954 female births to 1,000 male births, which differs but little

from the ratio (950 :1,000) recorded in 1911—20. In the reports on the last census it was noticed that the period of the Great War coincided with a rise in the degree of masculinity. This was the experience of most Western countries, belligerent and non-belligerent, and it was also the experience of most provinces in India. For India as a whole the number of female births per 1,000 male births decreased from 936 in the quinquennium 1911—15 to 930 in the quinquennium 1916—20; for Bihar and Orissa it decreased from 955 to 946. So far at least as this country is concerned, it is difficult to attach any particular significance to the coincidence. At all events, there now appears to have been a reaction, for the corresponding figures in this province for the first and second halves of the past decade are 946 and 962. For the reasons given in the preceding paragraph no great accuracy can be claimed for these figures, and it is probable that the true proportion of female births is throughout lower than they indicate. For purposes of comparison, however, they may have some value. The marginal diagram illustrates the fluctuations in the ratio from year to year in the province as a whole and in the different natural divisions. It will be noticed that, except in Orissa, the proportion of female births increases pretty steadily from the beginning to the end of the decade, and this tendency is more pronounced in North Bihar than anywhere else. Another outstanding feature of the diagram is that the female ratio is consistently higher in Chota Nagpur than in any other part of the province. This is borne out by previous experience also, as the next marginal statement shows. The inference usually drawn from this circumstance is that, among the aboriginal tribes which are so numerous on the Chota Nagpur plateau, there is some racial characteristic which exercises a definite influence on the sex ratio at birth. A similar phenomenon is observed in other localities (such as the Chattisgarh area in the Central Provinces) where primitive tribes abound, and the evidence furnished by the vital statistics in this respect are corroborated by the relatively high proportion of female children under one year of age in these particular localities. The statistics of birth do not

Diagram showing the number of female births per 1,000 male births during the decade in the whole province and in each natural division.



	Bihar and Orissa.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
1921 ...	**940**	933	942	933	954
1922 ...	**945**	928	942	957	967
1923 ...	**949**	941	946	955	960
1924 ...	**948**	942	947	946	957
1925 ...	**950**	946	947	936	965
1926 ...	**958**	958	955	941	967
1927 ...	**963**	961	967	940	973
1928 ...	**961**	958	969	937	969
1929 ...	**964**	965	968	940	970
1930 ...	**964**	966	965	945	971

Female births per 1,000 male births.

	1921—30.	1911—20.	1901—10.
North Bihar	950	944	952
South Bihar	955	951	954
Orissa	943	948	951
C. N. Plateau	965	963	962

distinguish between religions, races or castes, so material for the further investigation of this subject is not available.

Sex proportions at different ages.

8. In Bihar and Orissa, as elsewhere, if male babies are more numerous than female babies, they are also more delicate. Wherefore, in spite of the greater care and devotion which is undoubtedly lavished on them, their numerical superiority quickly disappears: so much so that even among infants less than a year old there are more girls than boys. The proportions of the sexes at different ages are shown in the two following diagrams, the first of which relates to the province as a whole, while the second deals with the different natural divisions. The first diagram exhibits the percentage of the total population claimed by each sex at each age-period; in the second the same facts are illustrated by a somewhat different method. The key to the second diagram will be found in Subsidiary Table III.

Diagram showing the proportions of the sexes in the whole province at each age-period. (Departure of the numbers of each sex from 50 per cent of the total population.)

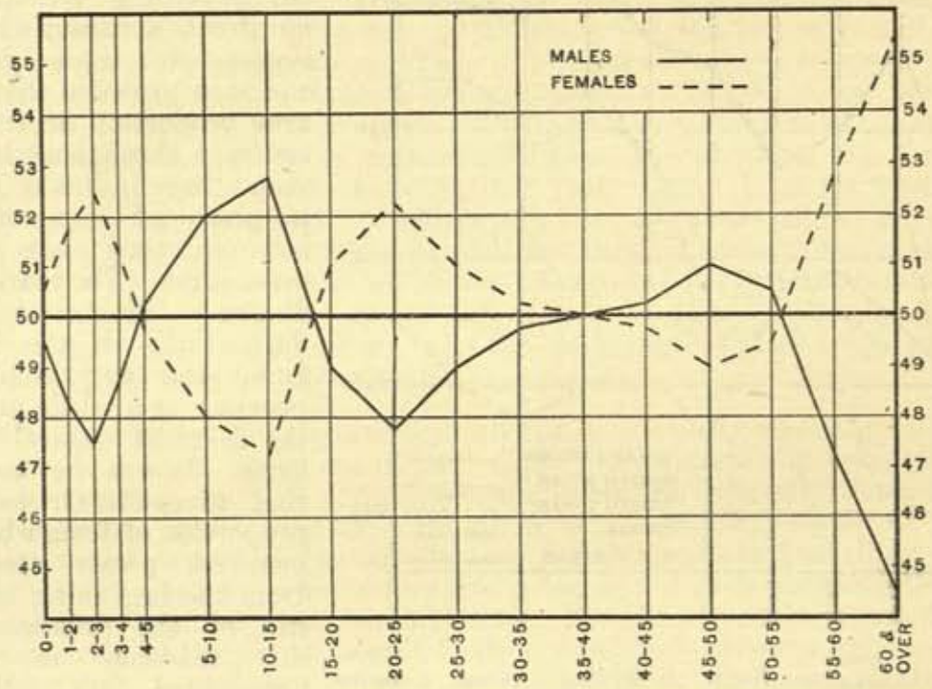
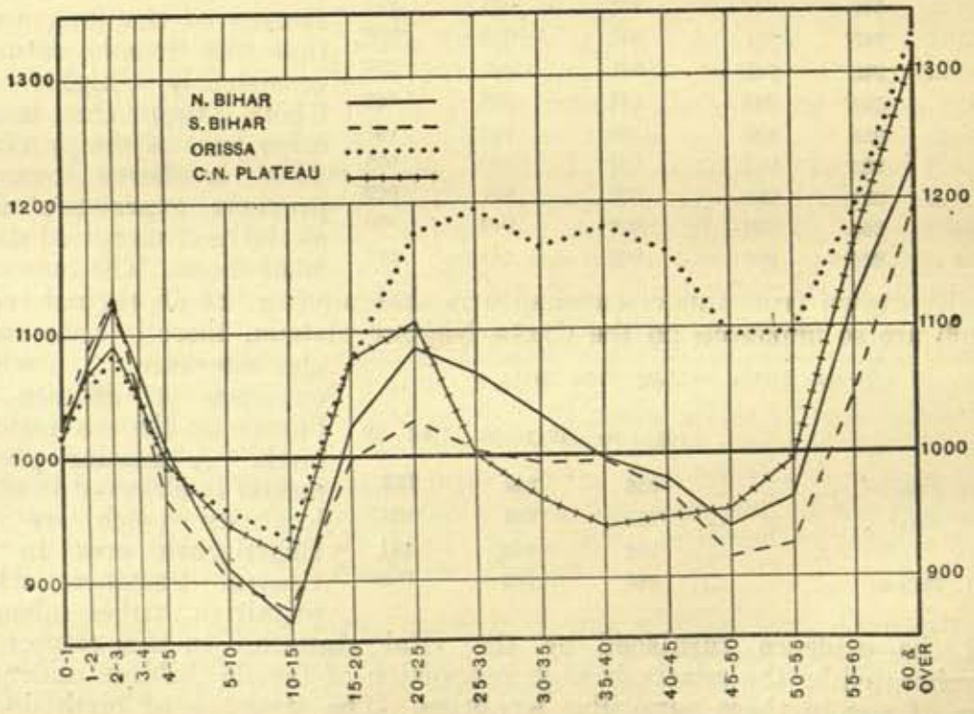


Diagram showing the proportions of the sexes at each age-period in each natural division. (Number of females per 1,000 males.)



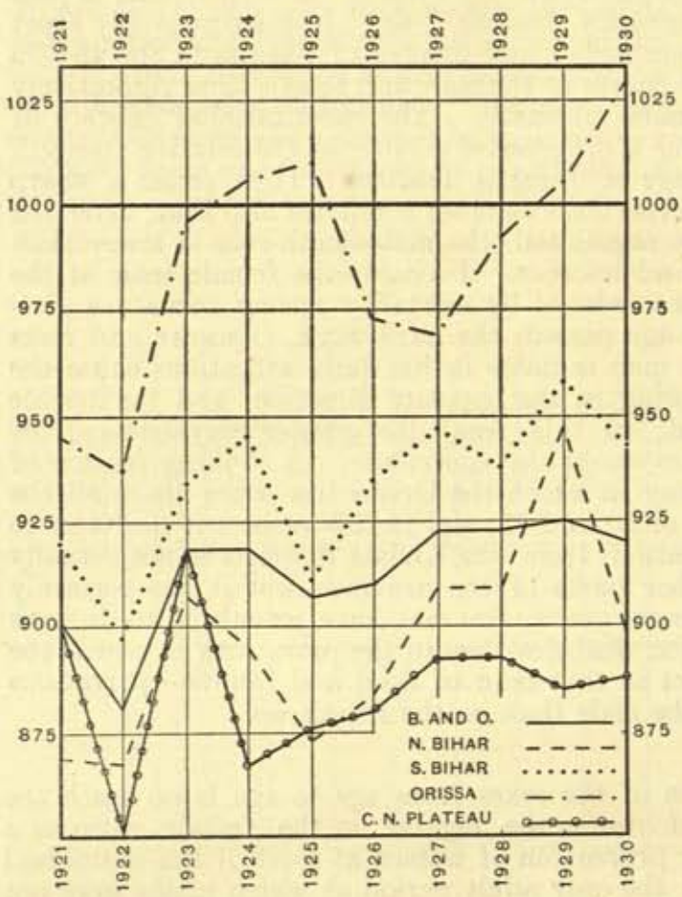
In considering these proportions it is necessary to bear in mind the common types of error, intentional or otherwise, which characterize the age returns in an Indian census and which (as explained on page 119) differ at different age-periods for the two sexes. For example, the great preponderance of females in the most advanced periods is largely the result of the tendency to exaggerate the age of elderly women. Once a woman is past child-bearing, she will commonly become " 60 " in a surprisingly short space of time; hence the relatively small number of females in the 45—55 categories. For the rest, the curves in the male and female lines respectively can usually be interpreted more rationally. The constitutional delicacy of male infants is responsible for a progressive decline in the relative strength of the male sex until the age of three is reached. Then comes a sharp reaction. It is the general experience in other countries also that, after the first critical years are safely negotiated, the male death-rate is lower than the female in childhood and adolescence. Probably the female ratio at the 10—15 period is still further reduced by mortality among immature girl-wives. In the early middle-age periods the hard work, exposure and risks of various kinds to which a man is liable in his daily avocations cause the pendulum of mortality to swing in the opposite direction, and the female ascendancy is re-established; to this result the greater prevalence of the emigration habit among males would also contribute. A striking feature of the second diagram is the way in which the Orissa line soars above all the other lines between the ages of 20 and 55, and in this respect it conforms to the 1921 precedent. Emigration from the Orissa districts is not actually more common than from other parts of the province, but it has certainly developed more rapidly in recent years; this may have something to do with it. But the main explanation doubtless lies in the privations to which the ordinary cultivator is subject in that land of flood and famine—privations which tell more heavily on the male than on the female sex.

The general distribution of the sexes from age to age is on much the same lines as in 1921, but of course the decline in the female ratio as a whole is reflected in a lower proportion of women at most of the individual age-periods. Thus, in 1921 the only adult period at which males were not in a minority was 40—45, whereas now they achieve equality at the 35—40 period and are in excess for the next fifteen years. The ages at which the proportion of females is actually *higher* than it was at the last census are (*i*) the first three years of life, (*ii*) the two periods from 10 to 20, and (*iii*) the 55—60 period. The most striking change in this respect occurs in the 15—20 age-group. In 1921 females of this age were less numerous than males in the province as a whole and in every natural division except Orissa; now they have a clear majority in every part of the province except South Bihar, where the balance is almost even. It will be recalled that this is one of the periods chiefly affected by typical errors in reporting a woman's age. On the one hand, unmarried girls who have attained puberty are returned as younger than they really are; on the other hand, the age of married girls is frequently exaggerated. It may be that the latter type of error was less common at the present census, for the rise in the female ratio at 15—20 is balanced by a particularly heavy fall at the 20—25 period. It is also possible that the new method of age-grouping (see pages 119-20 *ante*) has somehow brought about a change in the sex ratio at this period. Such a result might be caused if the age of 20 was distinctly more popular with women than with men. There is little doubt that this is the explanation of the apparent rise in the proportion of females aged 55—60, for this group now includes for the first time a share of the large company of young—old women who were returned as exactly 60 years of age. The increase in the female ratio during the first three years of life appears to be more genuine and derives some corroboration from the vital statistics; it has already been seen that the proportion of female births rose steadily towards the end of this decade, whereas in the previous decade it was at its lowest point during the years immediately preceding the census.

Sex proportions at death.

9. The ratio of female deaths to male deaths during each year of the past decade is illustrated in the marginal diagram. Once more it is necessary to emphasize the need for caution in accepting these statistics, which are taken from the *chaukidar's* record of vital occurrences and are not of unimpeachable accuracy. The indications are that they understate the true proportion of female deaths. For what they are worth, however, they tell us that during the last decade in the province as a whole there were on the average 913 female deaths to every thousand male deaths. As in the case of births, there is a tendency for the proportion to rise as the decade goes on, but the tendency in this case is much less marked. Orissa, which has the lowest proportion of female births, has the highest proportion of female deaths, while precisely the opposite combination is observable on the Chota Nagpur plateau. This is at least consistent with the broad fact that the decline in the female ratio in the actual population is most pronounced in Orissa and least pronounced on the plateau; but beyond that the statistics are difficult to correlate.

Diagram showing the number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths during the decade in the whole province and in each natural division.



	Bihar and Orissa.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
1921 ...	**901**	869	920	945	900
1922 ...	**881**	867	897	937	851
1923 ...	**918**	907	934	996	918
1924 ...	**918**	895	945	1,006	867
1925 ...	**907**	873	911	1,010	876
1926 ...	**910**	884	935	973	880
1927 ...	**923**	909	947	969	893
1928 ...	**923**	909	938	992	893
1929 ...	**925**	947	958	1,005	885
1930 ...	**920**	898	943	1,030	888

As compared with the previous decade, the marginal statement shows that there has been a substantial decline in the proportion of female deaths, which is common to every part of the province except Orissa. Here again is no matter for surprise, seeing that Bihar and Chota Nagpur were quit of the influenza epidemic, which had proved specially fatal to women in 1918-19, while Orissa, though debarred from participation in the general economic prosperity, was at least spared a repetition of the acute agricultural distress which had swelled the male death-roll in 1919-20. For the province as a whole the decline in the proportion of female deaths since 1921 is not necessarily inconsistent with a simultaneous decline in the proportion of females in the actual (or indeed in the natural) population. The inconsistency arises when we find that during the past decade the ratio

Female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.

	1921—30.	1911—20.
Bihar and Orissa ...	**913**	**936**
North Bihar ...	892	918
South Bihar ...	933	984
Orissa	986	969
C. N. Plateau ...	881	896

of female to male births was much higher than the ratio of female to male deaths, and *still* the proportion of females in the natural population is considerably lower than it was ten years ago.

10. Subsidiary Tables II and III show the sex proportions in the main religious communities by age and locality. The statistics are summarized in the marginal statement, from which it will be seen that the proportion of females is highest among adherents of the tribal religions. We have already observed that, as the result apparently of some racial characteristic, female births are specially numerous in the areas inhabited by aboriginal tribes. It is therefore natural to find that among "tribal" infants in the first year of life there are 1,048 girls to every thousand boys, as compared with the provincial average of 1,020 girls per thousand boys of that age. But it would seem that the greater delicacy by which male infants are commonly distinguished from female infants is not found so markedly among the primitive tribes, for by the time the third year of life is reached the proportion of females is actually lower than the provincial average. From 5 to 25 years of age it is again much higher, and most of all between the ages of 15 and 20; this must be attributed mainly to the fact that child-bearing does not begin so early for aboriginal women.

Sex proportions by religion.

	All religions.	*Hindu.*	*Muslim.*	*Tribal.*
Bihar and Orissa ...	**1,008**	**1,005**	**1,018**	**1,027**
North Bihar ...	1,001	999	1,014	...
South Bihar ...	983	973	1,084	...
Orissa	1,092	1,091	1,130	...
C. N. Plateau ...	1,006	1,006	941	1,028

As between Hindus and Muslims, the general rule is that the female ratio is higher among Muslims. But the religious factor is less important than the regional. Thus, when each natural division is considered separately, the proportion of Hindu females is always (except on the Chota Nagpur plateau) lower than the proportion of Muslim females; but the proportion of Hindu females in Orissa is higher than the proportion of Muslim females in any other part of the province. On the Chota Nagpur plateau the main reason for the shortage of Muslim women is that male immigrants figure so largely in the Muslim population of Manbhum and Singhbhum. On the other hand, the proportion of Hindu women in this natural division is higher than it would otherwise be, because Hinduism is the adopted religion of many aboriginals. It is noticeable that, although the female ratio for all religions combined is distinctly lower in South Bihar than in North Bihar, the reverse holds good for the followers of Islam. Here the primary reason is that the Purnea Muslims, who are exceptionally numerous, are racially quite distinct from the other Muslims of Bihar, and in this particular community the females are heavily outnumbered by the males. It is somewhat curious to find that, in all parts of the province except Orissa, the proportion of female *infants* is higher among Hindus than among Muslims. The disparity gradually disappears, but up to the age of 15 there is no clear indication of a contrary movement. It is between the ages of 15 and 40 that the proportion of Muslim females is definitely higher, and this lends strong support to the belief that many more Hindu girl-wives perish during the early years of married life. The Hindu widow, however, relaxes her hold on life less readily, and in the advanced age-periods the proportion of women is higher among Hindus than among Muslims.

11. The sex proportions in selected castes and tribes are shown in Subsidiary Table IV. Here again, however, the influence of the regional factor is very strong, and makes it difficult to draw any useful inference from the statistics. The female ratio is highest of all among the Karans, Khandaits and Gauras, in that order. All of these are Oriya castes, but it is a little surprising to find the Karans at the head of the list. In Bihar, for example, the Kayasths have a lower female ratio than the Goalas and most other Hindu castes. Lower still is the proportion of females among the Rajputs and Babhans, whereas among the Chamars and Tantis it is

Sex proportions by caste.

relatively high. For the aboriginal tribes separate statistics are given for Hindus, Christians and those who still adhere to their tribal religions. In each case the Christians have a much lower proportion of females than either of the others, while the proportion is highest among those who have remained faithful to their ancestral gods.

Fertility of women.

12. It is commonly supposed that the birth-rate in this country is high because it is uncontrolled, and that for this reason the average married woman in Bihar and Orissa must give birth to more children than the average married woman in, say, England and Wales. But this apparently is not so. The statement in the margin shows that, although the crude birth-rate in this province is far higher than in the Western country, it is a great deal lower when the calculation is based on the number of married women at the reproductive ages. In spite of the extensive use of contraceptive methods in England and Wales, the women of that country are apparently the more fertile. It may be conceded that the record of births in India is not absolutely complete, especially when the child is still-born. But the real reason why the birth-rate is so high out here is that marriage is more universal. And this leads to the subject-matter of the following chapter.

		No. of births (000's omitted).	*Crude birth-rate.*	*Births per 1,000 married women aged 15—45.*
Bihar and Orissa	1930	1,231	36	151
	1920	1,113	32.5	159
England and Wales	1920	958	26.5	209

I.—General proportions of the sexes by natural divisions and districts (actual population).

Districts and Natural Divisions.	Number of females per 1,000 males.					
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***1,008***	***1,029***	***1,043***	***1,047***	***1,040***	***1,024***
Natural population ...	***984***	***999***	***1,013***	***1,027***	***1,032***	***1,018***
North Bihar	***1,001***	***1,029***	***1,058***	***1,064***	***1,049***	***1,026***
Saran	**1,038**	1,066	1,151	1,200	1,176	1,105
Champaran	**985**	1,004	1,026	1,022	986	977
Muzaffarpur	**1,037**	1,079	1,092	1,089	1,071	1,040
Darbhanga	**1,015**	1,051	1,074	1,056	1,044	1,032
Bhagalpur	**977**	1,005	1,022	1,033	1,023	1,008
Purnea	**936**	941	957	956	958	973
South Bihar	***983***	***1,002***	***1,034***	***1,050***	***1,059***	***1,045***
Patna	**931**	949	988	1,020	1,043	1,044
Gaya	**1,001**	1,003	1,035	1,037	1,046	1,036
Shahabad	**995**	1,029	1,063	1,096	1,082	1,068
Monghyr	**996**	1,019	1,044	1,045	1,063	1,032
Orissa	***1,092***	***1,133***	***1,081***	***1,055***	***1,044***	***1,032***
Cuttack	**1,117**	1,168	1,107	1,072	1,060	1,045
Balasore	**1,062**	1,104	1,092	1,070	1,065	1,048
Puri	**1,069**	1,089	1,020	1,007	991	989
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***1,006***	***1,014***	***1,019***	***1,022***	***1,012***	***999***
Hazaribagh	**1,018**	1,046	1,048	1,066	1,053	1,027
Ranchi	**1,017**	1,026	1,050	1,058	1,045	1,022
Palamau	**998**	996	1,012	1,023	1,028	1,016
Manbhum	**926**	937	963	993	1,012	1,014
Singhbhum	**981**	998	1,035	1,029	1,010	1,002
Santal Parganas	**1,000**	1,008	1,017	1,019	1,015	997
Angul	**1,045**	1,059	1,028	1,000	983	965
Sambalpur	**1,042**	1,035	1,036	1,036	1,005	1,003
Orissa States	**1,033**	1,034	1,011	1,003	984	967
Chota Nagpur States	**1,034**	1,052	1,049	1,027	1,007	993

II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions (three censuses).

Age.	All religions.			Hindu.			Muslim.			Tribal.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0—1	**1,020**	**1,006**	**1,022**	1,018	1,006	1,021	1,007	990	1,030	1,048	1,038	1,030
1—2	**1,071**	**1,036**	**1,051**	1,072	1,033	1,054	1,066	1,042	1,024	1,083	1,065	1,057
2—3	**1,106**	**1,100**	**1,090**	1,108	1,103	1,088	1,109	1,101	1,107	1,091	1,079	1,088
3—4	**1,055**	**1,145**	**1,298**	1,055	1,146	1,128	1,058	1,174	1,166	1,052	1,114	1,117
4—5	**994**	**1,046**	**1,044**	992	1,047	1,043	1,001	1,043	1,058	1,014	1,041	1,050
Total 0—5	***1,049***	***1,069***	***1,069***	***1,049***	***1,069***	***1,067***	***1,049***	***1,073***	***1,083***	***1,056***	***1,069***	***1,070***
5—10	**925**	**975**	**981**	923	975	981	920	974	972	958	979	990
10—15	**893**	**846**	**848**	888	846	845	891	813	832	949	887	898
15—20	**1,043**	**946**	**972**	1,031	937	963	1,089	960	979	1,131	1,038	1,063
20—25	**1,091**	**1,186**	**1,223**	1,080	1,175	1,207	1,155	1,271	1,351	1,136	1,218	1,266
25—30	**1,042**	**1,096**	**1,121**	1,036	1,089	1,091	1,107	1,206	1,239	1,034	1,044	1,086
Total 0—30	***998***	***1,001***	***1,016***	***993***	***998***	***1,011***	***1,015***	***1,018***	***1,038***	***1,031***	***1,016***	***1,037***
30—40	**1,007**	**1,056**	**1,030**	1,005	1,051	1,034	1,038	1,103	1,112	986	1,060	1,003
40—50	**974**	**1,011**	**1,041**	976	1,012	1,041	968	1,020	1,074	961	989	997
50—60	**1,037**	**1,061**	**1,110**	1,039	1,060	1,108	1,005	1,059	1,151	1,062	1,077	1,071
60 and over	**1,252**	**1,365**	**1,407**	1,264	1,375	1,431	1,148	1,315	1,381	1,285	1,316	1,372
Total 30 and over	***1,028***	***1,082***	***1,095***	***1,029***	***1,081***	***1,094***	***1,025***	***1,101***	***1,147***	***1,020***	***1,070***	***1,046***
Total all ages (actual population)	***1,008***	***1,029***	***1,043***	***1,005***	***1,027***	***1,040***	***1,018***	***1,046***	***1,074***	***1,027***	***1,032***	***1,040***
Total all ages (natural population)	***984***	***999***	***1,013***	Not available.			Not available.			Not available.		

III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by religions and natural divisions.

Age.	North Bihar.			South Bihar.			Orissa.			Chota Nagpur Plateau.				
	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muslim.	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muslim.	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muslim.	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0—1	**1,015**	1,011	998	**1,026**	1,027	1,021	**1,017**	1,016	1,045	**1,025**	1,020	1,012	1,037	1,048
1—3	**1,074**	1,074	1,040	**1,086**	1,086	1,079	**1,050**	1,051	1,037	**1,067**	1,066	1,047	1,037	1,081
2—3	**1,121**	1,123	1,109	**1,127**	1,125	1,140	**1,081**	1,082	1,052	**1,089**	1,091	1,086	1,051	1,089
3—4	**1,068**	1,068	1,064	**1,050**	1,046	1,089	**1,049**	1,049	1,014	**1,047**	1,050	1,011	1,021	1,051
4—5	**1,008**	1,006	1,016	**966**	961	1,013	**992**	992	988	**996**	996	940	984	1,014
Total 0—5	***1,057***	***1,057***	***1,053***	***1,050***	***1,047***	***1,069***	***1,039***	***1,039***	***1,027***	***1,044***	***1,044***	***1,017***	***1,026***	***1,055***
5—10	**910**	909	918	**902**	898	938	**959**	959	933	**945**	945	908	953	958
10—15	**867**	864	865	**877**	871	929	**935**	934	928	**919**	913	893	956	950
15—20	**1,024**	1,011	1,088	**998**	985	1,128	**1,074**	1,069	1,339	**1,077**	1,068	1,022	1,114	1,133
20—25	**1,086**	1,068	1,172	**1,029**	1,014	1,196	**1,175**	1,169	1,379	**1,106**	1,106	1,019	1,120	1,136
25—30	**1,065**	1,054	1,122	**1,004**	985	1,222	**1,194**	1,192	1,259	**1,001**	999	929	1,008	1,034
Total 0—30	***988***	***983***	***1,015***	***972***	***964***	***1,053***	***1,051***	***1,049***	***1,096***	***1,008***	***1,006***	***962***	***1,016***	***1,031***
30—40	**1,017**	1,014	1,032	**995**	976	1,202	**1,172**	1,171	1,212	**957**	956	876	973	988
40—50	**964**	967	953	**947**	935	1,081	**1,130**	1,130	1,199	**952**	956	847	963	967
50—60	**1,026**	1,032	998	**975**	966	1,066	**1,132**	1,132	1,147	**1,060**	1,068	912	1,165	1,067
60 and over	**1,230**	1,251	1,125	**1,195**	1,184	1,239	**1,329**	1,331	1,260	**1,311**	1,338	1,066	1,185	1,289
Total 30 and over ..	***1,026***	***1,029***	***1,013***	***1,003***	***989***	***1,147***	***1,167***	***1,167***	***1,202***	***1,003***	***1,007***	***891***	***1,008***	***1,024***
Total all ages (actual population).	***1,001***	***999***	***1,014***	***983***	***973***	***1,084***	***1,092***	***1,091***	***1,130***	***1,006***	***1,006***	***941***	***1,014***	***1,028***

IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes and tribes.

Caste.	All ages.	0—6.	7—13.	14—16.	17—23.	24—43.	44 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bahman	**896**	980	815	732	855	892	979
Brahman	**964**	1,001	887	789	978	983	1,027
Chamar	**1,100**	1,088	913	1,011	1,253	1,167	1,176
Gaura	**1,126**	1,041	992	754	1,159	1,246	1,325
Goala	**957**	1,019	850	894	1,022	961	985
Karan	**1,145**	981	978	999	1,108	1,295	1,260
Kayasth	**921**	1,029	874	750	887	931	933
Khandait	**1,138**	1,067	1,028	1,204	1,097	1,342	1,119
Kotri	**967**	1,018	864	871	1,023	981	992
Munda *Hindu*	**1,041**	1,071	945	914	1,133	1,011	1,185
Do. *Christian* ...	**1,014**	1,047	877	992	1,174	1,017	1,058
Do. *Tribal* ...	**1,053**	1,039	980	1,063	1,203	1,079	1,049
Musahar	**991**	1,097	857	922	1,191	1,008	885
Oraon *Hindu*	**1,062**	947	912	1,097	1,107	1,150	1,290
Do. *Christian* ...	**1,015**	1,040	915	955	1,129	1,006	1,089
Do. *Tribal* ...	**1,067**	1,092	923	1,029	1,188	1,081	1,132
Rajput	**905**	958	806	717	889	915	1,009
Santal *Hindu*	**1,003**	1,072	880	1,019	1,152	943	1,069
Do. *Christian* ...	**991**	909	992	1,023	1,037	1,004	1,044
Do. *Tribal*	**1,007**	1,070	879	1,013	1,178	962	1,053
Tanti	**1,071**	1,051	919	955	1,206	1,125	1,130
Teli	**993**	1,026	893	900	1,116	994	1,027

V.—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex—

(*a*) in the whole province during each year of the last three decades;

(*b*) in each natural division during the decade 1921—1930.

Year or Natural Division.	Number of births.			Number of deaths.			Excess of male births over female births.	Excess of male deaths over female deaths.	Excess (+) or deficit (—) of births over deaths.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1901	678,550	643,954	**1,322,504**	546,880	514,900	**1,061,780**	34,596	31,980	+260,724	949	942
1902	708,724	676,756	**1,385,480**	543,616	491,559	**1,035,175**	31,968	52,057	+350,305	955	904
1903	715,729	684,733	**1,400,462**	594,263	553,450	**1,147,713**	30,996	40,813	+252,749	957	931
1904	764,078	731,830	**1,495,908**	537,372	508,165	**1,045,537**	32,248	29,207	+450,371	958	946
1905	705,287	674,287	**1,379,574**	660,908	633,154	**1,293,662**	31,000	27,354	+85,912	956	959
1906	683,570	653,945	**1,337,515**	628,909	587,210	**1,216,119**	29,635	41,699	+121,396	957	934
1907	674,894	644,360	**1,319,254**	629,117	611,540	**1,240,657**	30,534	17,577	+78,597	955	972
1908	646,203	614,565	**1,260,768**	697,551	650,496	**1,348,047**	31,638	47,055	—87,279	951	933
1909	656,301	625,692	**1,281,993**	551,407	522,769	**1,074,176**	30,609	28,638	+207,817	953	948
1910	701,288	669,352	**1,370,640**	612,200	569,960	**1,182,160**	31,936	42,240	+188,480	954	931
Total 1901—1910 ...	**6,934,624**	**6,619,474**	**13,554,098**	**6,001,823**	**5,643,203**	**11,645,026**	**315,150**	**358,620**	**+1,909,072**	**955**	**940**
1911	750,453	719,864	**1,470,317**	619,462	584,940	**1,204,402**	30,589	34,522	+265,915	959	944
1912	746,245	712,050	**1,458,295**	551,145	512,283	**1,063,428**	34,195	38,862	+394,867	954	929
1913	738,893	704,896	**1,443,789**	521,777	477,605	**999,382**	33,997	44,172	+444,407	954	915
1914	747,825	714,054	**1,461,879**	501,265	475,578	**976,843**	33,771	25,687	+485,036	955	949
1915	716,243	680,562	**1,396,805**	574,100	537,825	**1,111,925**	35,681	36,275	+284,880	950	937
1916	650,633	613,204	**1,263,837**	585,277	543,098	**1,131,375**	37,429	39,179	+132,462	942	933
1917	715,711	679,446	**1,395,157**	632,851	591,700	**1,214,551**	36,265	31,151	+180,606	949	950
1918	665,830	628,211	**1,294,041**	1,001,462	954,751	**1,956,213**	37,619	46,711	—662,172	944	953
1919	540,648	510,225	**1,050,873**	719,871	659,786	**1,379,657**	30,423	60,085	—328,784	944	917
1920	571,131	542,337	**1,113,468**	555,411	511,721	**1,067,132**	28,794	43,690	+46,336	950	921
Total 1911—1920 ...	**6,843,612**	**6,504,849**	**13,348,461**	**6,252,621**	**5,852,287**	**12,104,908**	**338,763**	**400,334**	**+1,243,553**	**950**	**936**
1921	607,198	570,868	**1,178,066**	587,203	529,220	**1,116,423**	36,330	57,983	+61,643	940	901
1922	612,652	578,773	**1,191,425**	436,277	384,297	**820,574**	33,879	51,980	+370,851	945	881
1923	646,019	612,781	**1,258,800**	444,110	407,642	**851,752**	33,238	36,468	+407,048	949	918
1924	623,391	590,755	**1,214,146**	515,990	473,773	**989,763**	32,636	42,217	+224,383	948	918
1925	621,315	590,432	**1,211,747**	422,622	383,107	**805,729**	30,883	39,515	+406,018	950	907
1926	647,527	620,297	**1,267,824**	457,688	416,573	**874,261**	27,230	41,115	+393,563	958	910
1927	652,156	627,961	**1,280,117**	443,520	409,504	**853,024**	24,195	34,016	+427,093	963	923
1928	663,705	637,824	**1,301,529**	447,214	412,979	**860,193**	25,881	34,235	+441,336	961	923
1929	617,377	595,247	**1,212,624**	475,598	439,795	**915,393**	22,130	35,803	+297,231	964	925
1930	626,847	604,468	**1,231,315**	524,140	482,246	**1,006,386**	22,379	41,894	+224,929	964	920
Total 1921—1930 ...	**6,318,187**	**6,029,406**	**12,347,593**	**4,754,362**	**4,339,136**	**9,093,498**	**288,781**	**415,226**	**+3,254,095**	**954**	**913**
North Bihar	2,470,411	2,347,065	**4,817,476**	1,895,728	1,690,301	**3,586,029**	123,346	205,427	+1,231,447	950	892
South Bihar	1,565,899	1,495,767	**3,061,666**	1,172,781	1,094,084	**2,266,865**	70,132	78,697	+794,801	955	933
Orissa	730,597	689,234	**1,419,831**	666,751	657,195	**1,323,946**	41,363	9,556	+95,885	943	986
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1,551,280	1,497,340	**3,048,620**	1,019,102	897,556	**1,916,658**	53,940	121,546	+1,131,962	965	881

VI.—Actual number of deaths reported for each sex at different ages.

Age.	1921.		1922.		1923.		1924.		1925.		1926.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL AGES	***587,203***	***529,220***	***436,277***	***384,297***	***444,110***	***407,642***	***515,990***	***473,773***	***422,622***	***383,107***	***457,688***	***416,573***
0—1	102,142	85,282	92,202	74,493	100,496	83,945	104,679	87,714	91,297	75,515	102,489	84,784
1—5	97,263	93,702	70,997	65,306	77,186	73,551	102,152	98,040	79,287	73,715	94,973	89,586
5—10	53,122	44,597	33,788	28,482	32,000	27,944	40,583	33,828	27,264	23,223	30,306	25,273
10—15	30,995	21,961	20,965	15,712	20,455	15,283	24,098	17,754	16,834	12,485	18,257	14,036
15—20	22,559	19,441	16,377	13,957	15,293	14,642	18,371	16,637	14,084	13,218	15,415	14,833
20—30	53,687	52,323	39,195	37,888	35,856	38,065	42,611	43,965	34,754	35,232	37,260	37,778
30—40	58,832	51,542	42,200	36,242	40,111	36,441	46,738	41,562	38,631	33,857	39,682	35,568
40—50	51,450	39,832	36,958	28,644	35,740	29,195	41,633	33,300	35,020	27,333	35,739	28,583
50—60	46,952	43,268	34,036	30,088	34,375	31,937	38,419	36,485	34,069	31,484	34,130	31,548
60 and over	70,201	77,239	49,529	53,485	51,498	56,639	55,706	64,488	51,382	57,045	49,437	54,584

Age.	1927.		1928.		1929.		1930.		Total.		Average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
ALL AGES	***443,520***	***409,504***	***447,214***	***412,979***	***475,598***	***439,795***	***524,140***	***482,246***	***4,754,362***	***4,339,136***	***913***
0—1	92,805	77,956	93,862	77,672	89,198	74,593	92,986	76,692	**962,156**	**798,646**	830
1—5	95,745	91,063	89,878	85,346	93,102	87,342	112,833	106,807	**913,416**	**864,458**	946
5—10	30,049	25,422	30,643	26,021	33,600	28,036	41,363	34,041	**352,808**	**296,867**	841
10—15	17,530	13,584	17,932	14,022	19,401	14,430	21,926	15,698	**208,393**	**154,965**	744
15—20	15,061	14,636	15,649	15,238	16,525	16,439	18,098	16,685	**167,532**	**155,726**	930
20—30	36,774	39,000	38,500	40,833	42,246	45,808	44,416	47,861	**406,299**	**418,756**	1,031
30—40	39,383	35,623	41,077	37,378	45,288	41,263	47,730	43,837	**439,662**	**393,313**	895
40—50	34,446	27,339	36,606	29,405	40,800	32,604	43,393	34,869	**391,785**	**311,194**	794
50—60	32,073	29,666	33,810	31,890	38,980	36,317	40,946	38,590	**367,820**	**341,273**	928
60 and over	49,654	55,215	49,257	55,084	55,368	62,963	60,459	67,166	**544,491**	**603,938**	1,109

CHAPTER VI.—Civil condition.

Reference to statistics.

Statistics relating to the civil (*i.e.*, marital) condition of the population are contained in Imperial Table VII, and similar information is given for particular castes and tribes in Imperial Table VIII. The subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter, which contain proportional figures, are as follows :—

I.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion and main age-period.

II.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages in the main religions and in each natural division.

III.—Distribution by main age-periods and civil condition of 10,000 of each sex and religion.

IV.—Proportions of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages, for religions and natural divisions.

V.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

Nature of the enquiry.

2. The enumerators were instructed to describe each person in column 6 of the schedule as *unmarried*, *married* or *widowed;* divorced persons who had not re-married were to be described as widowed. Previous census reports have given detailed accounts of the customs and rites connected with marriage among the various communities of the province, and it is only necessary to touch here very briefly on one or two matters for the purpose of removing any possible ambiguity which might otherwise attach to the statistics themselves.

Marriage.—It was explained to the enumerators that persons who were recognized by custom as married were to be entered accordingly, even though they had not gone through the full ceremony. This had particular reference to the re-marriage of widows and divorced wives by the rite known as *saqai.* But even this form of marriage is usually marked by some kind of religious ceremony, the most important part of which consists in the placing of the *sindur* mark on the bride's forehead in the presence of assembled friends and relatives. Generally speaking, marriage is now everywhere regarded by Hindus as a sacrament which must be attended by certain religious observances. Among Muslims it is primarily a civil contract, requiring only a proposal and acceptance before witnesses to establish the marital agreement, but the civil ceremony is almost invariably accompanied by religious and customary rites. Similarly with Christians a religious ceremony, though legally not essential, is in practice more or less universal. The primitive tribes also have their special rites and ordinances for validating matrimonial relations. There is therefore little scope for uncertainty whether a particular person is married or not, and from this point of view the census returns may be accepted with some confidence. Deliberate misstatements were doubtless made occasionally. For example, although it was impressed on the enumerators that prostitutes and persons living in unregulated relations with men should be shown as unmarried, such persons probably succeeded now and then in getting themselves returned otherwise. A few widows may have concealed their unpopular status by describing themselves as married, and some Hindu fathers would endeavour to secure a similar entry in respect of unmarried daughters who have already attained puberty. But the effect of such incorrect returns on the statistics as a whole can hardly be appreciable, and in the case of males it can safely be ignored altogether. It is necessary, however, to emphasize one important aspect of these statistics which might otherwise convey an entirely false impression to persons unfamiliar with Indian conditions. After the first wedding ceremony has been performed, a Hindu girl-wife does not as a rule live in the same house as her husband; she returns to her parents and lives with them until she reaches the age of puberty, when a second ceremony takes place and she goes to her husband and enters on the real duties of wifehood. Although returned as " married " after the first ceremony, these very young wives therefore are not wives at all for practical purposes, except in so far

as their future is irrecoverably committed; and from the eugenic point of view what is objectionable is not so much infant marriage itself as the very early age at which effective union takes place, girls becoming mothers before they are fit to do so.

Divorce.—As already mentioned, divorced persons are included in the census tables among the widowed, and the question arises how far the recorded number of widowed persons is affected by this circumstance. Hindu law does not recognize divorce at all, but it is sanctioned by custom in certain localities and among certain castes—usually in the lower strata of Hindu society. Divorce is permitted by Muslim law, but in practice it is believed to be rare. Among the aboriginal tribes it is generally recognized. But in all such cases divorce is nearly always followed by re-marriage, and its influence on the statistics of widowhood may be taken as negligible.

Accuracy of the statistics.

3. The sensational increase revealed by the present census in the number of married persons, especially at the very early ages, may well give rise to doubts regarding the reliability of the figures. Some indication has been given in the last paragraph of the extent to which errors, intentional or unintentional, are likely to have crept into the census schedules. It has been seen that their effect must have been very small indeed; nor is there any obvious reason why they should have operated on this occasion more than at previous censuses to exaggerate the real number of married persons. Rather, the contrary result might have been anticipated. It would not have been surprising if parents, whose infant children had been married just before the Sarda Act was passed, had sought to conceal the fact from some idea that they might render themselves liable to prosecution; but there can have been no inducement for a father to state that his infant daughter was married when actually she was not. If the census tables are seriously inaccurate, the fault must lie not with the enumerator but with the copyist or the sorter. And it is just possible that the method (adopted for the first time at the present census) of recording civil condition during the slip-copying process may have been responsible for material inaccuracies. In the preceding chapter it has been explained that a printed symbol was used on each slip to denote a person's sex. Formerly it had been the practice to have six different symbols—three for males, according as they were married, unmarried or widowed, and three others for females. This time a circle was used to signify males of every kind, and a square to signify females; if a person was married the symbol was not touched by the copyist, but for an unmarried person a dot or a tick was inserted in the centre of the circle (or square, as the case might be), and for a widowed person a cross was super-imposed over the symbol. A careless copyist might sometimes omit to make the appropriate modification, and in such cases the person would be treated automatically as married; or he might insert such a faint dot that it would escape the notice of the sorter at a later stage, with the same result. As most adults in this country are married, the effect of such irregularities would be most noticeable in the early age-categories. But, though honesty compels the advertisement of this possible cause of error, there are circumstances which suggest that it was not in fact primarily responsible for the striking variations recorded at the present census. For example, in almost every district the number of married males bears very much the same relation to the number of married females as was formerly the case, and sins of omission on the part of the copyist are hardly likely to have been characterized by such consistent impartiality. Again, in localities where infant marriage was formerly rare, it is still comparatively rare; the greatest increases have occurred in areas where it has always been common. But, if the copyist had been the culprit, the natural result would have to reduce, not to enhance, the disparity between different localities.

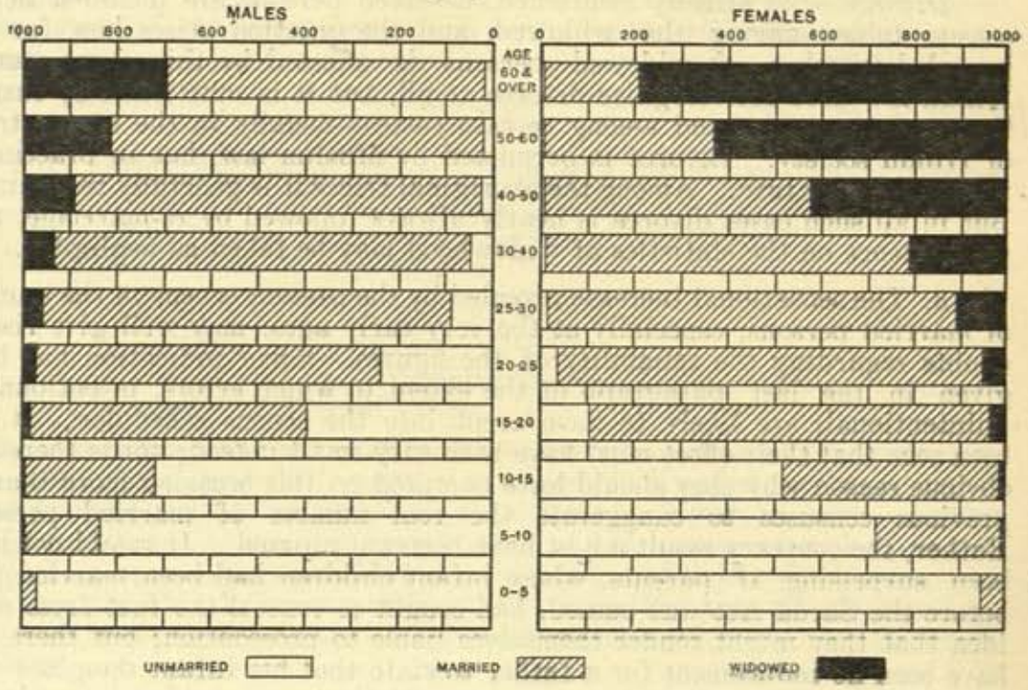
Distribution of unmarried, married and widowed.

4. The manner in which the total population of the province is distributed between the three civil conditions is shown in the margin. Just over half are married, males and females alike. Of the remainder, nearly one in four is widowed, but here the proportions

		Persons.	*Males.*	*Females.*
Total	...	**42,329,583**	**21,082,560**	**21,247,023**
Unmarried	...	15,492,620	8,864,449	6,628,171
Married	...	22,332,909	11,145,652	11,187,257
Widowed	...	4,504,054	1,072,459	3,431,595

are markedly different for the two sexes. The following diagram and table show the proportion of the unmarried, married and widowed of each sex at different ages.

Diagram showing the distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at various age-periods.



Age.	Unmarried. Males.	Unmarried. Females.	Married. Males.	Married. Females.	Widowed. Males.	Widowed. Females.
0—5 ...	968	948	31	50	1	2
5—10 ...	833	719	163	273	4	8
10—15 ...	718	519	275	467	7	14
15—20 ...	396	105	586	860	18	35
20—25 ...	239	38	734	910	27	52
25—30 ...	86	14	871	879	43	107
30—40 ...	47	10	889	778	64	212
40—50 ...	26	6	858	570	116	424
50—60 ...	20	5	792	367	188	628
60 and over ..	18	5	678	207	304	788

Comparing these figures with those of any Western country, one is at once struck with three distinguishing features in the conditions out here, viz., (*a*) the universality of marriage, (*b*) the early age of marriage, and (*c*) the large proportion of widows. Consideration of the last-named feature may be deferred to the concluding portion of this chapter, but we will here glance briefly at the other two outstanding characteristics.

Universality of marriage.

5. The table below compares the proportion of unmarried males and females in the province with the corresponding proportions in India as a whole and in England and Wales.

	Number of unmarried per mille. All ages. Males.	All ages. Females.	Aged 15 and over. Males.	Aged 15 and over. Females.	Aged 50 and over. Males.	Aged 50 and over. Females.
Bihar and Orissa (1931) ...	420	312	122	27	19	5
India (1931)	479	352	186	44	33	10
England and Wales (1921)	550	535	365	368	102	149

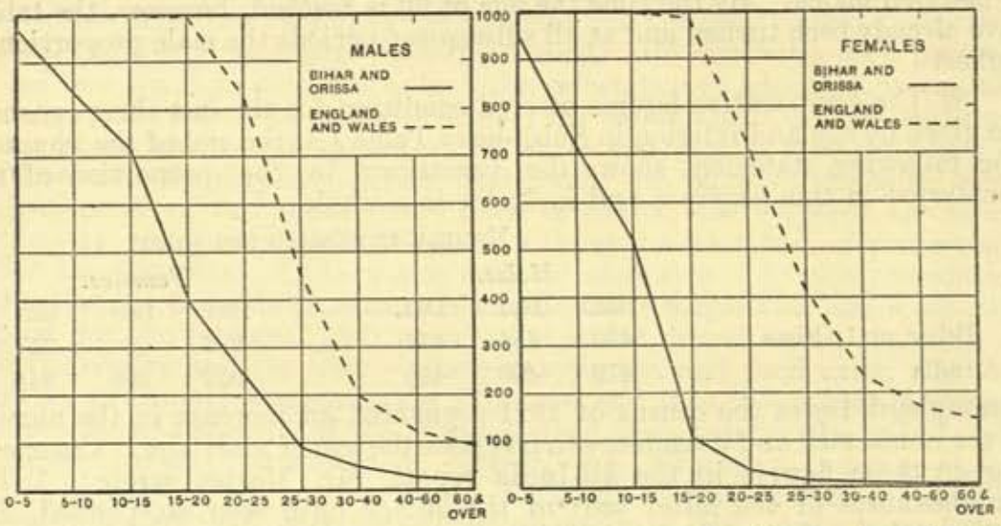
It is the Western and not the Eastern figures that are abnormal. Marriage is a natural condition for both men and women; celibacy and postponement of marriage are the result of artificial circumstances and are rare in Asiatic countries. In India the natural instinct to marry and beget children has been encouraged by the teachings of religion. To the Hindu, marriage is a sacrament and a religious duty incumbent on all, and a man must marry and bring children into the world for the salvation of his own soul and his ancestors'. The Muslim also is taught to believe that " when a man marries

verily he perfects half his religion ". Christianity, on the other hand, has always tended rather to lay stress on the virtues of sexual abstinence, and the Council of Trent anathematized any person who declared that the married was better than the unmarried state. Religious teaching apart, the advance of civilization always produces conditions which are more artificial and less in accordance with nature; instinct gives way to prudential considerations, and not least is this true in regard to the procreation of children.

Early age of marriage.

6. The earlier age at which marriage takes place in this country is illustrated in the next diagram.

Diagram showing the number of unmarried per mille of each sex at various age-periods (i) in Bihar and Orissa, 1931, and (ii) in England and Wales, 1921.



Age.		Males. Bihar and Orissa.	Males. England and Wales.	Females. Bihar and Orissa.	Females. England and Wales.
0—5	...	968	1,000	948	1,000
5—10	...	833	1,000	719	1,000
10—15	...	718	1,000	519	1,000
15—20	...	396	996	105	982
20—25	...	239	822	38	726
25—30	...	86	446	14	410
30—40	...	47	197	10	232
40—60	...	24	122	6	167
60 and over	...	18	92	5	142

In England and Wales no person of either sex ever marries below the age of 15, by which time more than half the female population of this province have not only gone through the original marriage ceremony but have already started living with their husbands. At the age of 20 not one woman in ten is unmarried in Bihar and Orissa, whereas in England and Wales the proportion is almost nine out of ten. Among males the disparity is not quite so great.

Marriage by sex.

7. The proportion of unmarried males is much higher at every single age-period than the proportion of unmarried females. In spite of the religious duty imposed on a man in this country to marry, the social obloquy to which a bachelor is exposed is not comparable to that incurred by a spinster. Few Indian women live to an advanced age without getting married unless they are afflicted with some infirmity or are prostitutes or concubines; but there is a considerable number of male ascetics and mendicants who remain unmarried till they die. It may at first seem curious that, in a population where the sexes are almost equally represented, the number of unmarried males should exceed the number of unmarried females by over two millions. The main reason for this is that, when a man's first wife dies, he is at liberty to take another, whereas a widow can seldom marry a second time. The disparity of over two millions between the unmarried of each sex is balanced by a still larger excess of widows over widowers. It is not therefore necessary to attribute any appreciable part of the former disparity to the fact that, while the custom of polyandry is practically non-existent in this province, there is nothing to prevent a Hindu or a Muslim from having more than one wife at the same time. Although polygyny is

actually countenanced in both these religious communities, in practice it is extremely rare. This is clear from the fact that the number of married women in the province is only 41,605 more than the number of married men, the ratio being 1,004 females to every thousand males. It should further be remembered that the balance of migrations is responsible for a net loss of more married men than married women, while the ranks of the latter undoubtedly include a few prostitutes and other single women who for one reason or another were wrongly described in the census schedules. These two circumstances would account for nearly, if not quite, the whole of the difference between the figures. Owing to the fact that men marry later than women and are usually a good deal older than their wives, the proportion of married females is much higher in the early age-periods than the proportion of married males. By the time the age of 30 is reached, however, the tables have already been turned and at all subsequent periods the male proportion is higher.

Comparison with previous censuses.

8. The comparative figures of civil condition for the last three censuses are given by age and religion in Subsidiary Table I at the end of the chapter. The following statement shows the variations in the proportion of the unmarried in this province and in India as a whole:—

	NUMBER UNMARRIED PER MILLE.					
	Males.			*Females.*		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
Bihar and Orissa ...	420	454	444	312	328	317
India	479	498	490	352	358	344

Throughout India the census of 1921 registered an increase in the number of the unmarried and a tendency to postpone the age of marriage. Commenting on these figures in the all-India report, Mr. Marten wrote: "The circumstances of the latter part of the decade have been exceptional, and until we have the evidence which the figures of another census will supply it would be rash to attribute to any radical change of custom a variation which is possibly the outcome of special economic conditions." These words have received striking, if melancholy, justification. There was indeed some ground for hope, ten years ago, that the spread of education and increasing contact with Western ideals were gradually leading towards an abandonment of the custom of child marriage. Among the higher classes there is little doubt that the evils attendant on this custom were gaining wider recognition. With regard to the lower Hindu castes the position was more obscure, for their anxiety to improve their social status sometimes took the form of resolving to postpone the age of marriage and sometimes showed itself in an exaggerated orthodoxy which had precisely the opposite effect. But it was realized that, whatever the direction and force of the influence exerted by social developments, the economic factor had undoubtedly played its part—and possibly a preponderant part—in reducing the number of marriages and discouraging marriage among the very young. The return of prosperity in the new decade has naturally reversed this state of affairs. But, so far as child marriage is concerned, an even more potent influence was the passing of the Sarda Act in the year 1929.

The Sarda Act.

9. What the effect of this Act will be in the long run it is impossible to say, but during the few months before it was passed into law the apprehensions to which it gave rise led to an unprecedented rush of early marriages. A subdivisional magistrate doubtless indulges in some exaggeration when he states that during this period "all girls from a few days old upwards were given in marriage to avoid the restriction imposed by the new legislation", but there is enough of truth in this statement to make it absolutely impossible to distinguish in the present statistics the operation of any other factor that may have been at work during the last decade to postpone or accelerate the normal age of marriage. It may be of interest to quote here further views expressed by various correspondents on the reception given to this Act and the manner in which it has hitherto operated. The magistrate referred to above is of the opinion that in his part of the province (Singhbhum) it is unpopular, "not because the people consider it is an offence to their religion, but chiefly on account of the extra

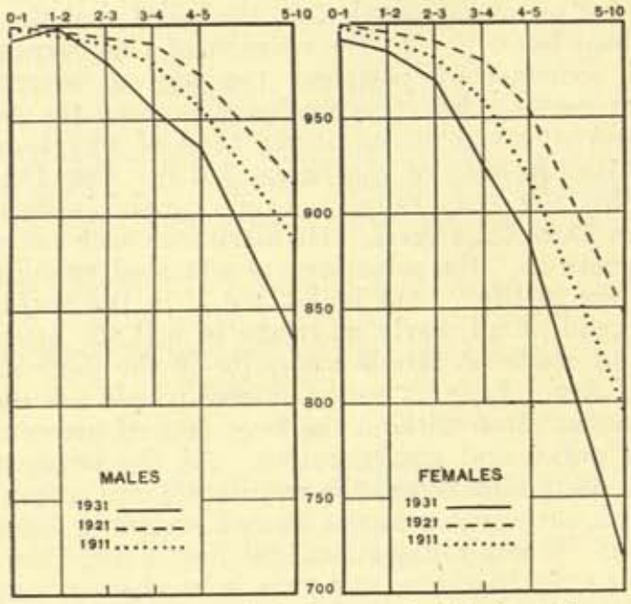
expenses involved over marriage of grown-up daughters and sons ". On the other hand, a lawyer residing in Puri states that in his district " there was extensive movement and agitation against the Sarda Act, and the Brahmans especially opposed it as a thoroughly anti-religious and heterodox measure ". He goes on to say, however, that since the measure became law the failure to enforce its provisions strictly and the absence of any prosecutions under the Act have " led or misled people into the belief that the Act will practically remain a dead letter ". In the opinion of this correspondent there is " a gradual tendency to postpone the age of marriage, especially among the higher castes. But this tendency is more the result of economic, educational and sociological conditions than of any fear or awakening consequent upon the passing of the Sarda Act ". One Deputy Magistrate takes the view that the measure has not only proved ineffective, but has indirectly done more harm than good. He attributes such progress as has been made in this sphere to " the reluctance of educated young men to marry before settling down in life ", but holds that " in the *mufassil*, where education has not spread at all, early marriage is still the order of the day, and the majority of *mufassil* people are quite in the dark about the provisions of the Sarda Act. Even in towns, where people are aware of the Act, child marriage takes place without the least fear of prosecution under the very nose of the police and the executive. As the prosecution under the Act depends on a complaint before the magistrate and a security deposit for the purpose, such prosecution is not feared except in cases of enmity, rivalry and the like. Where antagonism and feud exist, this Act gives an additional weapon to the litigants, and thus it has been a menace to the peace and security of the people instead of remedying the evil of child marriage to any considerable extent." A Christian missionary in Manbhum district writes of a village, regularly visited by him, in which it is openly stated that marriage arrangements are still made even before birth. He cites also the case of a nine-months-old girl who was married in 1931 within 200 yards of the District Magistrate's house. Another girl of tender years was married about the same time, and " her father who is a respectable merchant said he understood the Sarda Act was not yet put into force by Government ". From another magistrate comes the story of a dispute which arose between the bridegroom's party and the bride's in the course of a wedding procession and led to an exchange of blows. The aggrieved bridegroom, six years of age, brought his tale of woe to court. When it was pointed out to him that, in view of the Sarda Act, his position was a somewhat equivocal one, he effected a graceful withdrawal. The attitude of the orthodox Muslim towards this piece of legislation is summed up by a correspondent from Puri, whose views on certain other social and economic questions, always pungently expressed, are quoted elsewhere in this report. After affirming that " in this area child marriage is no custom among the Muhammadans, and marriage until the age of maturity is seldom held ", he states that " maturity occurs even previously to the age-limit of the Sarda Act. In such cases the parents of the couple think twice before embarking upon marriage, due to the faint fear instilled into their minds by provisions of the Sarda Act. Several cases of prosecution in Bengal have caused some consternation among the educated public." But comfort is derived from the reflection that " the provisions of the Sarda Act are rendered ineffectual when one thinks of an united village performing the marriage ceremony of under-aged couple harmoniously without any impediment or hitch. Even if there be opponents in a village, their idea of the security deposit of Rs. 100 is another troublesome factor."

Large increase in child marriages.

10 The fluctuations which have occurred in the statistics of marriage in the very early age-periods are illustrated in the following diagram. Generally speaking, it will be seen that the line representing the condition of affairs twenty years ago falls midway between the lines relating to the two later censuses. Even if there had been no Sarda Act, it is fairly certain that the swing of the economic pendulum since 1921 would have produced some reaction, but it would have been interesting to see how far the effect of this would have been countered by the growth of more enlightened ideas on the subject of early marriage. When, however, the general apprehension

excited by the introduction of the Act joined forces with the economic factor, enlightenment suffered a total eclipse, and the pendulum's swing was exaggerated to a length that could hardly have been foreseen.

Diagram showing for certain early age-periods the number of unmarried per mille of each sex at each of the last three censuses.



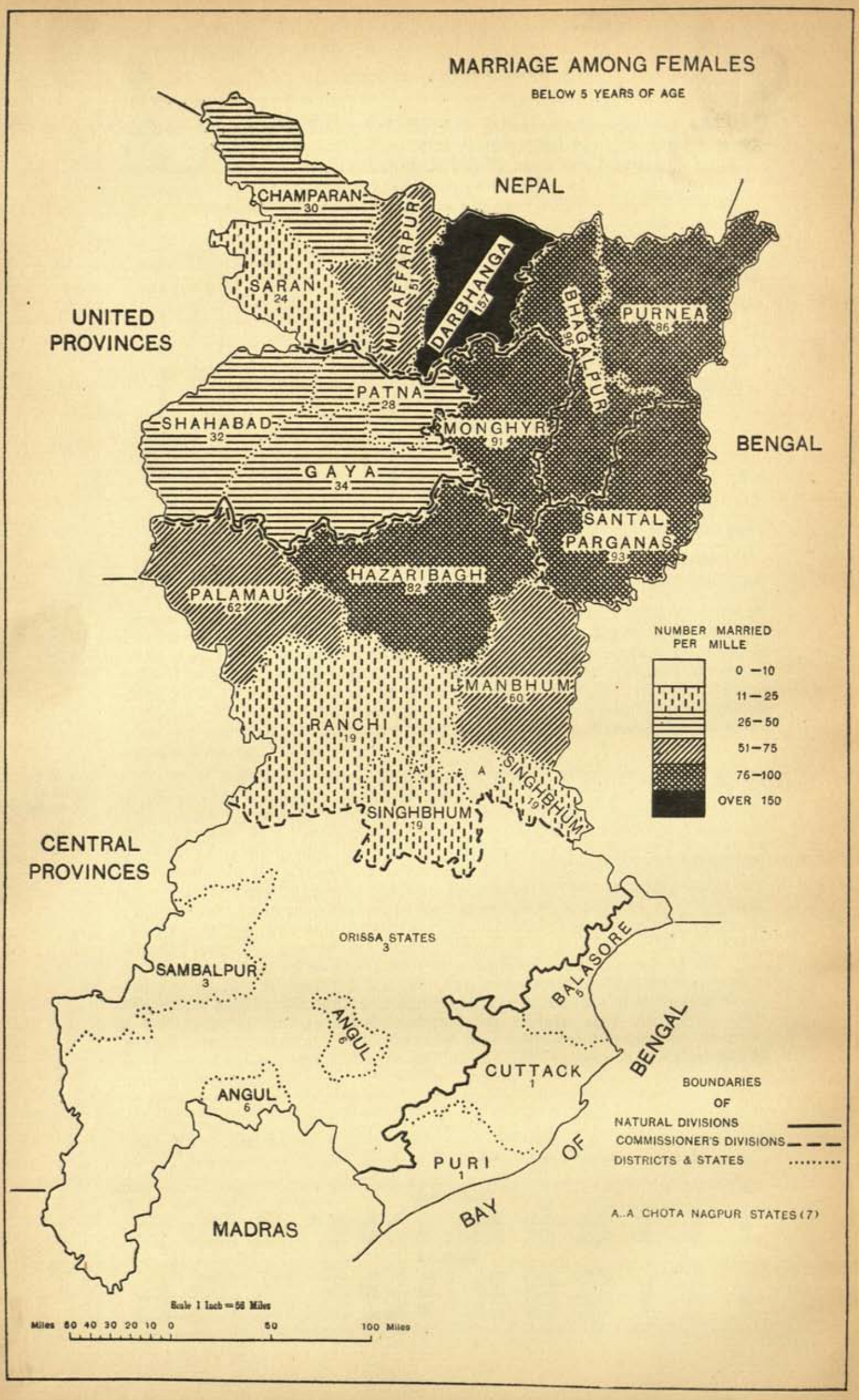
Age.	1931.	1921.	1911.
MALES.			
0-1 ...	992	999	998
1-2 ...	998	997	994
2-3 ...	980	993	990
3-4 ...	955	990	979
4-5 ...	935	973	956
5—10 ...	833	915	885
FEMALES.			
0-1 ...	991	999	997
1-2 ...	985	995	990
2-3 ...	970	990	982
3-4 ...	925	980	959
4-5 ...	884	954	917
5—10 ...	719	846	795

The actual number of girls married before they are even twelve months old has increased *tenfold* since the last census—from 507 to 4,959; and the latter number includes 150 unfortunate infant-widows! The proportion of girls below the age of five who are either married or already widowed has risen during the same period from 19 to 52 per mille; in the 5—10 age-category it has risen from 154 to 281 per mille. Among boys, while the proportions themselves are not so high, the relative increase in those proportions is equally striking.

Effect of new method of age-grouping.

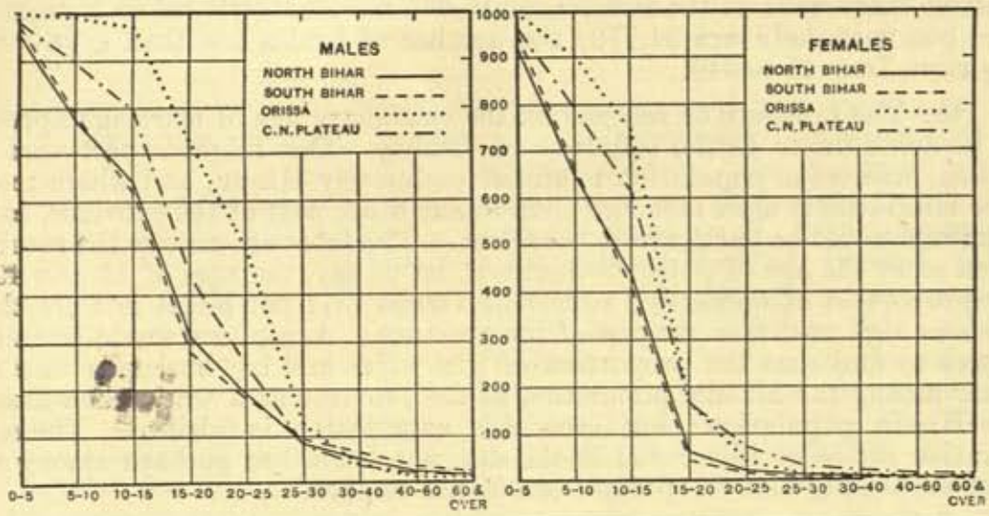
11. It is fair to point out that the new method of age-grouping adopted at the present census is probably responsible for some distortion of the facts. The procedure actually followed has been explained in paragraph 4 of Chapter IV. Now, whatever may be the merits of this procedure for the purpose of arriving at a more accurate estimate of the age distribution of the population as a whole, it is scarcely appropriate when applied to the age distribution of the married and unmarried. For example, 1,265,778 girls, whose ages were stated to be somewhere between 7 and 13, were returned as married, and the probability is that the great majority of these were 10 years old or more; but half of them have been taken to the age-group 5—10, which is supposed to include only persons *below* the age of ten. In order to enable the reader to form his own impression of the extent to which this factor may have operated to exaggerate the prevalence of early marriage, a statement is appended below giving for certain ages the actual and proportional statistics of the married and widowed population, first by *unsmoothed* age-groups, and then as they actually appear in the final tables after adjustment:—

Age.	MARRIED. Actual number. *Persons.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	Number per mille. *P.*	*M.*	*F.*	WIDOWED. Actual number. *Persons.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	Number per mille. *P.*	*M.*	*F.*
Unsmoothed.												
4—6	**360,693**	131,019	229,674	**88**	63	112	**12,132**	3,795	8,337	**3**	2	4
7—13	**2,105,252**	839,474	1,265,778	**288**	217	368	**56,322**	19,546	36,776	**8**	5	11
14—16	**1,472,192**	583,066	889,126	**593**	448	753	**43,328**	15,984	27,344	**17**	12	23
17—23	**3,742,710**	1,478,972	2,263,738	**796**	667	910	**148,560**	48,242	100,318	**32**	21	40
Smoothed.												
4—5	**120,231**	43,673	76,558	**87**	64	112	**4,044**	1,265	2,779	**3**	2	4
5—10	**1,232,973**	485,247	747,726	**216**	163	273	**34,227**	11,670	22,557	**6**	4	8
10—15	**1,788,722**	711,270	1,077,452	**366**	275	467	**49,825**	17,765	32,060	**10**	7	14
15—20	**2,607,451**	1,031,019	1,576,432	**726**	586	860	**95,944**	32,113	63,831	**27**	18	35
20—25	**3,103,157**	1,319,723	1,783,434	**826**	734	910	**151,277**	48,810	102,467	**40**	27	52


MARRIAGE AMONG FEMALES
BELOW 5 YEARS OF AGE
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 30
SARAN 24
MUZAFFARPUR 51
DARBHANGA 157
BHAGALPUR 96
PURNEA 86
PATNA 28
SHAHABAD 32
MONGHYR 91
GAYA 34
SANTAL PARGANAS 93
HAZARIBAGH 82
PALAMAU 62
MANBHUM 60
RANCHI 19
SINGHBHUM 19
SINGHBHUM 19
A
A
ORISSA STATES 3
SAMBALPUR 3
ANGUL 6
ANGUL 6
BALASORE 5
CUTTACK 1
PURI 1
NUMBER MARRIED PER MILLE
0 —10
11—25
26—50
51—75
76—100
OVER 150
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
A..A CHOTA NAGPUR STATES (7)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

12. The next diagram illustrates the prevalence of marriage at different ages in each of the four natural divisions of the province. **Marriage by locality.**

Diagram showing for each natural division the number of unmarried per mille of each sex at various age-periods.



Age.	MALES. North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	C. N. Plateau.	FEMALES. North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	C. N. Plateau.
0—5	949	968	999	978	920	951	998	961
5—10	770	781	988	893	642	656	901	791
10—15	639	616	965	797	432	404	743	612
15—20	312	279	726	440	59	42	167	163
20—25	186	176	497	249	20	13	40	68
25—30	82	91	122	79	8	5	10	29
30—40	49	62	39	38	6	4	6	21
40—60	24	36	12	20	3	2	3	13
60 and over	17	22	11	17	3	1	2	11

The relative positions occupied by the different localities as regards the proportion of unmarried persons in the total population are determined more by the age at which it is customary to marry than by the number of persons who go through life without getting married. Thus, the marginal statement suggests that marriage is more universal in the two divisions of Bihar proper than in the rest of the province. This is because the proportion of young married people in Bihar is incomparably higher than in, say, Orissa.

NUMBER UNMARRIED PER MILLE: ALL AGES.

	1931. Males.	1931. Females.	1921. Males.	1921. Females.
North Bihar ...	383	276	408	283
South Bihar ...	379	276	419	292
Orissa ...	501	319	536	349
C. N. Plateau	461	368	502	396

But, when we look at the advanced age-periods, we find that the proportion of unmarried females in Orissa is just as low as in Bihar while in the case of males it is very much lower. The next statement shows for each natural division the proportion of unmarried persons of each sex below the age of five at each of the last two censuses. It brings out clearly (*i*) the different customs prevailing in different parts of the province, and (*ii*) the enormous growth of infant marriage since 1921.

NUMBER UNMARRIED PER MILLE: AGED 0—5.

	1931. Males.	1931. Females.	1921. Males.	1921. Females.
North Bihar ...	949	920	979	965
South Bihar ...	968	951	988	980
Orissa ...	999	998	1,000	1,000
C. N. Plateau	978	961	998	995

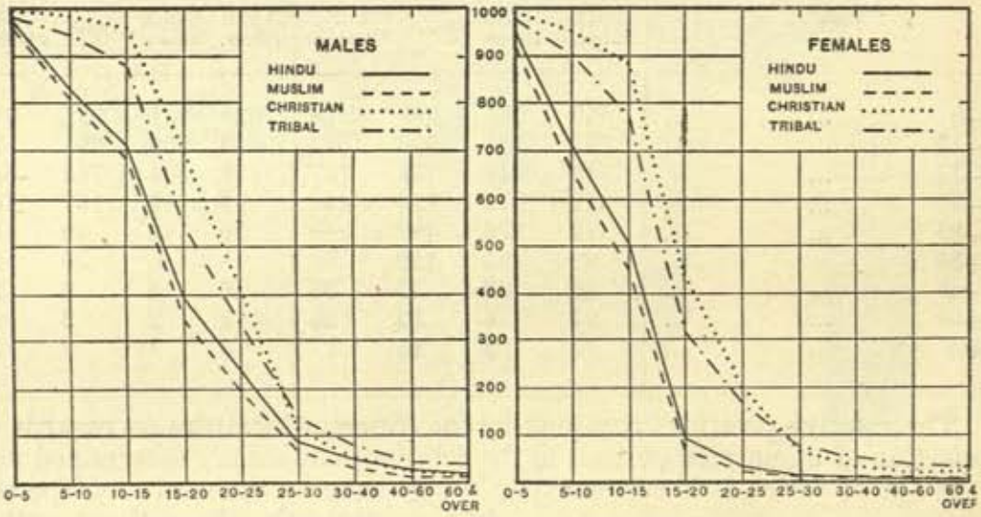
As regards the first point, it shows that in Orissa to-day only one boy and two girls in every thousand are married before reaching the age of 5, while in North Bihar the proportions are 51 boys and 80 girls. As regards the second point, it shows that in both the Bihar divisions the number of these early marriages is more than double what it was ten years ago, and in the Chota Nagpur plateau the increase is still more phenomenal. The map on the opposite page shows the proportion of

married girls below 5 years of age in each district of the province. In no other subject treated in this report are the local variations so pronounced. Darbhanga is, as it always has been, the home of infant marriages, with whose unenviable record no other district in India can compete. In this district there were at the last census 15,965 married girls below 5 years of age, but now there are 34,779; the number of brides less than a year old has risen from 25 to 340.

Marriage by religion.

13. The influence of religion on the customary age of marriage appears to be subordinate to the influence of locality. One might expect that in Orissa, where the population is almost exclusively Hindu, and where moreover Hinduism is more orthodox than in any other part of the province, early marriage would be particularly prevalent. The facts are exactly the reverse. Even after the age of puberty—between, let us say, the ages of 15 and 40—the proportion of unmarried women in Orissa (317 per mille) is more than twice as high as it is in the rest of the province. Again, one would certainly expect to find that the proportion of girl-wives and boy-husbands was far lower among the Muslim population of the province as a whole than among the Hindu population: but even this expectation is falsified. The comparative statistics illustrated in the diagram below are perhaps among the most surprising that the present census has to offer.

Diagram showing for the main religions the number of unmarried per mille of each sex at various age-periods.



Age.	MALES.				FEMALES.			
	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal.
0—5	968	956	994	979	949	920	992	975
5—10	826	807	981	943	710	658	953	903
10—15	708	683	959	877	504	443	882	772
15—20	388	342	698	543	91	63	436	313
20—25	236	194	411	336	30	21	199	163
25—30	85	65	110	136	11	9	62	70
30—40	47	29	48	76	8	8	31	49
40—60	25	11	20	41	4	6	18	35
60 and over	17	13	15	37	3	3	22	32

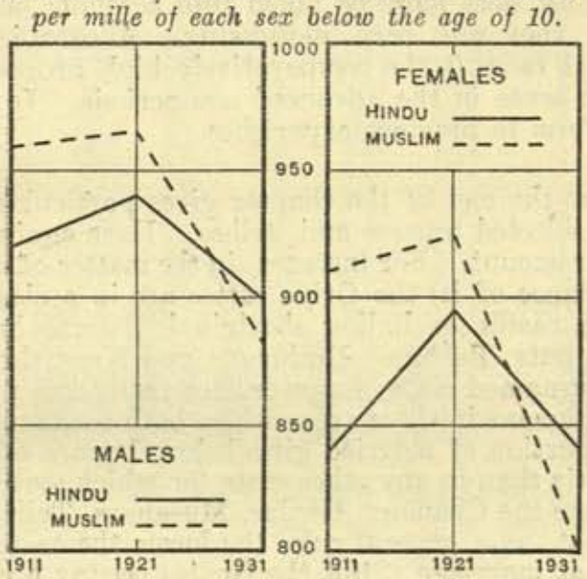
Among Hindus, 51 girls in every thousand below the age of 5 are either married or widowed: among Muslims the corresponding number is 80. Between the ages of 5 and 10 the proportion of Hindu wives or widows is 290 per mille, while the Muslim proportion is 342 per mille. At first sight, therefore, we are apparently asked to believe that infant marriage is practised more commonly by Muslims than by Hindus, but in actual fact it is not necessary to impose so great a strain on the credulity of the reader. This case, indeed, affords a striking instance of the importance of carefully examining statistical data before proceeding to build up theories upon them. The reason why there are relatively more married infants in the Muslim

population of the province than in the Hindu population is that the great majority of Muslims are to be found in localities where the custom of early marriage is more or less universal. The following sentence occurs in a later chapter of this report:—"If the province were divided into two approximately equal parts by a line traversing the southern boundary of Palamau, Hazaribagh and Manbhum, no less than 94.5 per cent of the Muslims in the province would be found on the northern side of the line and only 5.5 per cent to the south of it." When this sentence is read with an eye on the map facing page 157, the mystery of the foregoing statistics will be largely solved. The marginal statement bears on the same point. In both the divisions of Bihar proper the proportion of married persons below 5 or 10 years of age is considerably higher among Hindus than among Muslims. In Orissa, too, where child marriage is very rare, the same proposition holds good. On the Chota Nagpur plateau it does not; but here again the explanation is that the Muslims of the Chota Nagpur plateau are for the most part concentrated in Hazaribagh and the Santal Parganas, where infant marriage is very prevalent. In Ranchi and Singhbhum—still more in the Feudatory States, Sambalpur and Angul—a Muslim is a *rara avis*, and it is these localities which are responsible for the comparatively low proportion of young married children on the plateau. Moreover, in this natural division a great many Hindus are aboriginals, who ordinarily marry much later than the Aryan races, and this circumstance tends to accentuate the disparity between the Hindu and Muslim figures on the Chota Nagpur plateau.

	Number of Muslims per mille of the total population.	*Number married per mille of girls aged 0—5 (all religions.*
North Bihar ...	174	77
South Bihar ...	98	48
Orissa ...	29	2
C. N. Plateau ...	48	38

Nevertheless, as compared with previous censuses, the present statistics of early marriage in the Muslim community must be characterized as extraordinary. Taking the province as a whole, whereas the proportion of *Hindu* girl-wives (including widows) below the age of 10 has increased since 1921 from 105 to 160 per mille, the *Muslim* proportion has increased from 76 to 202 per mille. The marginal diagram illustrates the proportion for each sex in these two communities at the last three censuses. It will be noticed that for both sexes the decline recorded in 1921 in the number of married children was more marked among Hindus than among Muslims, while the latest reaction has affected Muslims very much more than Hindus. The local distribution of the two communities is not sufficient to account altogether for this phenomenon. It is perhaps relevant to recall that the introduction of the Sarda Act evoked more uncompromising opposition from the followers of Islam than from any other quarter, and it may be that this attitude caused them to forestall its provisions on a correspondingly larger scale. But it is also probable that through close association with their Hindu neighbours they are gradually assimilating more and more the social customs of the major community.

Diagram showing for each of the last three censuses the number of unmarried Hindus and Muslims per mille of each sex below the age of 10.



Year.	Males. Hindu.	Males. Muslim.	Females. Hindu.	Females. Muslim.
1931	899	882	840	798
1921	939	965	895	924
1911	919	958	838	910

As might be expected, marriage at a very early age is practically unknown among Brahmos, whose superior education and generally advanced views would militate against such a custom. No Brahmo boy or girl below 5 years of age was returned as married at the present census, and only one girl below the age of ten. Among Aryas, on the other hand, the custom is not so rare as their tenets would lead one to suppose. The proportions are given in the margin, and the curious thing about them is that the male proportions are higher than the female. Relatively to the strength of their community, there are rather fewer girl-wives among Aryas than among other Hindus, but there are considerably more boy-husbands. This proposition is equally true whether the comparison extends to the statistics of the province as a whole or is confined to those localities where Aryas are chiefly found. But, as pointed out in Chapter XI, the label "Arya" does not now mean so much as it did formerly, and the census figures probably give little indication of the real prevalence of child marriage among persons who subscribe to the views generally associated with the Arya Samaj.

Number of Aryas married or widowed per mille aged—

0—5.		0—10.	
Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
57	27	121	118

It is commonly said that marriage before puberty is rare among the primitive tribes, and the statistics of previous censuses went far to confirm this theory. But here again the present returns are surprising. The diagram and statement on page 158 do indeed show that at the early age-periods marriage is still less common among the adherents of tribal religions than among Hindus or Muslims, but the contrast is not nearly so great as it was ten years ago The marginal statement shows the increases that have taken place in the proportions of the married and widowed below the age of 10, and they are even more striking than in the case of the Muslims. At the present census over 500 infants of either sex, less than twelve months old, were returned as married, whereas in 1921 there were only 2 males and 4 females of that age. Increasing contact with Hinduism is doubtless having its influence on the primitive tribes, and the effect of the Sarda Act must once more be taken into account; but, if these figures are accurate, they are very depressing. A conspicuous characteristic of the aboriginal races is the comparatively high proportion of unmarried persons of both sexes in the advanced age-periods. In this respect the latest returns conform to previous experience.

Number married or widowed per mille aged 0—10.

Males.		Females.	
1931.	*1921.*	*1931.*	*1921.*
37	9	57	13

Marriage by caste.

14. Subsidiary Table V at the end of the chapter gives particulars of civil condition by age for selected castes and tribes. Here again the influence of locality is often paramount. For instance, in the matter of early marriage (or rather, the avoidance of it) the Oriya castes are in a class by themselves. Of the non-Oriya castes (excluding aboriginals), young brides are least numerous among Rajputs, Babhans, Brahmans and Kayasths—in the order just given. The last-named caste, however, are really less prone to early marriage than the Brahmans in those areas where both communities are found together. The proportion of married girls below 6 years of age is much higher among the Tantis than in any other caste for which statistics have been compiled. Then come the Chamars, Goalas, Musahars, Telis and Koiris. It will be seen that, as a general rule, the lower the caste the greater the prevalence of infant marriage. But the Goalas occupy a much more unfavourable position in the gradation list than they should. Probably this is because they are educationally backward, and it may be that they also have misguided notions on the subject of social uplift. The three aboriginal tribes for which particulars have been exhibited are the Mundas, Oraons and Santals. Early marriage is still much less common with them than with any of the non-Oriya Hindu castes. Statistics are shown separately in the case

of these tribes for the Hindu, Christian and tribal religions, and the only remarkable feature about these comparative figures is that among the Santals who have adopted Hinduism the proportion of young married children is lower than among those who have not. The explanation here is that in the Santal Parganas themselves, where infant marriage is common, practically no Santals were returned as Hindus by religion; in other districts of Chota Nagpur and in the Feudatory States, where early marriage is the exception, the number of Hinduized Santals is large.

The widowed.

15. In the whole province 51 males in every thousand are widowers and 161 females in every thousand are widows. The corresponding proportions in England and Wales in 1921 (the latest date for which statistics are available) were 36 males and 82 females. The disparity is most marked in the female sex, and would be still more so, had not the Great War led to an abnormal increase in the number of English widows ten years ago. The early age of marriage in this country and the circumstance that husbands are usually much older than their wives are responsible to some extent for the great excess of widows, but the prejudice against their re-marriage is a much more potent factor. This prejudice is of course much more acute among Hindus than among Muslims, so that in the province as a whole and in each natural division the proportion of Hindu widows is higher than the proportion of Muslim widows. But in this matter also local influence usually out-strips the influence of religion, so that the proportion of Muslim widows in Orissa is higher than the proportion of Hindu widows in any other part of the province. The diagrams below (keys to which will be found in Subsidiary Table II) illustrate the relative prevalence of widowhood in the province by locality and religion :—

Diagram showing the number of widowed per mille of each sex by locality.

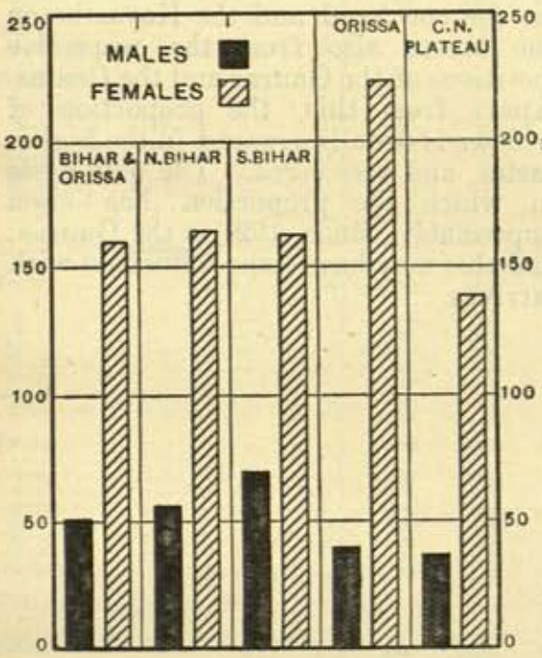
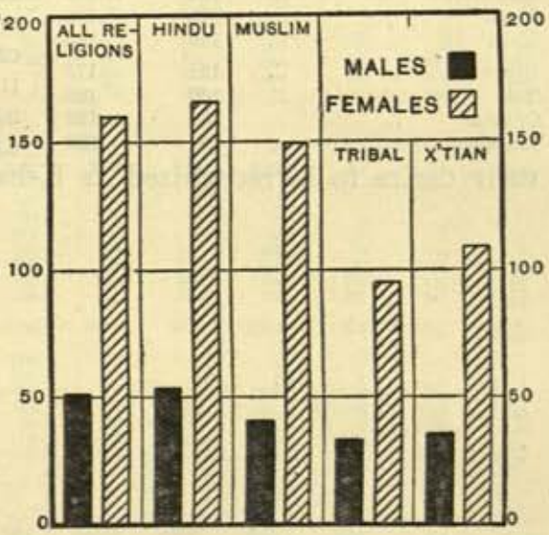


Diagram showing the number of widowed per mille of each sex by religions.

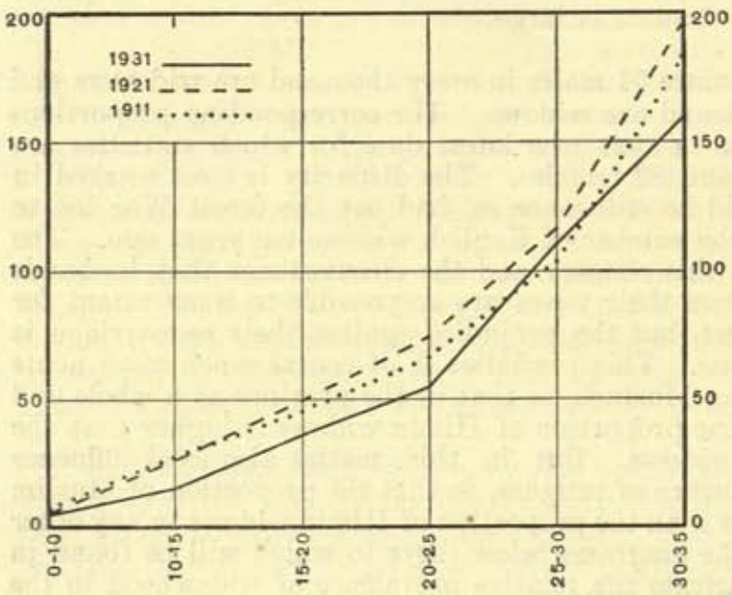


Variation in the number of widowed.

16. The census of 1921 registered an increase in the proportion of the widowed in each sex, and this was ascribed principally to the adverse economic conditions of the preceding decade and the selective incidence of the influenza mortality. Now the pendulum's swing has travelled back to a point far beyond the 1911 position, and again the change in the economic sphere must be held partly responsible. There is however some reason to hope that the latest returns do indicate a weakening of the prejudice against widow re-marriage and a wider recognition of the injustices and social disadvantages thereby involved. The following diagram shows the variations during the past twenty years in the number of Hindu widows at various

age-periods up to 35, and the substantial decline recorded at the present census, particularly in childhood and youth, is at least encouraging :—

Diagram showing for each of the last three censuses the number of Hindu widows per 1,000 females at certain age-periods.



Age.	*1931.*	*1921.*	*1911.*
0—10	5	5	7
10—15	15	26	27
15—20	36	49	45
20—25	54	74	66
25—30	110	116	103
30—35	159	197	183

The widowed by caste.

17. The statement in the margin shows the proportion of widows in certain Hindu castes at each of the last two censuses. The influence of the Orissa tradition is evident from the place occupied in this list by the Karans on the one hand and the Kayasths on the other; also from the respective positions of the Gauras and the Goalas. Apart from this, the proportion of widows is usually greatest in the higher castes, and *vice versa*. The only caste in which the proportion has risen appreciably since 1921 is the Gauras, and this may have some connexion with their desire to be recognized as Kshatriyas.

Number of widows per 1,000 females.

	1931.	1921.
Karan	258	256
Brahman	242	268
Babhan	240	255
Rajput	238	267
Gaura	230	183
Kayasth	215	247
Khandait	194	240
Tanti	175	190
Koiri	159	183
Goala	151	173
Teli	150	185
Chamar	138	159
Musahar	104	129

I.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion and main age period (three censuses).

Religion, Sex and Age.	Unmarried.			Married.			Widowed.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALL RELIGIONS.									
Males	***420***	***454***	***444***	***529***	***486***	***504***	***51***	***60***	***52***
0—5	968	980	982	31	10	17	1	1	1
5—10	833	915	885	163	82	110	4	3	5
10—15	718	766	724	275	233	264	7	11	12
15—20	396	527	498	586	450	479	18	23	23
20—40	109	128	117	843	807	830	48	65	53
40—60	24	27	27	834	826	845	142	147	128
60 and over	18	25	25	678	661	688	304	314	287
Females	***312***	***328***	***317***	***527***	***488***	***505***	***161***	***184***	***178***
0—5	948	981	966	50	18	32	2	1	2
5—10	719	846	795	273	146	194	8	8	11
10—15	519	535	472	467	441	503	14	24	25
15—20	105	162	130	860	792	833	35	46	42
20—40	19	21	19	843	824	841	138	155	140
40—60	6	9	9	493	489	494	501	502	497
60 and over	5	8	8	207	176	175	788	816	817
Hindu.									
Males	***412***	***443***	***428***	***535***	***494***	***516***	***53***	***63***	***56***
0—5	968	988	980	31	12	19	1	...	1
5—10	826	904	868	170	92	126	4	4	6
10—15	708	746	696	285	243	290	7	12	14
15—20	388	507	474	593	468	501	19	25	25
20—40	108	125	114	842	808	831	50	67	55
40—60	25	28	28	828	819	838	147	153	134
60 and over	17	25	27	669	653	677	314	322	296
Females	***302***	***315***	***300***	***531***	***495***	***516***	***167***	***190***	***184***
0—5	949	980	962	49	19	36	2	1	2
5—10	710	829	769	281	162	219	9	9	12
10—15	504	506	434	481	468	539	15	26	27
15—20	91	138	104	873	813	851	36	49	45
20—40	15	16	15	843	824	841	142	160	144
40—60	4	7	8	487	481	490	509	512	502
60 and over	3	7	7	201	168	171	796	825	822
Muslim.									
Males	***412***	***474***	***474***	***547***	***477***	***481***	***41***	***49***	***45***
0—5	956	992	988	43	8	12	1	...	1
5—10	807	945	933	189	53	65	4	2	2
10—15	683	794	776	311	199	217	6	7	7
15—20	342	554	540	642	428	443	16	18	17
20—40	84	118	114	870	830	838	40	52	48
40—60	11	20	18	878	862	874	111	118	108
60 and over	13	21	17	727	704	725	260	275	258
Females	***296***	***339***	***328***	***555***	***489***	***491***	***149***	***172***	***181***
0—5	920	963	979	78	15	19	2	2	2
5—10	658	878	847	335	116	147	7	6	6
10—15	443	531	469	545	451	512	12	18	19
15—20	63	123	91	906	840	872	31	37	37
20—40	12	21	15	857	837	844	131	142	141
40—60	6	10	8	497	507	479	497	483	513
60 and over	3	10	7	223	201	171	774	789	822
Christian.									
Males	***571***	***591***	***587***	***398***	***371***	***388***	***31***	***38***	***25***
0—5	994	999	997	6	1	3	...	...	...
5—10	981	997	994	19	3	6	...	...	...
10—15	959	975	971	40	24	28	1	1	1
15—20	698	813	754	297	181	238	5	6	3
20—40	169	171	156	800	779	815	31	50	29
40—60	20	25	29	868	857	894	112	118	77
60 and over	15	19	26	738	724	769	247	257	205
Females	***503***	***519***	***508***	***402***	***376***	***392***	***95***	***105***	***100***
0—5	992	999	998	8	1	2	...	...	...
5—10	953	994	992	46	5	7	1	1	1
10—15	882	923	893	116	74	104	2	3	3
15—20	436	530	104	552	455	851	12	15	45
20—40	91	73	15	826	830	841	83	97	144
40—60	18	27	7	613	605	490	369	368	503
60 and over	22	23	7	306	244	171	672	733	822
Tribal.									
Males	***530***	***560***	***567***	***434***	***396***	***403***	***36***	***44***	***30***
0—5	979	999	996	21	1	4	...	...	...
5—10	943	985	990	56	14	10	1	1	...
10—15	877	932	933	120	65	66	3	3	1
15—20	543	701	689	443	286	302	14	13	9
20—40	163	173	158	797	766	806	40	61	36
40—60	41	29	33	843	850	888	116	121	89
60 and over	37	23	18	716	705	766	247	272	216
Females	***458***	***477***	***482***	***433***	***397***	***403***	***109***	***126***	***115***
0—5	975	996	995	24	4	4	1	...	1
5—10	903	979	979	93	20	19	4	1	2
10—15	772	836	808	220	166	185	8	8	7
15—20	313	442	393	660	538	580	27	30	27
20—40	88	89	74	813	788	827	99	123	99
40—60	35	32	26	573	563	580	392	405	394
60 and over	32	28	21	276	257	250	692	715	729

II.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages in the main religions and in each natural division.

Religion and Natural Division.	All ages.			0—5.			5—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
MALES.																		
BIHAR AND ORISSA—																		
All religions	420	529	51	968	31	1	833	163	4	718	275	7	169	789	42	33	805	172
Hindu	412	535	53	968	31	1	826	170	4	708	285	7	167	790	43	23	799	178
Muslim	412	547	41	956	43	1	807	189	4	683	311	6	138	827	35	12	848	140
Christian	571	398	31	994	6	...	981	19	...	959	40	1	291	684	25	19	844	137
Tribal	530	434	36	979	21	...	943	56	1	877	120	3	244	721	35	41	820	139
North Bihar—																		
All religions	383	560	57	949	49	2	770	224	6	639	350	11	137	813	50	23	800	177
Hindu	378	562	60	948	50	2	762	231	7	630	358	12	137	810	53	25	791	184
Muslim	408	551	41	955	44	1	802	194	4	678	316	6	132	831	37	10	852	139
South Bihar—																		
All religions	379	552	69	968	31	1	781	214	5	616	376	8	139	806	55	33	746	221
Hindu	373	555	72	967	32	1	773	222	5	603	388	9	136	807	57	35	739	226
Muslim	437	515	48	974	25	1	851	147	2	732	264	4	164	799	37	16	819	165
Orissa—																		
All religions	501	459	40	999	1	...	988	12	...	965	35	...	317	661	22	12	840	148
Hindu	500	459	41	999	1	...	987	13	...	965	35	...	317	661	22	12	838	150
Muslim	535	441	24	999	1	...	990	10	...	977	22	1	324	658	18	8	903	99
Chota Nagpur Plateau—																		
All religions	461	502	37	978	22	...	893	105	2	797	200	3	177	791	32	19	842	139
Hindu	448	515	37	980	20	...	888	110	2	785	212	3	164	804	32	15	845	140
Muslim	383	582	35	936	63	1	751	245	4	600	392	8	102	866	32	15	861	124
Christian	569	400	31	994	6	...	982	18	...	961	38	1	274	701	25	15	847	138
Tribal	530	434	36	979	21	...	944	55	1	877	120	3	245	720	35	41	820	139
FEMALES.																		
BIHAR AND ORISSA—																		
All religions	312	527	161	948	50	2	719	273	8	519	467	14	37	847	116	6	429	565
Hindu	302	531	167	949	49	2	710	281	9	504	481	15	31	849	120	4	423	573
Muslim	296	555	149	930	78	2	658	335	7	443	545	12	23	867	110	5	435	560
Christian	503	402	95	992	8	...	953	46	1	883	116	2	176	759	65	19	546	435
Tribal	458	433	109	975	24	1	903	93	4	772	220	8	140	778	82	35	508	457
North Bihar—																		
All religions	276	559	165	920	77	3	642	346	12	432	550	18	20	861	119	3	438	559
Hindu	273	559	168	922	75	3	641	346	13	432	548	20	20	860	120	3	440	557
Muslim	288	559	153	910	88	2	642	350	8	428	559	13	20	864	116	4	427	569
South Bihar—																		
All religions	276	561	163	951	48	1	656	335	9	404	582	14	14	878	108	2	453	545
Hindu	272	564	164	951	48	1	647	344	9	392	593	15	12	879	109	1	454	545
Muslim	309	535	156	953	46	1	722	273	5	499	492	9	29	871	100	8	446	546
Orissa—																		
All religions	319	457	224	998	2	...	901	96	3	743	249	8	49	787	164	3	323	674
Hindu	318	457	225	998	2	...	899	98	3	741	251	8	49	786	165	3	323	674
Muslim	336	466	198	998	2	...	946	51	3	765	228	7	44	814	142	2	325	673
Chota Nagpur Plateau—																		
All religions	368	494	138	961	38	1	791	204	5	612	377	11	65	833	102	12	442	546
Hindu	348	505	147	961	38	1	770	224	6	578	411	11	48	844	108	8	423	569
Muslim	304	576	120	907	91	2	605	387	8	374	612	14	24	885	91	6	479	515
Christian	503	403	94	993	7	...	954	45	1	882	116	2	168	767	65	15	550	435
Tribal	458	433	109	975	24	1	903	93	4	773	219	8	141	777	82	35	509	456

III.—Distribution by main age periods and civil condition of 10,000 of each sex and religion.

Religion and Age.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL RELIGIONS	***4,204***	***5,287***	***509***	***3,120***	***5,265***	***1,615***
0—10	3,605	276	7	3,391	429	13
10—15	881	338	8	564	507	15
15—40	675	3,150	168	154	3,488	479
40 and over	43	1,523	326	11	841	1,108
Hindu	***4,193***	***5,344***	***533***	***3,015***	***5,311***	***1,674***
0—10	2,548	280	7	2,339	432	14
10—15	859	346	9	541	515	16
15—40	671	3,181	174	127	3,516	495
40 and over	45	1,537	343	8	848	1,149
Muslim	***4,196***	***5,468***	***406***	***2,961***	***5,545***	***1,494***
0—10	2,696	353	7	2,360	583	13
10—15	879	400	7	498	614	14
15—40	530	3,172	136	94	3,559	451
40 and over	21	1,543	256	9	789	1,016
Christian	***5,709***	***3,982***	***309***	***5,031***	***4,020***	***949***
0—10	3,297	41	1	3,198	81	2
10—15	1,290	54	1	1,126	148	2
15—40	1,092	2,569	93	677	2,923	252
40 and over	30	1,318	214	30	868	693
Tribal	***5,294***	***4,344***	***362***	***4,579***	***4,330***	***1,091***
0—10	3,168	121	2	3,054	177	6
10—15	1,129	154	3	919	261	10
15—40	932	2,748	133	549	3,057	334
40 and over	65	1,321	224	57	835	751

IV.—Proportions of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages, for religions and natural divisions.

(Number of females per 1,000 males.)

Natural Division and Religion.	All ages.			0—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BIHAR AND ORISSA.															
All religions ...	**748**	**1,004**	**3,200**	925	1,566	1,980	646	1,515	1,805	229	1,116	2,880	257	557	3,426
Hindu	**735**	**999**	**3,155**	923	1,550	1,961	633	1,499	1,769	191	1,111	2,852	178	555	3,371
Muslim	**731**	**1,032**	**3,746**	891	1,681	1,890	577	1,562	1,866	180	1,142	3,390	440	521	4,041
Christian	**891**	**1,020**	**3,109**	981	1,983	3,462	882	2,776	3,300	627	1,151	2,736	1,037	666	3,269
Tribal	**889**	**1,024**	**3,095**	991	1,497	3,561	835	1,741	2,892	606	1,143	2,511	899	650	3,440
North Bihar.															
All religions ...	**720**	**999**	**2,920**	901	1,451	1,763	585	1,362	1,484	150	1,105	2,481	139	565	3,305
Hindu	**721**	**993**	**2,798**	906	1,397	1,737	592	1,325	1,441	147	1,099	2,344	119	579	3,146
Muslim	**716**	**1,029**	**3,797**	878	1,740	1,963	554	1,540	1,866	162	1,136	3,455	384	501	4,106
South Bihar.															
All religions ...	**715**	**1,000**	**2,309**	913	1,438	1,736	575	1,358	1,492	103	1,094	1,983	62	612	2,491
Hindu	**708**	**988**	**2,225**	910	1,412	1,710	566	1,329	1,470	89	1,075	1,907	35	613	2,403
Muslim	**767**	**1,125**	**3,521**	932	1,775	1,967	633	1,732	1,935	208	1,296	3,220	581	605	3,687
Orissa.															
All religions ...	**695**	**1,089**	**6,069**	961	7,137	17,300	720	6,668	16,224	179	1,275	8,599	286	449	5,287
Hindu	**694**	**1,057**	**6,018**	960	7,225	18,108	718	6,589	16,644	178	1,271	8,583	281	449	5,232
Muslim	**709**	**1,195**	**9,318**	961	4,846	1,050	726	9,414	12,250	174	1,564	10,195	289	430	8,926
Chota Nagpur Plateau.															
All religions ...	**804**	**990**	**3,780**	943	1,826	2,878	706	1,738	2,823	376	1,077	3,274	683	548	4,092
Hindu	**781**	**987**	**3,974**	972	1,933	3,037	672	1,772	2,962	299	1,071	3,404	569	536	4,269
Muslim	**745**	**961**	**3,269**	881	1,439	1,561	556	1,394	1,700	219	970	2,733	390	503	3,763
Christian	**896**	**1,022**	**3,079**	979	2,067	3,077	878	2,912	3,000	643	1,144	2,677	1,031	674	3,258
Tribal	**889**	**1,025**	**3,163**	990	1,502	3,633	837	1,736	2,928	610	1,143	2,511	900	654	3,453

V.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

Caste.	All ages.			0—6.			7—13.			14—16.			17-23.			24—43.			44 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
MALES.																					
BABHAN	464	450	86	977	23	1	896	100	4	621	369	10	406	570	24	222	692	86	88	636	276
BRAHMAN ...	457	471	72	981	18	1	916	82	2	705	285	10	419	561	20	136	792	72	50	692	258
CHAMAR	361	597	42	928	71	1	605	386	9	292	686	22	137	835	28	25	927	48	13	823	164
GAURA	517	442	41	999	1	...	965	32	3	800	184	16	634	353	13	78	884	38	13	812	175
GOALA	359	571	70	943	55	2	664	327	9	352	627	21	184	779	37	48	869	83	17	745	238
KARAN	534	415	51	1,000	...	...	990	10	...	965	33	1	829	178	2	154	802	44	18	787	195
KAYASTH ...	484	440	76	983	16	1	925	73	2	754	234	12	521	454	25	153	774	73	66	671	263
KHANDAIT ...	522	429	49	999	1	...	991	9	..	921	78	1	652	329	19	99	849	52	5	815	180
KOIRI	349	577	74	945	53	2	653	337	10	336	639	25	173	789	38	52	861	87	18	744	238
MUNDA	547	415	38	994	6	...	964	35	1	792	203	5	473	512	15	82	870	48	15	814	171
Hindu	523	433	44	988	11	1	936	62	2	634	357	9	460	520	20	126	816	58	22	792	186
Christian ...	567	399	34	996	4	...	981	19	...	914	84	2	537	464	9	53	906	41	9	820	171
Tribal religion ...	550	414	36	996	4	...	971	29	...	812	183	5	449	536	15	66	888	46	13	824	163
MUSAHAR ...	355	599	46	922	76	2	625	364	11	261	704	35	110	850	40	27	923	50	14	827	159
ORAON	494	455	51	987	13	...	910	89	1	599	391	10	238	738	24	20	909	71	8	770	222
Hindu	470	474	56	981	18	1	874	125	1	422	565	13	130	837	33	17	903	80	7	764	229
Christian ...	563	400	37	990	10	...	979	21	...	912	88	...	470	520	10	28	923	49	6	803	191
Tribal religion ...	468	475	57	990	10	...	896	102	2	504	482	14	163	810	27	17	905	78	10	755	235
RAJPUT	490	435	75	981	18	1	911	85	4	682	303	15	474	503	23	214	710	76	85	660	255
SANTAL	504	461	35	983	17	...	930	69	1	709	281	10	377	603	20	60	894	46	10	844	146
Hindu	526	445	29	989	10	1	948	51	1	804	191	5	440	544	16	72	889	39	15	854	131
Christian ...	546	427	27	984	16	...	939	61	...	855	143	2	555	433	12	78	873	49	...	900	100
Tribal religion ...	494	469	37	981	19	...	921	77	2	659	328	13	343	636	21	53	897	50	8	839	153
TANTI	341	607	52	919	79	2	581	405	14	367	600	33	227	738	35	34	909	57	15	821	164
TELI	366	575	59	948	50	2	674	319	7	357	624	19	165	802	33	36	892	72	15	775	210
FEMALES.																					
BABHAN	290	470	240	970	28	2	783	208	9	196	766	38	34	892	74	5	736	259	2	324	674
BRAHMAN ...	275	483	242	972	26	2	674	313	13	127	821	52	20	885	95	6	705	289	3	296	701
CHAMAR	274	588	138	891	106	3	451	533	16	91	878	31	21	942	37	6	846	148	3	422	575
GAURA	321	449	230	998	2	...	833	171	6	384	563	53	43	914	43	6	724	270	2	247	751
GOALA	271	578	151	902	94	4	473	511	16	104	862	34	25	930	45	5	837	158	3	423	574
KARAN	330	412	258	998	2	...	961	37	2	777	215	8	150	796	54	9	704	287	2	270	728
KAYASTH ...	344	441	215	974	25	1	870	124	6	365	614	21	43	891	66	8	748	244	3	317	680
KHANDAIT ...	357	449	194	999	1	..	966	33	1	499	494	7	91	870	39	10	750	240	4	333	663
KOIRI	264	577	159	919	78	3	463	519	19	93	876	31	21	940	39	6	836	158	4	417	579
MUNDA	469	416	115	992	7	1	922	75	3	590	395	15	203	770	27	33	830	138	10	464	526
Hindu	420	436	144	985	13	2	860	136	4	416	557	27	131	835	34	25	804	171	12	370	618
Christian ...	512	395	93	995	5	...	977	22	1	787	210	3	265	719	16	44	843	113	11	539	450
Tribal religion ...	477	414	109	994	5	1	938	70	2	569	415	16	215	755	30	30	841	129	8	486	506
MUSAHAR ...	303	593	104	905	90	5	467	519	14	80	883	37	26	936	38	5	883	112	2	537	461
ORAON	416	463	121	985	14	1	814	183	3	358	638	14	87	880	33	13	842	145	6	482	512
Hindu	373	496	131	980	19	1	740	255	5	176	804	20	43	912	46	9	838	153	6	490	504
Christian ...	502	404	94	987	12	1	967	32	1	712	284	4	186	798	16	28	856	116	8	522	470
Tribal religion ...	461	471	128	987	12	1	773	223	4	265	719	16	54	912	34	8	838	154	6	447	547
RAJPUT	302	460	238	968	30	2	779	211	10	251	712	37	40	878	82	10	721	269	6	306	688
SANTAL	427	457	116	983	16	1	861	135	4	379	598	23	130	835	45	23	838	139	7	466	527
Hindu	433	434	133	990	9	1	883	114	4	385	594	21	145	806	49	26	802	172	10	363	627
Christian ...	488	415	97	995	5	...	957	43	...	761	235	4	262	710	28	40	850	110	8	515	477
Tribal religion ...	424	469	107	979	20	1	850	145	5	372	604	24	121	836	43	21	855	124	6	509	485
TANTI	231	594	175	853	142	5	387	589	24	103	860	37	20	935	45	6	809	185	2	372	626
TELI	275	575	150	908	90	2	466	519	15	100	869	31	31	934	35	7	832	161	5	390	605

CHAPTER VII.—Infirmities.

The statistics of infirmities compiled at the present census will be found in Imperial Table IX, which shows the distribution of infirm persons by age and by locality. At previous censuses it has been customary to tabulate statistics of infirm persons by caste, but as a measure of economy this table was omitted on the present occasion. Proportional figures are exhibited in the following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter:— **Reference to statistics.**

I.—Number afflicted per 100,000 of the total population.

II.—(*a*) Number afflicted per 100,000 } at certain age-periods.
(*b*) Females afflicted per 1,000 males }

III.—Distribution by age of 10,000 infirm persons of each sex.

2. Insanity, deaf-mutism, total blindness and leprosy are the four infirmities of which the census takes cognizance. The instructions given to the enumeration staff were as follows:— **Nature of enquiry.**

> "If any person be blind of both eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in this column (18). Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only or who are suffering from white leprosy only."

These instructions were exactly the same as those given in 1921.

3. Of all the information recorded at the census, it is probable that the information regarding infirmities is the least reliable. This applies not only to the present census and to the province of Bihar and Orissa, but to every population census the world over. There are many reasons why this should be so. Intentional concealment by or on behalf of the persons afflicted is probably the most powerful of these, and here the degree of inaccuracy will vary roughly with the nature of the affliction. Blindness, for example, provokes charitable sympathy rather than repulsion, and there is little deliberate suppression of the facts so far as this infirmity is concerned. But the head of a household will naturally be reluctant to admit that he himself is a leper or that his child is an idiot. Particularly will he be anxious to avoid any such compromising admission in respect of a child who is approaching the marriageable age. In rural areas the existence of certain infirmities in certain families may be more or less common knowledge, but an enumerator is supposed to record the answers actually given to his questions, and he will seldom take the responsibility of entering an infirmity in the face of a direct denial by the person questioned. Supervising officers are in a position to exercise very little check over the correctness of the entries in this column, which in 99 cases out of 100 is, and probably should be, left blank. Moreover, the correct diagnosis of these infirmities often presents difficulties to the expert; how then can the village enumerator be expected to grapple with the problem? Many lepers do not know themselves that they are suffering from the disease, and more advanced leprosy may easily be confused with other ailments of the skin. There are different degrees of insanity, as well as different forms. Total blindness, one might think, should be recognized without any great difficulty, but in practice it is not easy to draw the line (especially among the aged) between defective sight and complete inability to see anything. Such entries as *kana* (one-eyed), which always appear with some frequency in the schedules, testify to the imperfect grasp of their instructions by the census staff. *Baudh* is a term which is sometimes used to describe a true deaf-mute, but does not always bear this signification. **Accuracy of the returns.**

Even in more advanced countries the difficulties of obtaining reasonably accurate information about physical disabilities through the ordinary census agency have been found so grave that in England and Wales the attempt was abandoned altogether ten years ago. In the United States of America the same step had been virtually taken even earlier. The question of discontinuing such enquiries in the Indian census has been seriously considered, but there are few other ways in this country in which any

statistics bearing on this subject can be obtained, and so for the present at least it was decided to continue the former practice. It was also felt that, although the absolute accuracy of the figures leaves much to be desired, the errors from census to census are to some extent constant, and information of interest is therefore forthcoming in regard to the prevalence of the various infirmities in different localities and their variation from one decade to another.

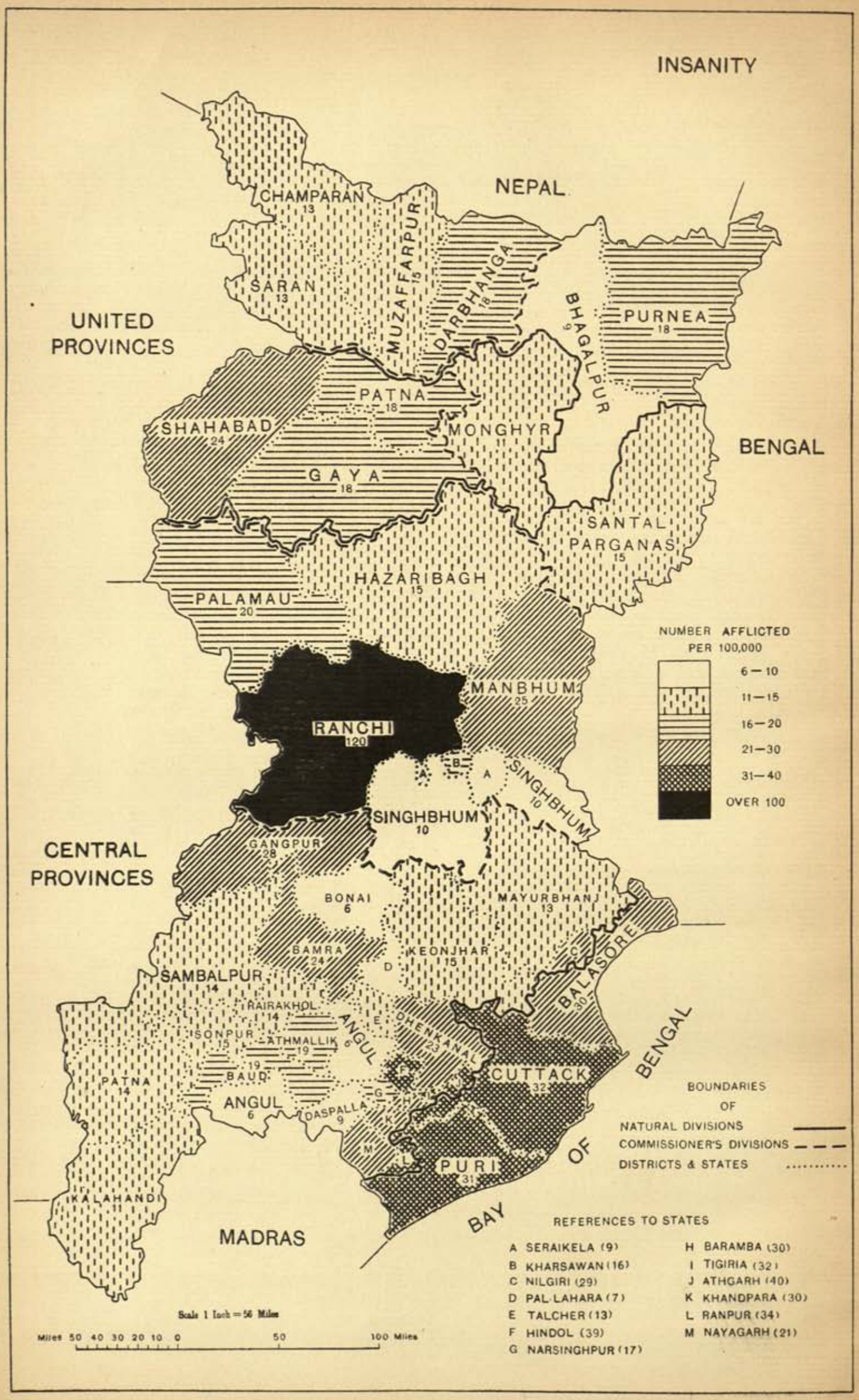
Variations since 1881.

4. The statement below shows the number per 100,000 of the population of Bihar and Orissa recorded as suffering from each infirmity at each of the last six censuses:—

—	*1931.*		*1921.*		*1911.*		*1901.*		*1891.*		*1881.*	
	Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
Insane ..	28	15	14	7	16	8	17	9	20	10	29	16
Deaf-mutes ..	77	49	66	40	90	55	95	56	139	78	192	109
Blind ..	121	131	82	82	111	104	112	104	122	123	160	184
Lepers ..	79	29	48	17	71	23	76	24	82	26	103	29
Total ..	**305**	**224**	**210**	**146**	**288**	**190**	**300**	**193**	**363**	**237**	**484**	**338**

The first point to be noticed is that at each census the number of males afflicted is very greatly in excess of the number of females. This is conspicuous in the case of every infirmity except blindness. To a limited extent it may be true that men are more susceptible to some of these diseases than women, but the real explanation lies much more in the fact that with women concealment of the presence of the infirmity is much easier, as they are not produced before the enumerator. Hence it is that in the case of blindness, where the desire to conceal is wanting, the proportions of the sexes are more or less equal.

The second remarkable feature of the above statement is the continuous and marked decline in the number of all infirmities from 1881 to 1921, succeeded by a very sharp rise at the present census. It has been the fashion to attribute the previous decline in some part to more accurate enumeration—in the sense that erroneous entries have been progressively eliminated. One is equally tempted to claim more accurate enumeration as the cause of some part of the present increase—in the sense that the record of genuine infirmities is less incomplete. In neither case is the explanation very convincing, though it may contain an element of truth in both. It is probable, for instance, that the comparatively high proportion of male lepers returned in 1881 included many who were suffering from leukoderma, and almost certainly the number of deaf-mutes in that year was overstated, possibly owing to the tendency to include persons whose hearing only was defective. A progressive improvement in the diagnosis of these infirmities is very likely to account for some part of the fall recorded at the succeeding censuses. But I am not aware of any grounds for supposing that on the present occasion there was a general tendency to relapse to the more indiscriminate standards of 1881. Other influences which are regarded as contributing to the diminution in the prevalence of infirmities in time past are the gradual improvement in the material condition of the people, better sanitation, and increased provision of medical relief. It is worthy of notice that, taking India as a whole, the proportion of infirm persons fell heavily from 1881 to 1901, but in 1911 there was a marked increase and a further increase (albeit much less marked) in 1921. The record of this province therefore since the beginning of the century is in sharp contrast with experience elsewhere. Mr. Tallents in the last report gave two special reasons for the drop in 1921 in the number of the afflicted in Bihar and Orissa. One was the period of distress and scarcity which immediately preceded the census: in such times as those the weakest naturally go to the wall, and the fountains of charity on which they so largely depend for their support are apt to dry up. The second reason was the feeling of hostility engendered against the census operations as a whole at that time, which apparently manifested itself in a particular resentment against questions regarded as


INSANITY
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 13
SARAN 13
MUZAFFARPUR 15
DARBHANGA 18
BHAGALPUR 9
PURNEA 18
PATNA 18
SHAHABAD 24
MONGHYR 11
GAYA 18
SANTAL PARGANAS 15
HAZARIBAGH 15
PALAMAU 20
MANBHUM 25
RANCHI 120
SINGHBHUM 10
SINGHBHUM 10
GANGPUR 28
BONAI 6
MAYURBHANJ 13
BAMRA 24
KEONJHAR 15
SAMBALPUR 14
BALASORE 30
RAIRAKHOL 14
SONPUR 15
ATHMALLIK 19
ANGUL 6
DHENKANAL 23
BAUD 19
CUTTACK 32
PATNA 14
ANGUL 6
DASPALLA 9
PURI 31
KALAHANDI 11
NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000
6—10
11—15
16—20
21—30
31—40
OVER 100
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (9)
B KHARSAWAN (16)
C NILGIRI (29)
D PAL-LAHARA (7)
E TALCHER (13)
F HINDOL (39)
G NARSINGHPUR (17)
H BARAMBA (30)
I TIGIRIA (32)
J ATHGARH (40)
K KHANDPARA (30)
L RANPUR (34)
M NAYAGARH (21)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

inquisitorial and a greater unwillingness than ever to disclose information on such matters. These two factors would account for a lot, and the remarkable difference between the two sets of figures shown in the margin indicates that their effect in this province was much greater than in the rest of India. It follows from this that a considerable rise in the proportion of infirm persons in Bihar and Orissa was only to be expected in 1931, the more so because economic conditions in the last decade have been unusually favourable. Charity once more unloosed her purse-strings, and the chances of survival for the unfortunates of this world were greatly increased. Finally, it may be pointed out that, striking as is the rise in the recorded number of infirmities since 1921, the proportion now is very little higher than it was thirty years ago, whereas this period has seen a very marked increase in the proportion for the rest of India.

	Persons afflicted per 100,000.	
	1921	*1911*
India	272	267
Bihar and Orissa ...	177	237

Double infirmities.

5. Before examining, for what they are worth, the statistics relating to each separate infirmity, brief mention may be made of persons returned as suffering from more than one. The total number of such persons was 494, of whom 320 were males. The most common combination was insanity and deaf-mutism, which occurred in 199 cases. These two infirmities are not infrequently associated, particularly in localities (such as Champaran and other North Bihar districts) where cretinism is prevalent. There were 131 persons recorded as both deaf-mutes and lepers, and the remaining combinations in order of frequency were blind and lepers (69), deaf-mutes and lepers (43), insane and blind (34), and insane and lepers (15). One woman was afflicted with a combination of three infirmities out of the four, blindness being the only one she had escaped; and there was one unfortunate man who was said to be suffering from all four at the same time.

At the previous census there were only 50 reported cases of double infirmities, and none of more than two together. It is somewhat curious that the combination of insanity and deaf-mutism was noticed in only six cases in 1921.

Insanity.

6. No attempt is made in the census returns to distinguish between insanity proper, *i.e.* serious mental derangement, and idiocy. Entries such as *adhpagal* (half-witted) were ordinarily eliminated, but the exact stage at which weak-mindedness becomes so acute as to merit the full-blown epithet of *pagal* was perforce left to the discretion of individual enumerators, and doubtless they adopted many different standards. Altogether 9,045 persons were returned as insane at the present census, or 21 per 100,000 of the total population, as compared with only 10 per 100,000 in 1921. Apart from the reasons already given for the general increase in infirmities, the number of insane persons enumerated on this occasion was to some extent affected by the development of the two large mental hospitals at Kanke in the district of Ranchi, one of which caters for European patients and the other for Indians. These two hospitals contained 1,430 inmates on the night of the census. There is, however, no doubt that even now the returns of insanity are still quite incomplete. Contrast the proportions of persons returned as suffering from certain infirmities in England and Wales in 1911 (the last occasion on which statistics of this kind were collected) with the corresponding proportions in Bihar and Orissa to-day. It is no doubt true that insanity is less prevalent in India than in the countries of the West, where the nervous strain of life is so much greater, but the disparity between the figures is too great to be accounted for entirely by such an explanation. Incorrect diagnosis and wilful concealment are largely responsible for the low proportion in this country. In this connexion it is significant that the number of females shown as insane is only about half the number of males, whereas in reality mental derangement is probably more common among women than among men. The comparative neglect of female infants among certain classes, the effects of early child-bearing and the circumstances commonly attendant on confinement would all tend to

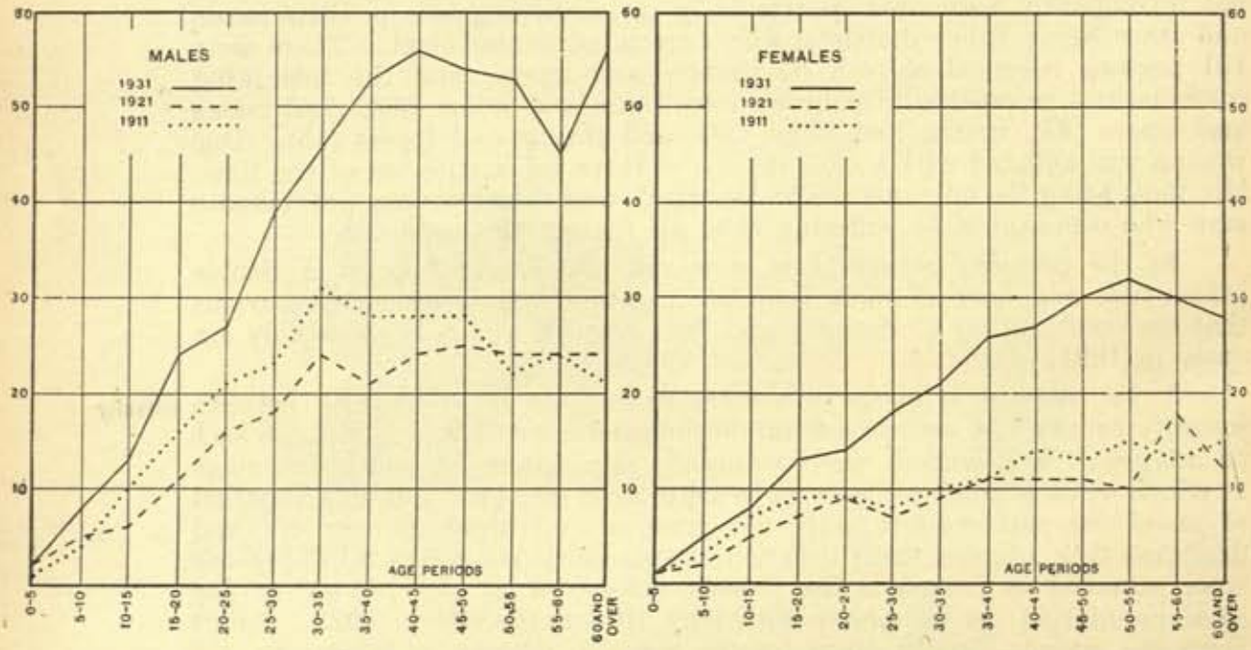
	Number per 100,000.		
	Insane.	*Deaf-mute.*	*Blind.*
England and Wales	449	42	73
Bihar and Orissa	21	63	126

bring about such a result, while the fact that men are more addicted to drink and drug-taking would hardly suffice to turn the scales in the other direction.

The local distribution of the insane is illustrated in the map. The reason why Ranchi district stands out so prominently is that it contains the two mental hospitals mentioned above. If we exclude persons enumerated in these hospitals but born outside the district, the proportion falls from 120 to 33. Next to Ranchi come the three coastal districts of Orissa and one or two of the small neighbouring states. Insanity and leprosy have always been specially prevalent in Orissa, but a special feature about this census is the great increase in the number of females returned as insane in this locality. Balasore and Manbhum are the two districts which (excepting Ranchi) record the most startling growth of insanity; Patna and Champaran are the only two to record a decrease. In the case of Patna this is due simply to the abolition of the mental hospital formerly located there and the transfer of its patients to Ranchi.

The following diagram shows the distribution of the insane by age at each of the last three censuses:—

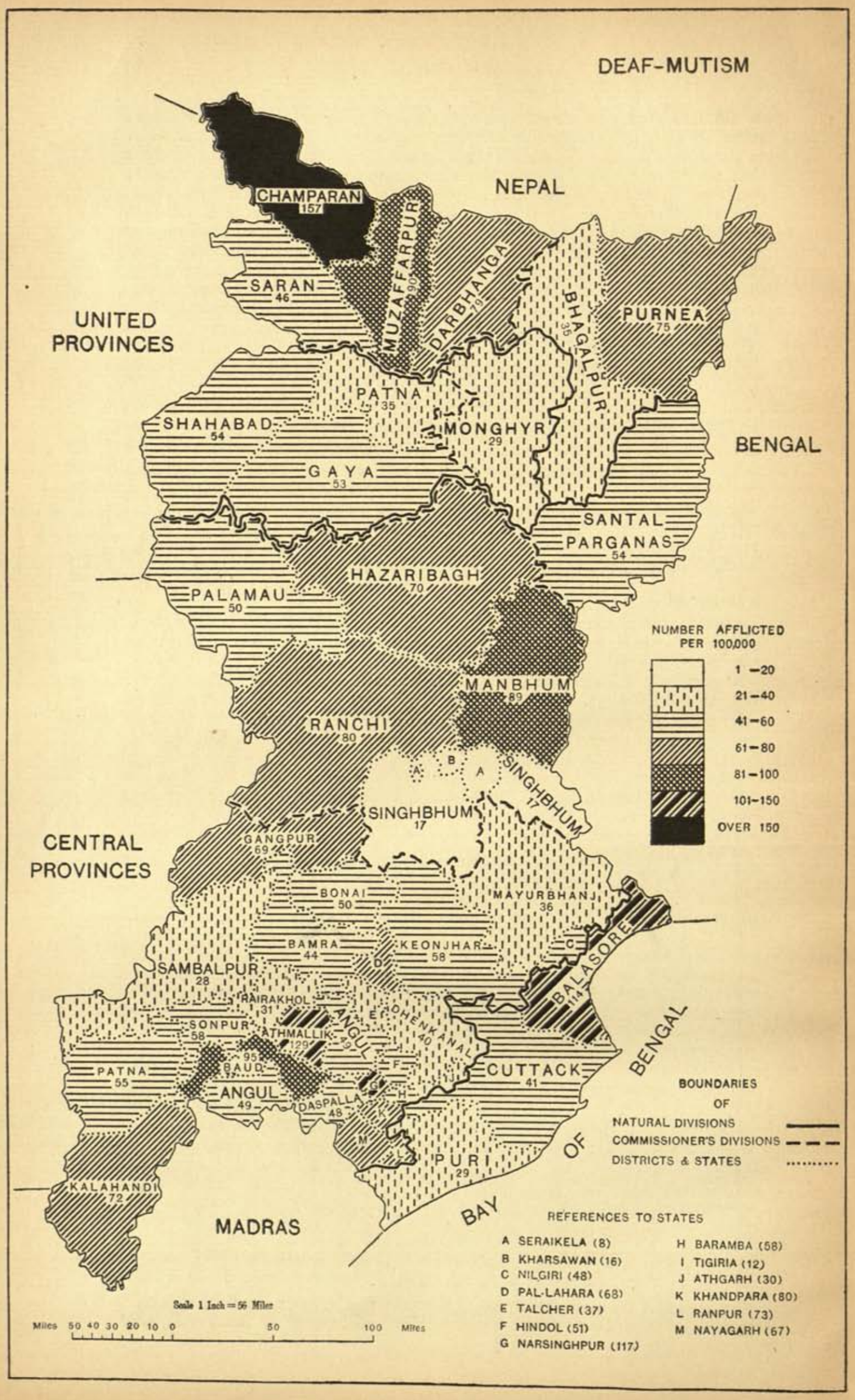
Diagram showing the number of the insane per 100,000 at each age-period: 1911 to 1931.



Idiocy is usually a congenital defect, and one would have expected a much higher proportion of insane persons in the earlier age-periods. The contrary fact suggests that idiocy is much less common in the returns than is mental derangement; but it is likely that the statistics are influenced to a still greater extent by the reluctance of parents to admit that their children are insane until they are absolutely forced to. The continuous rise in the proportion of the insane in 1931 up to a comparatively late age—45 for males and 55 for females—is a noticeable feature of the diagram, and constitutes a departure from the results recorded in the previous censuses. Attention has already been drawn to the very marked disparity between the sex proportions.

Deaf-mutism.

7. Prior to 1921 the instructions issued to the census staff were that only those persons should be entered as deaf-mutes who had been so afflicted *from birth*. At the last two censuses these words were omitted, the chief reason being that, however the instructions might be phrased, many enumerators insisted on supposing that this particular qualification applied to the other three infirmities also. True deaf-mutism is nearly always congenital; or at least has developed before the power of speech is determined. The omission of these two words, therefore, *ought* not to have affected the returns appreciably, but it will be seen later that it did. As compared with the statistics of insanity and leprosy, it is probable that the statistics of deaf-mutism are much more accurate in the sense that they

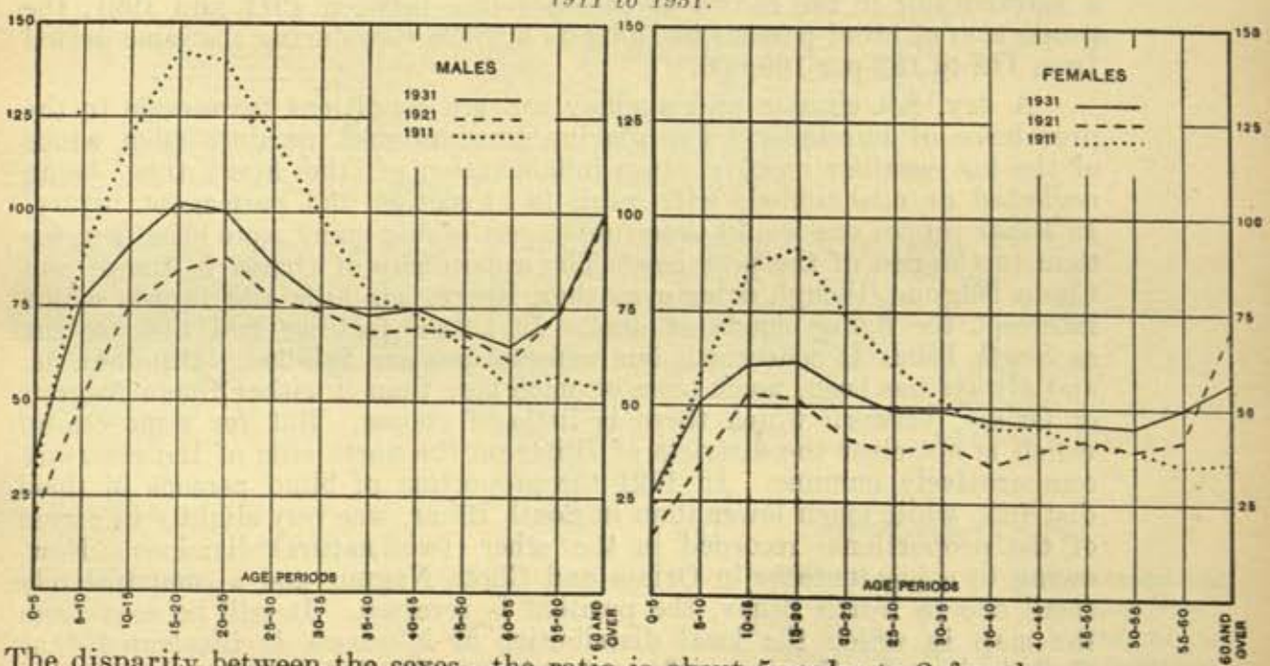

DEAF-MUTISM
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 157
SARAN 46
MUZAFFARPUR 90
DARBHANGA 70
BHAGALPUR 35
PURNEA 75
PATNA 35
SHAHABAD 54
MONGHYR 29
GAYA 53
SANTAL PARGANAS 54
HAZARIBAGH 70
PALAMAU 50
MANBHUM 89
RANCHI 80
SINGHBHUM 17
GANGPUR 69
BONAI 50
MAYURBHANJ 36
BAMRA 44
KEONJHAR 58
SAMBALPUR 28
RAIRAKHOL 31
SONPUR 58
ATHMALLIK 129
ANGUL 95
DHENKANAL 40
BALASORE 114
PATNA 55
BAUD 77
ANGUL 49
DASPALLA 48
CUTTACK 41
PURI 29
KALAHANDI 72
NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000
1 —20
21—40
41—60
61—80
81—100
101—150
OVER 150
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (8)
B KHARSAWAN (16)
C NILGIRI (48)
D PAL-LAHARA (68)
E TALCHER (37)
F HINDOL (51)
G NARSINGHPUR (117)
H BARAMBA (58)
I TIGIRIA (12)
J ATHGARH (30)
K KHANDPARA (80)
L RANPUR (73)
M NAYAGARH (67)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

do not under-state to anything like the same extent the number of persons suffering from this infirmity. But they are probably much more inaccurate in the sense that they include a large number of persons who are not really deaf-mutes at all. On the one hand it is certain that many cases of senile deafness are shown under this head; and on the other there is reason to believe that a fair proportion of persons who were really suffering from insanity were euphemistically described as deaf-mutes. The Superintendent of Yeravda asylum pointed out in 1911 that India was the only country in the world where deaf-mutism was (apparently) more prevalent than insanity: in Bihar and Orissa at the present census the ratio is about 3 to 1.

The total number of deaf-mutes recorded in this province is 26,475, or 63 per 100,000 of the population. At the previous census the proportion had been 53 per 100,000, and the increase in this infirmity is much less marked than in any of the others. There have, however, been very pronounced variations in the different localities. The map shows that Champaran district still has the highest proportion of deaf-mutes, but here the number has fallen from 196 per 100,000 to 157. Mention has already been made of the fact that cretinism is found extensively in Champaran and other districts of North Bihar, particularly those comprised in the administrative division of Tirhut. In 1921 the four Tirhut districts between them furnished more than half the number of deaf-mutes recorded in the whole province, but this time they account for little over one-third. The fall is particularly marked in Saran, where the number per 100,000 has decreased from 85 to 46. Other localities which have shown striking decreases are Puri, Sambalpur, Singhbhum and the two small states of Seraikela and Kharsawan which adjoin Singhbhum. Gaya, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, the Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Balasore have all recorded very large increases, and in the two last-named districts the figures are extraordinary. The proportion of deaf-mutes in Manbhum has shot up from 34 to 89 and in Balasore from 12 to 114. It will be remembered that these were the two districts which also showed a startling growth in insanity, so the figures can hardly be explained on the assumption that there has been a wholesale transference from one head to the other. It is only fair to point out that in both these districts the returns of deaf-mutism and insanity in 1921 were much lower than at the previous censuses, but even so the statistics now returned—particularly from Balasore—are far in excess of anything that has gone before.

The distribution of deaf-mutes by age and sex, as depicted in the following diagram, has several points of interest.

Diagram showing the number of deaf-mutes per 100,000 at each age-period: 1911 to 1931.



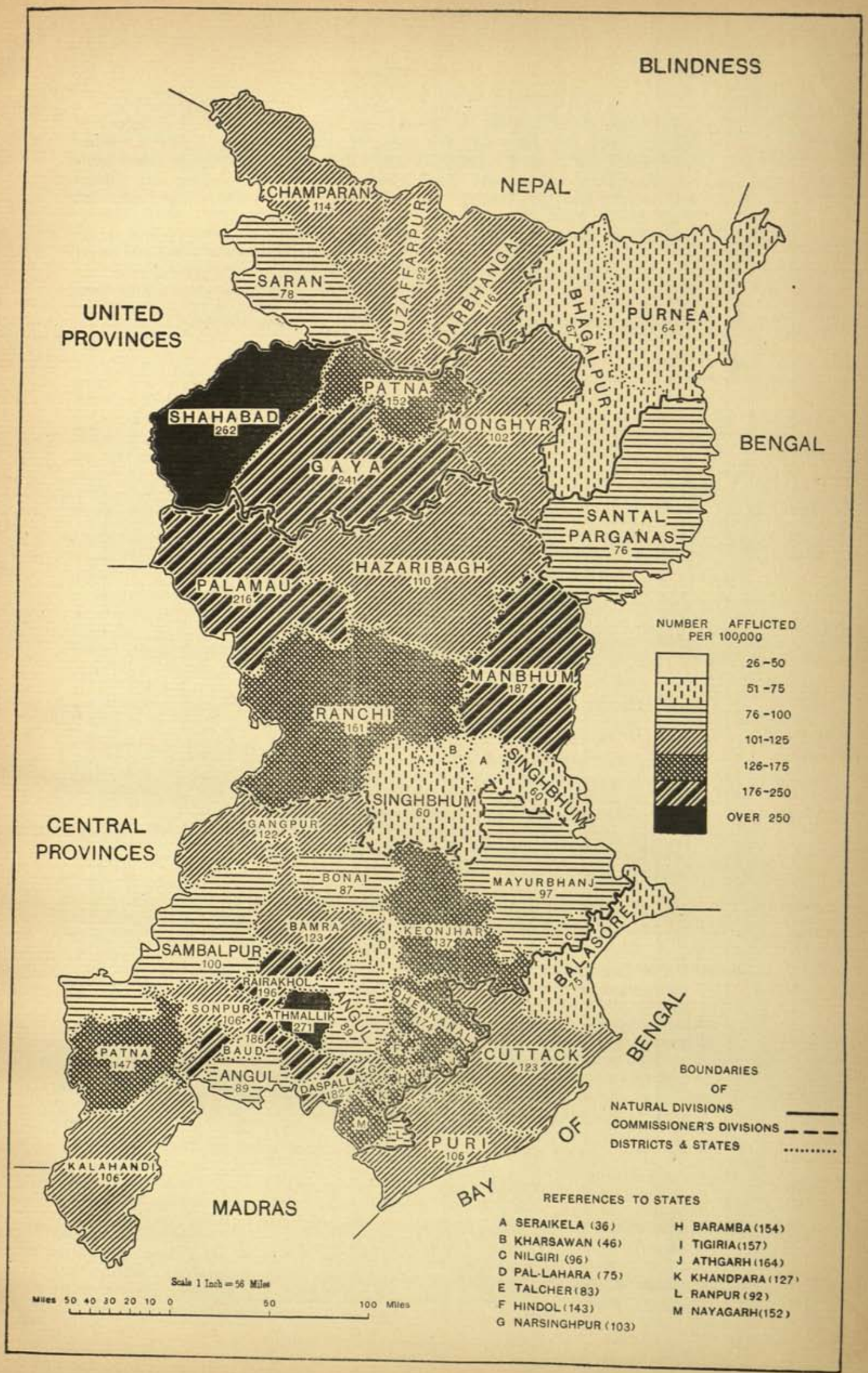
The disparity between the sexes—the ratio is about 5 males to 3 females—is less marked than with insanity and incomparably less so than with

leprosy. This may probably be taken as an indication of the degree of disrepute attaching to the respective infirmities. The next point to notice is that, whereas the lines of 1931 and 1921 follow approximately the same course, the 1911 line is entirely different. Some part at least of the explanation of this is to be found in the modified instructions to the census staff, viz., the omission after 1911 of the words *from birth*. Deaf-mutism is more or less a congenital defect, and persons suffering from this affliction are short-lived. Consequently the maximum prevalence should be in the lowest age-period, and thereafter there should be a progressive decline. The fact that, in 1911 as well as in the subsequent years, the line starts so low down and mounts sharply until the age of about 20 is reached is conclusive proof that the statistics up to this point are quite untrustworthy. Deliberate concealment here is doubtless mingled with a despairing hope on the part of parents that their child may be suffering only from arrested development; though it is probable that even before the age of 20 cases of acquired deafness have crept in to vitiate the returns. But at least we do find that in 1911 the line, having started on its downward curve after that age, continues to drop steadily until the end. This does not occur at the later censuses. There is indeed some tendency in the male line to fall between the ages of 25 and 55, but from middle age the fall is much less pronounced than it should be, and the sharp upward move in the last two age-periods is wholly unrelated to the truth. In the female line there is practically no decline at all after the age of 30.

Blindness.

8. Whatever may be the degree of accuracy or of inaccuracy achieved by the record of blindness, there is no reason to suppose that it is seriously vitiated by deliberate suppression of the facts. With the other three infirmities the motive for concealment may vary in intensity, but it is indubitably there; in the case of blindness it is almost entirely absent. There are doubtless many unintentional omissions, and on the other hand there are many persons shown as totally blind who are merely suffering from defective vision. Whether in the result the prevalence of this infirmity—viz. total blindness—is exaggerated or the reverse it would be difficult to say. But the violent fluctuations that may be produced by the imperfect observation or the erratic diagnosis of our friend the enumerator are fully brought out by the statistics recorded in this province at the last three censuses. In 1911 the number of blind persons per 100,000 of the total population was said to be 107; ten years later this figure dropped to 82; now it has soared again to 126. It is impossible to suppose that there has really been an increase of over 50 per cent in the incidence of blindness since 1921. Meanwhile, it is perhaps relevant (or again it may not be relevant, but it is at least of interest) to note that, while there was such a marked fall in the record of this province between 1911 and 1921, the proportion of blind persons in India as a whole rose during the same period from 142 to 152 per 100,000.

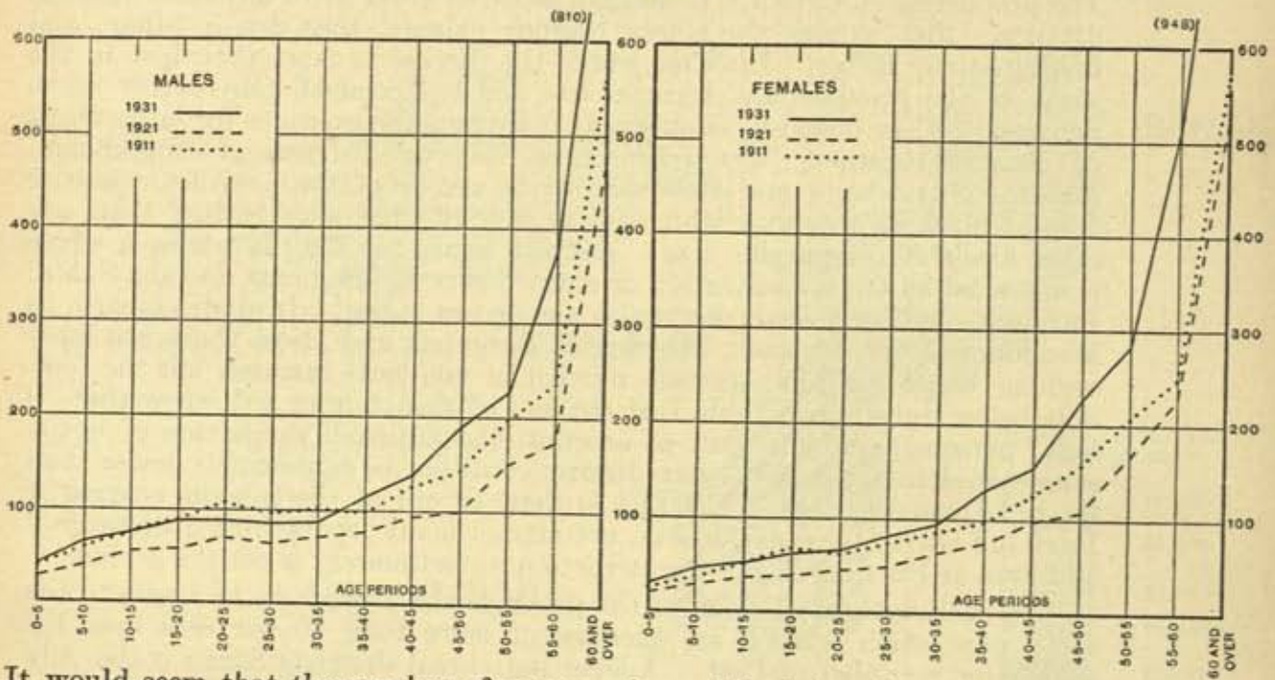
A dry, hot climate and a dusty soil are conditions favourable to the prevalence of blindness. The glaring sunshine and the dust-laden winds of the hot weather quickly cause inflammation of the eyes; this, being neglected or mishandled, will result in ulceration and permanent injury. In Bihar proper one would therefore expect to find many more blind persons than in the rest of the province. The atmosphere of Orissa is damp; and Chota Nagpur, though drier even than Bihar, has hills and forests which intercept the flying clouds of dust. In actual fact we find that, so far as *South* Bihar is concerned, our expectations are fulfilled. Blindness is, and always has been, much more common here than in either Chota Nagpur or Orissa, between which there is little of choose. But for some reason which is not clear the districts of Bihar on the north side of the river are comparatively immune. In 1921 the proportion of blind persons in these districts, while much lower than in South Bihar, was very slightly in excess of the proportions recorded in the other two natural divisions. Now, owing to a big increase in Orissa and Chota Nagpur and a comparatively small one in North Bihar, the position is reversed. It will be seen from the map in which the local distribution of blindness is illustrated that Shahabad retains the unenviable pre-eminence that it has always had among British districts, though it is outdone by the small state of Athmallik.


BLINDNESS
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 114
SARAN 78
MUZAFFARPUR 129
DARBHANGA 116
BHAGALPUR 67
PURNEA 64
PATNA 152
SHAHABAD 262
MONGHYR 102
GAYA 241
SANTAL PARGANAS 76
HAZARIBAGH 110
PALAMAU 216
MANBHUM 187
RANCHI 161
SINGHBHUM 60
SINGHBHUM 60
GANGPUR 122
BONAI 87
MAYURBHANJ 97
BAMRA 123
KEONJHAR 137
BALASORE 75
SAMBALPUR 100
RAIRAKHOL 196
SONPUR 106
ATHMALLIK 271
ANGUL 89
DHENKANAL 174
PATNA 147
BAUD 186
ANGUL 89
DASPALLA 182
CUTTACK 123
PURI 106
KALAHANDI 106
NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000
26-50
51-75
76-100
101-125
126-175
176-250
OVER 250
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (36)
B KHARSAWAN (46)
C NILGIRI (96)
D PAL-LAHARA (75)
E TALCHER (83)
F HINDOL (143)
G NARSINGHPUR (103)
H BARAMBA (154)
I TIGIRIA (157)
J ATHGARH (164)
K KHANDPARA (127)
L RANPUR (92)
M NAYAGARH (152)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

Not a single district except Saran has recorded a decline in the proportion of blind persons, and increases of over 100 per cent are recorded by Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Manbhum and Balasore. But in all these four districts the 1921 figure was quite abnormally low. The persistent re-appearance of Manbhum and Balasore in this context suggests that at the previous census the enumerators in these two districts must either have been extremely unobservant or have met with the most uncompromising refusal to answer embarrassing questions.

The distribution of blindness by age and sex may now be briefly examined with the aid of the following diagram:—

Diagram showing the number of blind per 100,000 at each age-period: 1911 to 1931.



It would seem that the number of persons born blind is relatively small. The proportion increases fairly gradually in both sexes up to the age of 45, and thereafter the upward curve is very steep—and much steeper with females than with males. For the age-period 60 and over the 1931 lines have been left in the air. It would require a diagram more than half as high again as the one above to enable the female line to terminate. Up to the age of 30 there are more blind males than blind females, but after that females predominate greatly. This is usually put down to the fact that women spend much of their lives in the smoky atmosphere of their houses, and are more reluctant to seek medical and surgical aid from the nearest dispensary when their eyes are affected.

Leprosy.

9. The actual number of persons returned as lepers in Bihar and Orissa at the present census was 22,794, which is equivalent to 54 persons in every 100,000. In 1921 the number was 12,269, or 32 in every 100,000. It so happens that on the former occasion the proportion of lepers in this province was exactly the same as in the whole of India, and Sir Leonard Rogers expressed the opinion at about that time that in actual fact there were at least five times as many lepers in India as were shown in the census returns, while Dr. E. Muir went still further and proposed to multiply the census figures by ten. The views of these eminent authorities on leprosy have since received striking confirmation from a number of surveys carried out in different parts of the country by doctors who had received special training in the diagnosis of this disease. In the year 1930 some 453 villages in Puri district, covering an area of 328 square miles, were surveyed in this manner, and 72 per cent of the villages were found to be infected. The number of cases found in this area was 1,474, or no less than 1,344 per 100,000 of the total population. Now the census returns for these particular villages cannot be separately extracted, but before the expert party started work there was a preliminary census taken by the local *chaukidars*, the results of which would probably correspond fairly closely with those recorded by the

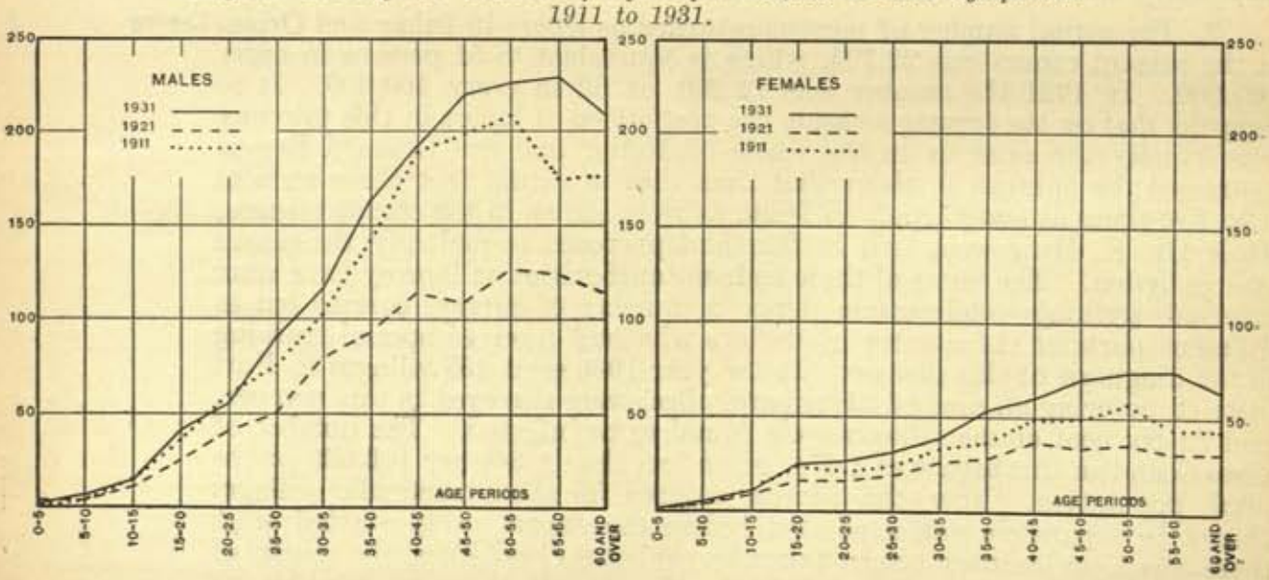
ordinary census staff. The proportion of lepers detected in these villages in the course of the *chaukidari* census was 179 per 100,000; and it is noteworthy that for the whole of Puri district the proportion recorded at the regular census in the following year was 168. In other words the experts discovered nearly eight times as many lepers as the untrained agency. The results of another survey carried out in Muzaffarpur district were very similar. Out of 652 villages surveyed, 75 per cent were found to be infected. The *chaukidars* detected 374 cases of leprosy in this area, and the doctors detected 2,455. One therefore feels a certain lack of confidence in drawing any conclusions from a detailed analysis of the census figures.

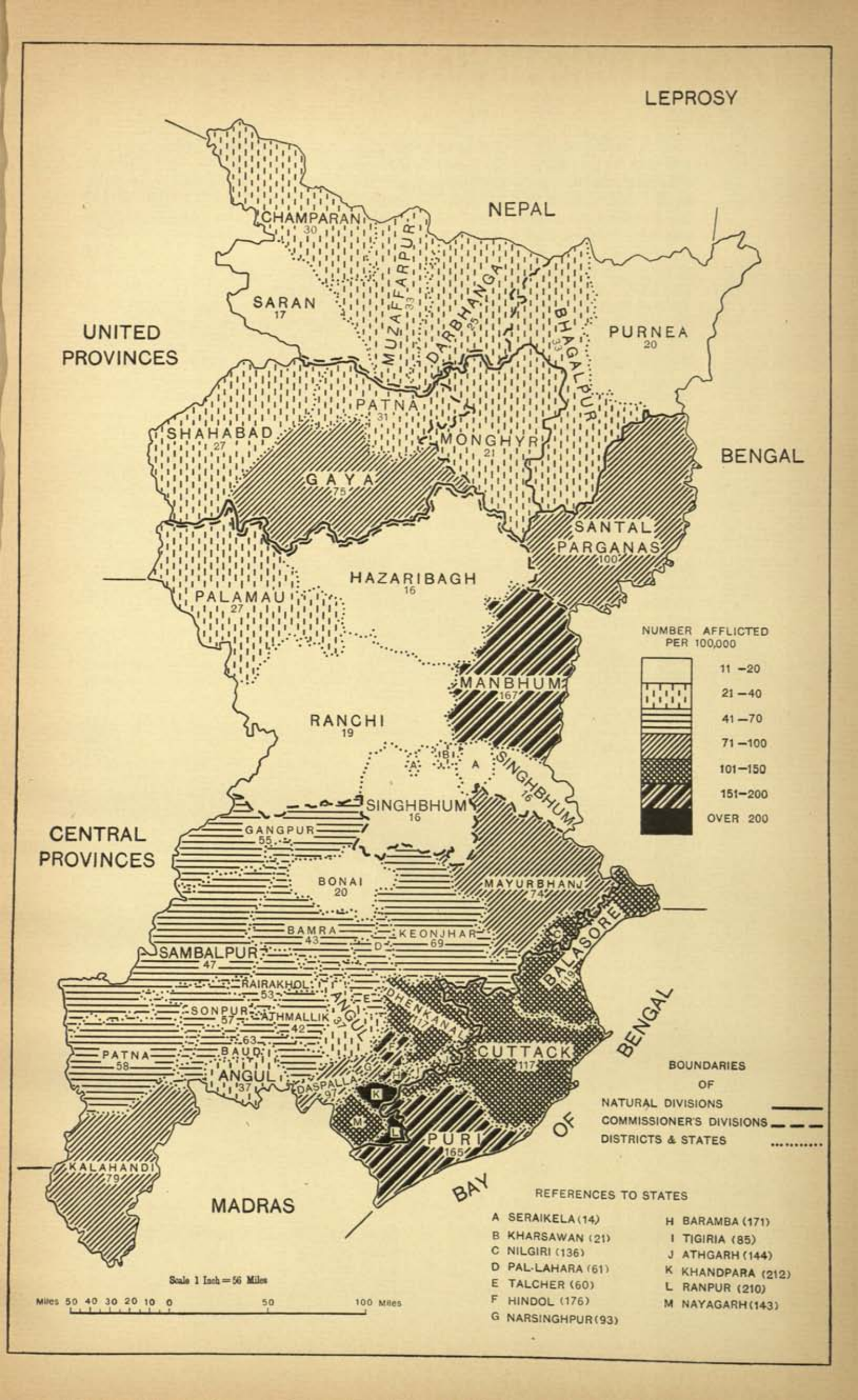
The local distribution of lepers among the various districts, as illustrated in the accompanying map, follows very much the same lines as in 1921. The proportion in Orissa is more than twice as great as in any other natural division; then comes the Chota Nagpur plateau, then South Bihar, and finally North Bihar. In other words the disease is most prevalent in the south of the province and becomes less and less common the further north one goes. This, however, is only true if we take the averages for large tracts of country together. The four Chota Nagpur districts of Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamau in the centre of the province comprise a solid block of territory which is far less afflicted with leprosy than any other block of comparable size. But the figure for the plateau as a whole is distorted by the concentration of many lepers in Manbhum and the Santal Parganas, and to a lesser degree in the Orissa states. In districts such as Manbhum, Puri, Cuttack, the Santal Parganas and Gaya there are leper asylums which contain a certain number of non-local inmates, but the footnote below Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter will show that, if such persons are left out of account, the adjusted proportion of lepers enumerated in these particular districts will not be appreciably lower than the unadjusted figures. The fact is that, except at the pilgrim centres of Puri and Gaya, these asylums do not attract many lepers from a distance—and even at Puri and Gaya the attraction unfortunately is not the asylum.

In each natural division of the province the proportion of lepers to the total population shows an increase of more than 50 per cent over the proportion recorded in 1921. Among individual districts Saran is the only one to show a decline, and the fact that the returns of deaf-mutism and blindness from this district are also much lower than before, while the increase in the case of insanity is very slight, leads one to suspect that the record of infirmities in Saran on the present occasion was not particularly successful. In Hazaribagh there has been an increase of several hundred per cent in the number of lepers, but this is only because the 1921 figure (50 persons out of $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions) was incredibly small.

The diagram below shows how great is the disparity between the number of male lepers gathered into the census net and the number of female lepers.

Diagram showing the number of lepers per 100,000 at each age-period: 1911 to 1931.




LEPROSY
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 30
SARAN 17
MUZAFFARPUR 33
DARBHANGA 25
BHAGALPUR 33
PURNEA 20
PATNA 31
SHAHABAD 27
MONGHYR 21
GAYA 75
SANTAL PARGANAS 100
HAZARIBAGH 16
PALAMAU 27
MANBHUM 167
RANCHI 19
SINGHBHUM 16
SINGHBHUM 16
GANGPUR 55
BONAI 20
MAYURBHANJ 74
BAMRA 43
KEONJHAR 69
SAMBALPUR 47
BALASORE 19
RAIRAKHOL 53
SONPUR 57
ATHMALLIK 42
DHENKANAL 17
ANGUL 37
CUTTACK 117
PATNA 58
BAUD 63
ANGUL 37
DASPALLA 97
PURI 165
KALAHANDI 79
NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000
11 –20
21 –40
41 –70
71 –100
101–150
151–200
OVER 200
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (14)
B KHARSAWAN (21)
C NILGIRI (136)
D PAL-LAHARA (61)
E TALCHER (60)
F HINDOL (176)
G NARSINGHPUR (93)
H BARAMBA (171)
I TIGIRIA (85)
J ATHGARH (144)
K KHANDPARA (212)
L RANPUR (210)
M NAYAGARH (143)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

For every 1,000 males there are only 369 females. It is doubtless a fact that men are more liable to develop this disease than women are, but the extent to which this is true bears no relation to the disproportion exhibited in the census figures, which can only be due to systematic concealment. It is noticeable that up to the age of 15 there is not much difference between the numbers afflicted in each sex. The excess of males over females then becomes progressively greater at each age-period up to 50, after which there is a slight reaction. In both sexes the prevalence of leprosy among infants and young children is extremely low; and, although suppression of the facts must again be taken into account here, it is probable that the number of congenital victims is not large. Among males the proportion of lepers at different ages ranges from 2 per 100,000 in the first five years of life to 229 per 100,000 at the period 55—60. Persons suffering from leprosy do not survive very long as a rule, and the fact that the proportion is so high in the advanced age-periods suggests that this disease is frequently developed quite late in life. It will be remarked that at the previous censuses the downward curve of the line for both sexes began after the age-period 50—55, but on this occasion it does not start to fall until five years later; the decline then, however, is pronounced. Another point of interest that emerges from the diagram is that, among males, there is no very marked difference between the number of lepers recorded in 1911 and in 1931 until the age of 45 is reached; among females, however, the two lines begin to diverge noticeably from the age of 20.

Some allusion had already been made to the leper asylums of the province. They are eight in number; or, more correctly, there are six asylums and two colonies. The places where they are located and the number of inmates enumerated in each on the night of the census are shown in the marginal statement. Of the lepers enumerated in British territory, about 8.4 per cent were accommodated in one or other of these institutions; but this probably means that, of the *true* number of lepers, only one in a hundred are accounted for in this way. The leper colony at Saldaha in the Santal Parganas has been started during the last decade. Like the large asylum at Purulia, it owes its existence to the enterprise of missions, and it is worthy of note that in these mission asylums there is a very high proportion of female patients. Apart from the asylums and colonies, there were at the close of the decade 28 leprosy clinics in the province, which provided treatment for out-patients only. Leaving on one side those cases in which treatment was started and then discontinued (and their number is very considerable), as many as 5,960 lepers in the province received *regular* treatment during 1930 either as in-patients or as out-patients.

	Persons.	*Males.*	*Females.*
Muzaffarpur ...	48	42	6
Bhagalpur ...	138	110	28
Gaya	231	162	69
Purulia	699	361	338
Deoghar (S. P.) ...	60	43	17
Saldaha (S. P.) ...	271	155	116
Cuttack ...	108	72	36
Puri	60	45	15
Total ..	**1,615**	**990**	**625**

I.—Number afflicted per 100,000 of the total population (five censuses).

District and Natural Division.	Insane.										Deaf-mutes.									
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***28***	***14***	***16***	***17***	***20***	***15***	***7***	***8***	***9***	***10***	***77***	***66***	***90***	***95***	***139***	***49***	***40***	***55***	***56***	***78***
North Bihar	***19***	***12***	***12***	***13***	***19***	***10***	***6***	***6***	***6***	***8***	***98***	***107***	***132***	***150***	***210***	***61***	***66***	***80***	***85***	***116***
Saran	18	16	16	16	22	7	7	7	8	7	59	105	127	135	195	33	65	70	67	129
Champaran	18	24	9	9	21	9	14	4	6	7	188	230	208	275	434	125	155	130	173	235
Muzaffarpur	20	8	9	10	15	10	3	3	3	6	118	130	144	145	156	63	74	81	78	77
Darbhanga	25	12	11	9	12	11	5	5	5	5	98	83	121	117	155	61	50	70	62	70
Bhagalpur	11	8	10	13	16	6	2	6	7	6	42	31	66	127	180	28	18	43	73	99
Purnea	20	9	18	25	29	16	6	13	13	20	86	64	139	130	189	64	44	95	84	130
South Bihar	***20***	***17***	***20***	***17***	***21***	***14***	***7***	***9***	***8***	***9***	***52***	***41***	***67***	***63***	***91***	***33***	***24***	***40***	***35***	***50***
Patna	25	26	38	38	40	10	12	14	12	12	41	39	64	61	62	28	33	42	34	37
Gaya	17	11	13	12	18	19	6	9	6	8	65	37	57	49	104	41	22	37	26	56
Shahabad	28	15	16	12	28	19	10	7	5	8	69	51	59	54	136	39	26	30	27	43
Monghyr	13	8	17	13	14	9	3	7	7	9	33	36	86	88	110	25	24	48	51	65
Orissa	***43***	***22***	***24***	***27***	***27***	***21***	***8***	***10***	***12***	***12***	***76***	***40***	***72***	***64***	***116***	***36***	***17***	***33***	***29***	***59***
Cuttack	44	25	23	27	23	22	9	10	12	9	57	32	87	59	115	26	15	39	29	62
Balasore	38	11	23	24	24	22	5	11	13	10	153	17	65	86	109	76	6	30	38	57
Puri	43	26	27	28	41	20	7	8	14	19	41	78	51	50	124	19	34	23	21	53
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***38***	***11***	***15***	***18***	***17***	***18***	***7***	***9***	***11***	***11***	***69***	***43***	***63***	***60***	***65***	***48***	***29***	***44***	***43***	***40***
Hazaribagh	19	26	11	13	12	12	2	8	8	6	86	29	62	54	73	55	18	35	40	46
Ranchi	179(a)	26	20	21	25	62(a)	19	14	17	16	89	46	55	60	77	70	36	47	55	51
Palamau	24	17	10	12		16	10	5	13		57	56	49	63		43	45	41	50	
Manbhum	30	7	19	24	27	19	6	13	14	16	106	42	86	83	90	71	26	60	48	53
Singhbhum	12	8	14	19	17	9	4	11	16	24	20	44	82	66	85	14	31	59	52	60
Santal Parganas	19	7	14	17	12	11	5	7	11	8	63	28	72	82	49	44	18	50	59	28
Angul	9	8	4	16	23	3	5	3	3	8	58	65	69	66	101	41	33	40	49	44
Sambalpur	17	15	19	16	...	10	7	8	6	...	33	76	63	57	...	23	54	50	41	...
Orissa States ...	21	10	15	18	...	13	6	7	9	...	65	43	51	40	...	45	27	33	26	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	15	4	8	10	...	6	9	3	7	...	13	47	45	63	...	7	26	35	36	...

(a) If those inmates of the Mental Hospitals at Ranchi who were born outside the district be left out of account, the figures for 1931 would be :— *Males*, 43; *Females*, 25.

District and Natural Division.	Blind.										Lepers.									
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
1	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
BIHAR AND ORISSA— concluded.	***121***	***82***	***111***	***112***	***122***	***131***	***82***	***104***	***104***	***123***	***79***	***48***	***71***	***76***	***82***	***29***	***17***	***23***	***24***	***26***
North Bihar	***98***	***76***	***102***	***105***	***121***	***94***	***72***	***84***	***86***	***112***	***46***	***27***	***48***	***47***	***65***	***7***	***6***	***9***	***10***	***12***
Saran	80	96	132	127	178	73	91	103	100	148	30	37	64	49	85	4	6	9	7	10
Champaran	110	95	83	94	114	117	92	78	86	103	52	31	37	33	53	8	6	5	4	10
Muzaffarpur	128	80	92	102	105	116	64	69	68	97	62(b)	26	43	47	52	6(b)	4	4	10	5
Darbhanga	121	89	118	101	98	112	84	91	81	83	44	25	40	33	41	6	6	6	4	7
Bhagalpur	66	40	91	112	137	68	48	77	96	128	52	27	50	56	70	12	8	17	16	22
Purnea	69	51	88	93	93	59	45	84	85	115	31	20	53	70	94	8	7	17	21	28
South Bihar	***177***	***116***	***171***	***162***	***170***	***201***	***126***	***162***	***151***	***175***	***66***	***40***	***74***	***77***	***95***	***14***	***9***	***13***	***12***	***20***
Patna	134	117	186	187	173	171	122	172	194	181	54	34	64	77	69	7	6	11	9	10
Gaya	226	122	163	145	152	257	137	159	138	161	120(b)	71	105	102	127	30(b)	16	19	16	27
Shahabad	242	155	193	181	339	282	190	187	152	198	47	28	52	57	130	8	7	8	9	13
Monghyr	107	64	144	141	161	97	59	138	130	159	35	23	68	73	103	7	7	12	13	27
Orissa	***117***	***71***	***92***	***82***	***89***	***99***	***53***	***69***	***63***	***93***	***200***	***129***	***159***	***170***	***168***	***65***	***35***	***48***	***49***	***59***
Cuttack	133	84	107	97	89	113	59	80	73	95	184(b)	132	148	153	128	57(b)	33	43	44	48
Balasore	79	36	63	45	62	72	34	56	44	60	182	103	159	187	185	60	27	45	53	59
Puri	120	81	94	89	117	93	60	61	63	119	250(b)	148	180	185	229	86(b)	47	60	58	82
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***113***	***70***	***91***	***97***	***88***	***138***	***78***	***102***	***109***	***101***	***88***	***50***	***66***	***75***	***51***	***50***	***30***	***37***	***40***	***41***
Hazaribagh	104	43	100	94	85	116	49	93	90	100	22	4	16	15	20	10	3	7	9	13
Ranchi	143	86	100	122	148	176	97	109	141	148	23	10	13	35	37	12	5	10	13	20
Palamau	198	138	95	140		234	158	115	145		31	18	13	23		22	16	14	18	
Manbhum	155	70	150	148	145	223	80	212	205	190	200(b)	101	158	183	107	133(b)	85	106	120	139
Singhbhum	59	29	55	67	74	60	40	63	81	89	19	10	30	47	48	14	6	17	32	24
Santal Parganas	68	54	88	105	42	85	60	97	123	43	131(b)	87	100	123	57	70(b)	41	47	50	25
Angul	93	92	96	96	123	83	86	90	95	137	55	50	84	77	73	19	16	35	39	38
Sambalpur	83	74	83	79	...	117	100	113	84	...	59	48	60	37	...	35	25	34	29	...
Orissa States	113	74	69	65	...	194	76	67	65	...	101	58	64	64	...	53	30	36	32	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	28	42	39	80	...	48	60	37	67	...	19	1	12	23	...	13	8	3	17	...

(b) If inmates of leper asylums and colonies, born outside the district in which they were enumerated, be left out of account, the 1931 figures would be modified as follows :—

	Males.	*Females.*
Muzaffarpur	60	5
Gaya	112	25
Cuttack	181	56
Puri	242	83
Manbhum	193	130
Santal Parganas	123	65

II.—(*a*) Number afflicted per 100,000 / (*b*) Females afflicted per 1,000 males — at certain age-periods.

Age.	Number afflicted per 100,000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		*Deaf-mute.*		*Blind.*		*Lepers.*					
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL AGES ...	***28***	***15***	***77***	***49***	***121***	***131***	***79***	***29***	***533***	***640***	***1,090***	***369***
0—5	2	1	34	27	41	29	2	2	588	831	739	912
5—10	8	5	77	51	65	44	7	5	546	612	632	668
10—15	13	8	91	61	75	51	14	11	560	606	602	678
15—20	24	13	102	62	87	61	42	25	572	637	730	633
20—25	27	14	100	54	89	65	56	26	567	594	795	506
25—30	39	18	86	49	85	81	90	31	491	594	994	356
30—35	46	21	77	49	87	94	116	38	458	648	1,097	329
35—40	53	26	73	47	113	130	163	53	492	644	1,151	331
40—45	56	27	75	46	136	154	192	60	481	603	1,122	311
45—50	54	30	69	46	189	228	219	70	528	632	1,150	304
50—55	53	33	65	45	226	283	226	73	596	685	1,229	317
55—60	45	30	73	50	375	505	229	74	745	706	1,511	363
60 and over ...	56	28	100	57	810	948	208	63	620	711	1,456	380

III.—Distribution by age of 10,000 infirm persons of each sex (three censuses).

Age.	Insane.						Deaf-mute.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL AGES ...	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***
0—5	115	164	80	127	218	90	658	341	449	855	473	558
5—10	407	635	437	417	511	483	1,406	1,258	1,558	1,346	1,365	1,572
10—15	554	581	754	582	766	863	1,449	1,492	1,642	1,373	1,405	1,596
15—20	708	678	807	760	796	882	1,112	1,095	1,272	1,107	1,017	1,354
20—25	833	823	937	888	1,021	1,017	1,110	955	1,121	1,030	859	1,151
25—30	1,308	1,134	1,247	1,114	961	979	972	995	1,160	903	857	1,036
30—35	1,332	1,407	1,584	1,145	1,051	1,053	803	895	909	814	873	800
35—40	1,223	1,033	1,120	1,129	991	853	609	694	553	613	574	487
40—45	1,110	1,049	1,010	1,002	1,006	1,017	539	632	403	508	596	483
45—50	822	749	657	815	608	580	389	429	268	385	400	264
50—55	634	671	523	710	578	747	285	363	228	305	391	290
55—60	354	312	257	406	480	309	209	195	109	251	188	118
60 and over ...	700	704	597	815	1,013	1,114	459	657	262	510	1,002	391

Age.	Blind.						Lepers.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
ALL AGES ...	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***	***10,000***
0—5	506	401	479	343	288	331	41	95	27	101	138	93
5—10	761	805	862	434	531	521	129	132	80	233	264	200
10—15	760	869	842	420	456	483	218	316	243	400	566	477
15—20	600	616	636	402	377	483	446	452	411	753	707	775
20—25	627	611	696	457	440	497	605	608	613	830	740	784
25—30	609	648	764	555	534	639	984	894	929	948	965	959
30—35	579	696	755	583	655	688	1,175	1,325	1,197	1,048	1,270	1,208
35—40	598	636	570	632	577	567	1,329	1,297	1,279	1,155	1,072	981
40—45	619	680	649	638	739	709	1,343	1,430	1,530	1,131	1,321	1,252
45—50	672	510	472	709	497	541	1,194	947	1,039	983	761	762
50—55	629	717	683	709	809	811	966	1,030	1,123	830	821	1,019
55—60	683	369	367	948	502	442	641	452	437	630	332	355
60 and over ...	2,357	2,441	2,225	3,170	3,606	3,288	930	1,022	1,102	958	1,043	1,135

CHAPTER VIII.—Occupation.

SECTION I.—General Survey.

Reference to statistics.

The main statistics of occupation are contained in Imperial Table X, which consists of two parts. Part I shows the total number of persons in the province following each occupation, the figures for British territory and Feudatory States being given separately. Part II gives similar information in detail for individual districts, states and cities, but does not include occupations which are numerically unimportant. Despite such omissions, the second part of the table runs to nearly 800 columns and covers 33 pages of closely printed matter. Imperial Table XI deals with the occupations of selected castes. These are the only two occupational tables which have been compiled at the present census. In 1921 there were further tables showing occupations by religion, the subsidiary occupations of agriculturists, and so forth—not to mention a long and complicated table setting forth the results of a special industrial census. Considerations of economy were responsible for the omission to tabulate corresponding figures on this occasion.

At the end of this chapter the following subsidiary tables will be found :—

I.—General distribution by occupation.

II.—Distribution by occupational sub-classes in natural divisions and districts.

III.—Occupations of females.

IV.—Selected occupations, 1931 and 1921.

V.—Number of persons employed on railways and in the postal and irrigation departments.

VI.—Occupations of selected castes.

VII.—Unemployment of educated persons.

Nature of the enquiry.

2. The nature of the enquiry into occupation has varied considerably from census to census. In 1881 nothing was recorded save the occupation of actual workers. Ten years later it was decided to record the means of subsistence rather than occupation, and workers and dependants were included without distinction. In 1901 the two methods were combined; workers were distinguished from dependants, and in the case of the latter the principal occupation of the person by whom they were supported was entered in the schedule. This practice was maintained without substantial change at the censuses of 1911 and 1921. But on the present occasion there has once more been an important modification, involving to some extent a reversion to the original procedure of 1881. No attempt has been made to record the means of subsistence of the non-working population. Workers, however, have been divided into two categories, (1) *earners*, and (2) *working dependants*, the significance of which terms will presently be discussed. The change thus introduced has one obvious advantage, in that it greatly reduces the labour of sorting and classifying the returns. All entries relating to non-working dependants, who number more than half the total population, are simply put on one side and call for no further scrutiny. On the other hand, it is no longer possible to say exactly how many persons derive their support, or means of subsistence, from any particular occupation. As will be seen later, however, there is no great difficulty about arriving at an

approximate estimate in such cases, and for practical purposes this estimate is likely to be almost, if not quite, as reliable as the supposedly exact figures previously exhibited. It was observed in the last all-India census report that, while it is undoubtedly desirable to know how many workers and how many non-workers there are in the population as a whole, the value of this information when taken out into particular occupations is more doubtful. Where two or more male members of a family follow different pursuits, difficulty must always arise in deciding what is the means of subsistence of the women and children, and the same difficulty is present when the family contains only one earner whose income is derived from more than one source. Again, a boy who earns a few annas monthly as a cowherd is not shown as being dependant on his father's occupation at all, whereas a woman who labours most of the day over domestic duties will be shown as deriving her means of subsistence from coal-mining, public administration, or whatever her husband's work may be. Professions peculiar to men will ordinarily support a much larger number of persons than professions in which women and children engage, for the latter are seldom credited with supporting anybody but themselves.

Four columns in the census schedules were set aside for the return of occupation. In *column 9* every person was described as either an " earner " or a " dependant ". An earner was defined as one who " helps to augment the family's income by permanent and regular work for which a return is obtained in cash or in kind ". Thus it was laid down by way of illustration that a woman who looks after the house and cooks the food is not an earner but a dependant; but one who habitually collects and sells firewood or cow-dung is thereby adding to the family income and should be shown as an earner. A boy who helps his father in the fields or tends his father's cattle is a dependant; but one who receives wages, in money or otherwise, for looking after somebody else's cattle is entitled to regard himself as an earner. Boys at school or college are dependants unless they are in receipt of a scholarship or stipend. On the other hand, pensioners and persons in receipt of unearned increment, house-rent, etc., are classed as earners. In *column 10* the principal occupation of earners had to be entered, and in *column 11* their subsidiary occupation, if any. The latter column was also charged with the function of recording the occupation of working dependants. A working dependant is one who " assists in the work of the family and contributes to its support without actually earning wages ". Only the most important occupation of such a person was to be entered in the schedule. *Column 12* was designed to secure a return of persons employed in " organized industries ", but the information collected in this column was not actually tabulated. A further reference will be made to this matter later.

Difficulties of the occupational census.

3. It is agreed without a single dissentient voice that the occupational returns were more complicated, and gave infinitely more trouble, than any other part of the operations. Apart from the infirmity statistics, which are to a large extent vitiated by deliberate concealment and mis-statement, it is probable that the statistics of occupation are less accurate than any others. Previous census reports have borne testimony to the difficulties encountered in resolving subtle distinctions between workers and dependants; still more complicated was the present task of drawing the line (or lines) between earners, working dependants and non-working dependants. At what stage does the average boy or girl in a cultivator's household begin to " contribute to the support of the family "? As a rough and ready means of cutting this particular knot, it was ruled that after the age of ten, if they actually did any kind of work in the fields, etc., they should be regarded as rendering material assistance towards the family's upkeep. As regards women, the position was still more obscure. It was at first prescribed that a woman who keeps house for her husband is a working dependant, and an entry of " house-keeping " should be made in column 11 for all such persons. But as there are few wives (or, for that matter, daughters either) who do not employ themselves in this way, there was found to be little variety in the returns of female occupation, and it was apprehended that information of real interest and value in regard to other work performed by women during the intervals

in their domestic duties would be crowded out of the schedules. "House-keeping" was therefore barred altogether—with the result that the number of working dependants underwent a sudden slump and the great majority of women were included among those who had no occupation at all. The joint family system was another fertile source of perplexity in classifying the working and non-working population.

The instructions issued to the enumeration staff laid stress on the importance of describing each occupation precisely, and of avoiding such vague and indefinite terms as *naukari*, *majduri*, *kirani*, *dukandari* and the like. In the case of service, for example, it was necessary not only to distinguish between Government service, service in a shop, etc., but also to particularize the Government department, the shop-keeper's business, and so on. Agriculturists had to be returned specifically as non-cultivating owners, cultivating owners, cultivating tenants or field labourers. It cannot be said that these and similar instructions were always carried out. Under the head "insufficiently described occupations" no less than 1,174,390 persons (mostly labourers) have been brought to account. So long as the task of filling in the schedules is entrusted to the present agency and their work is not supervised by a responsible, paid staff in far greater detail than is possible under the present system, it is doubtful whether much improvement can be looked for in this matter.

But it would be unfair to lay at the door of the humble enumerator all the defects and inaccuracies which characterize the occupation tables. After the columns in the schedule had been filled up, the difficulties were scarcely half over. The next stage was the copying out on to separate "slips" of the entries relating to each individual, and the copyist, whose pay depended on the number of slips he could turn out daily, was not likely to appreciate lengthy and involved entries relating to occupation. It required close supervision to ensure that these entries were not curtailed or mutilated in the course of transcription. Then came the sorting of the slips, a complicated and difficult process as far as the occupation tables were concerned, and one in which the system of piece-rate remuneration was once more conducive to impetuosity rather than discriminating care. Finally came the classification of the entries under their appropriate heads, and the task of posting and compiling the results in voluminous intermediate registers before they were ready to issue in their final form in Imperial Table X.

Scheme of occupations.

4. The scheme of classification adopted on the present occasion differs but little from that used at the last census. In 1881 the English scheme had been taken over with a few minor modifications, but it proved unsuitable to Indian conditions, and an entirely new scheme was devised and substituted in 1891, which included in all 478 groups. This scheme was overhauled and amplified in 1901, with the result that the number of groups rose to 520. Experience, however, showed that such an elaborate classification was not really required by Indian conditions, and was moreover apt to be misleading. Accordingly, a complete revision took place in 1911, and a practically new scheme based on a system devised by Dr. Jacques Bertillon and approved by the International Statistical Institute was introduced, consisting of four classes, twelve sub-classes, fifty-five orders and 169 groups. With minor variations this scheme, although it has been subjected to a considerable amount of criticism, has held the field since. The number of groups, however, now stands at 195. At the end of this chapter the complete scheme is reproduced.

Principles of classification.

5. To assist in the correct classification of the various entries made in the schedules, an elaborate alphabetical index of occupations was prepared and circulated by the Census Commissioner. This list was in English, but supplementary lists of transliterated vernacular words were also compiled in the provincial office, and these included local terms which were not likely to find place in the all-India index. A brief explanation may be given here of the general principles on which occupations were classified. The work on which a person is engaged may usually be regarded from two points of view,

the personal and the economic. Thus, a clerk may be employed in a Government office or in a landlord's *cutchery* or in a goods shed at a railway station or in a hundred other different kinds of office. His personal occupation is in every case that of a clerk, and for certain purposes that is the important fact; from the point of view of public health, for instance, or for calculating a man's expectation of life his personal occupation is of greater importance than the nature of the office or business in which he works. But, where the object is to obtain a general synopsis of the economic distribution of the population or to ascertain the number of persons dependant on a particular industry, it is the nature of the office or business that primarily matters; the clerks in the office of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur are supported by the iron and steel industry no less than the furnace helpers or the general manager. The entries in columns 10 and 11 were supposed to indicate both personal occupation and industry, but in classification the latter was followed as far as possible: clerks, contractors, coolies, mechanics, managers and so forth were allocated to their proper industries, and order 53 (general terms which do not indicate a definite occupation) was called into use only when the entry in the schedule was too vague to admit of such allocation. The following note explains the other main principles of classification:—

(1) Where a person both makes and sells, he is classified under the manufacturing or industrial head, the commercial one being reserved for trade pure and simple. On the same principle, where a person extracts some substance (such as saltpetre) from the ground and also refines it, he is shown under the mining and not under the industrial head.

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided into two main categories:—

(*a*) those where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and

(*b*) those where it is classified according to the use it serves.

Ordinarily, the first category is reserved for the manufacture or sale of articles the use of which is not finally determined, but it also includes that of specified articles for which there is no appropriate head in the second category. Thus, while shoe-making (group 82) is classed with other industries of dress and toilet, the manufacture of certain leather articles such as water-bags, saddlery, etc., would fall within group 51, " working in leather ".

(3) As a general rule, wherever a man's personal occupation is one which involves special training, e.g. that of a doctor, engineer, surveyor, etc., he is classed under the head reserved for that occupation. Thus a railway doctor is shown as a doctor and not as a railway employee. Only those Government servants are shown in group 159 (service of the State) who are engaged in general administration. Officers of the medical, irrigation, forest, post office and other similar services are classed under the special heads provided for these occupations.

Abortive census of organized industries.

6. In 1901 an attempt had been made, on the basis of the entries in the schedules, to distinguish between workers in factories and those engaged in hand industries. The attempt was unsuccessful, but at the following census a separate return was prescribed for factories, mines, tea-gardens and other similar concerns employing not less than 20 persons, and in 1921 this return was amplified in various particulars and extended to all establishments " wherein or within the precincts of which ten or more persons are employed on separate remuneration in any process for making, repairing, ornamenting, finishing or otherwise adapting for use, for transport or for sale any article or part of an article ". Industries which were "carried on by members of a household in their joint interest with less than ten hired labourers " were excluded from the enquiry. On all industrial establishments covered by this definition two forms were served, containing various questions relative to the nature of the business, the

ownership, the supervising, technical and clerical staff, the labour force (both skilled and unskilled), the number and nature of the power-engines in use, etc. etc. These forms were filled up by the agents or managers and thereafter returned to the census office, the information thus obtained being exhibited in Imperial Table XXII of the 1921 report. On the present occasion no separate form was prescribed, but, as previously mentioned, an extra column was inserted in the general schedule. The instructions were that an entry was to be made in this column for all persons who "are employed by other persons or by a company or firm and who are paid wages for the work they do and who work in company with others similarly paid". Thus, for a carpenter employed by a furniture manufactory an entry of "furniture-making" was required in this column, while it would remain blank in the case of a jobbing carpenter working for his own benefit. Agricultural labourers were only to be entered therein when they were employed "in some special branch of agriculture such as dairy-farming, or by some person or company practising agriculture on a very large scale". No minimum number of employees was prescribed, and it was even held that three persons—an owner or manager and two paid workers—might be sufficient to constitute an "organized industry" for the purpose of this enquiry. It proved to be quite impossible to explain to the ordinary enumerator how to deal with column 12. Many questions were posed which the District Census Officers (and, it may be added, the Provincial Superintendent) found it impossible to answer satisfactorily, but apart from such border-line cases the general idea was never properly grasped. One village wit provided a little welcome relief by entering "sleep" as the industry in which an infant aged a few months was engaged, but there were few other redeeming factors about this particular enquiry. From its very nature it would not of course have been possible to specify the number or size of the various industrial establishments, but the form below will indicate the nature of the information which it was hoped to obtain.

Industry.	Total population engaged.			Directional, supervising and clerical staff.							Welfare doctors, compounders, school masters.		Operatives.			
				Managers.		*Supervising and technical.*		*Clerical.*					*Adult*		*Immature.*	
								Indian.	Other.							
	P.	M.	F.	Indian.	Other.	Indian.	Other.		M.	F.	Indian.	Other.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	17

In the end this particular table was one of those abandoned at the dictates of financial stringency. So far as this province is concerned, I am convinced that the tabulation of the results would in any case have been devoid of any value. As it was, the insertion of this column merely served to vitiate the ordinary returns of occupation. Columns 10 and 11 of the general schedule, which should each have been self-contained, had to be read in conjunction with column 12 before they were intelligible, and this rendered the task of the sorters much more complicated. Moreover, in the case of a person who had two occupations, it was sometimes impossible to say whether the separate "industrial" entry had reference to the principal occupation or the subsidiary one. Certain doubts were expressed in 1921 whether the procedure of carrying out a special industrial census in conjunction with the general operations was altogether satisfactory. Those doubts may or may not have been well-founded, but I think it may safely be asserted that under present conditions the general schedule will never be used successfully as a medium for obtaining the highly specialized information which such an enquiry demands.

Subsidiary occupations.

7. It has been explained that, where an earner has more than one means of livelihood, his subsidiary occupation is recorded in a separate column of the schedule; should he have two or more subsidiary occupations,

the most important only is recorded. No high standard of accuracy is claimed for the entries in this column. For one thing, a blank entry may mean either that the person concerned has only one means of livelihood or that the enumerator has not bothered to enquire about a second, and a supervising officer can seldom find out which of these alternatives is true. Even when the enumerator is not guilty of actual slackness, he may often be genuinely puzzled to decide whether some minor avocation, which perhaps serves to eke out the principal business in which a man is engaged, is sufficiently productive to be regarded as a census occupation; still more puzzling it sometimes is to decide which of two or three subsidiary occupations is the most important. Nevertheless, for what they are worth, complete statistics have been shown in Table X of persons following each occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood, so that it is now possible to state the total number of persons engaged in any particular occupation, whether as earners (principal or subsidiary) or as working dependants. This represents a departure from the procedure followed in 1921, when figures were not tabulated for the subsidiary occupations of workers except in cases where agriculture was one of the two pursuits followed.

The total number of persons returned at the present census as having a subsidiary occupation was 1,829,465. This is to say that one earner out of nine has a second string to his bow. It is probable that the proportion is really higher than this. In 1921 there were as many as 2,481,500 workers who combined agriculture with some other pursuit, apart from dual occupations in which agriculture did not figure at all. In the vast majority of cases, where there are two means of livelihood, agriculture will be one of them; but there are various other combinations which by nature and custom have come to be a special feature of Indian mufassil life, such as money-lending and grain-dealing, fishing and boat-keeping, sheep-breeding and blanket-weaving, cattle-breeding and dairy-farming.

Another point worthy of notice in this connexion is the difficulty experienced in deciding which of two occupations should be recorded as the principal one and which the subsidiary. The instructions issued were that a man's principal occupation is " that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income ". In actual practice, however, it is not to be supposed that there was any very careful scrutiny of domestic accounts (where such things existed) to decide the superior claim of two rival occupations. The more general rule was to be guided by the nature of the occupations rather than by their productivity, and precedence was given to the one which was more dignified. The notorious eagerness of the average Indian to be associated in some way with the soil led in many cases to the automatic return of agriculture as the principal occupation. Thus, in 1921, out of the 2,481,500 workers who were recorded as being partially agriculturists, cultivation was shown as the principal occupation of 2,161,500 and as the subsidiary occupation of only 320,000. The ratio, be it noted, is nearly 7 to 1, which is considerably higher than that of agriculturists pure and simple to the rest of the population. At the present census the tendency just remarked seems to have been much less general In spite of a large fall in the total number of dual occupations, agriculture was returned as the *subsidiary* means of livelihood of 721,617 persons, or more than double the number recorded ten years ago. Particulars of the cases in which agriculture was returned as the *principal* of two occupations are not available, but, allowing for combinations in which it does not figure at all, the total number cannot have been much in excess of 750,000. None the less it is important to bear this factor in mind when considering the proportion of the working (or total) population which is dependant for its support on industry, trade, public administration and the like. In analysing the figures for this purpose, it is customary to leave subsidiary occupations out of account and to base the calculations entirely on the principal means of livelihood, but it will appear later on that such calculations are apt to be misleading.

Working and non-working population.

8. The following statement shows the distribution of the working and non-working population at each of the last two censuses :—

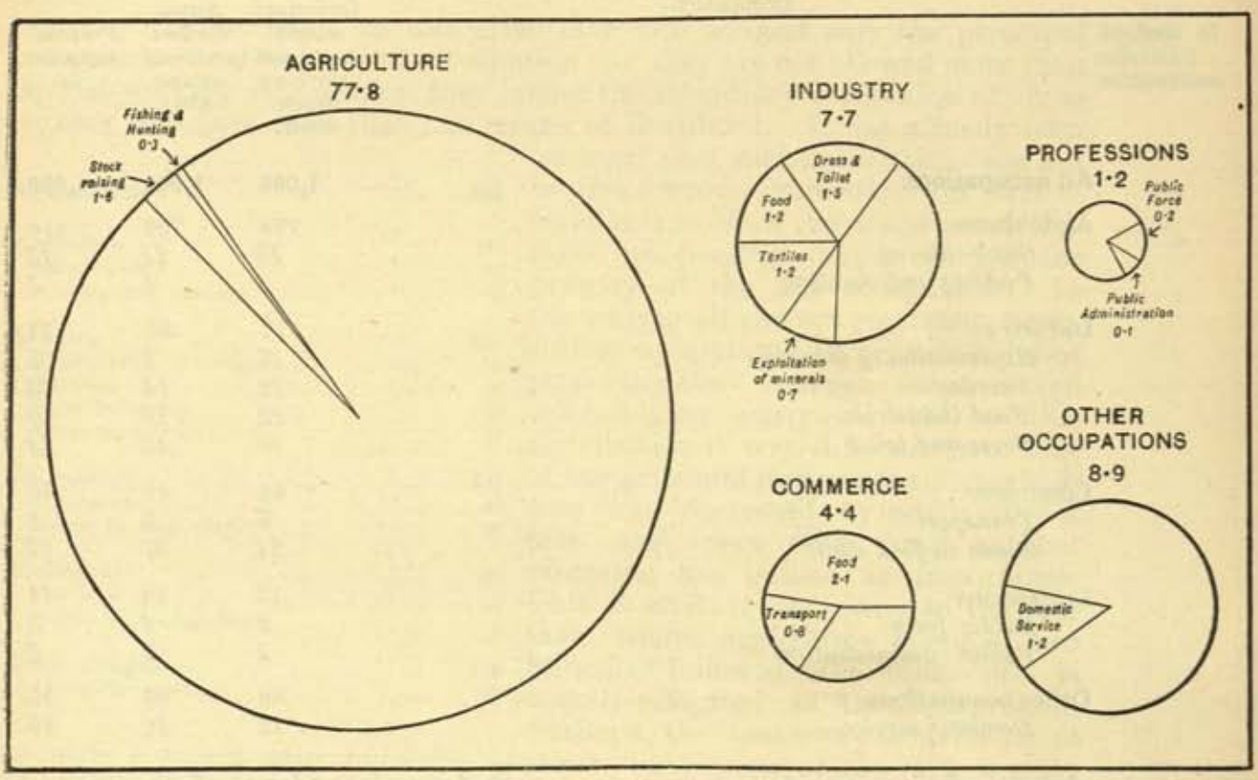
	Persons.		Males		Females.	
	Actual number.	No. per mille.	Actual number.	No. per mille.	Actual number.	No. per mille.
1931.						
Total population ...	**42,329,583**	**1,000**	**21,082,560**	**1,000**	**21,247,023**	**1,000**
Earners	16,911,148	399	11,933,820	566	4,977,328	234
Working dependants ...	699,023	17	305,133	14	393,890	19
Non-working dependants ...	24,719,412	584	8,843,607	420	15,875,805	747
1921.						
Total population ...	**37,961,858**	**1,000**	**18,710,052**	**1,000**	**19,251,806**	**1,000**
Actual workers	18,756,913	494	12,007,073	642	6,749,840	351
Dependants	19,204,945	506	6,702,979	358	12,501,966	649

If the earners *plus* working dependants of 1931 are taken to correspond roughly to the actual workers of 1921, it will be seen that there has been a heavy fall in the ranks of the workers, who now represent only 416 per mille of the total population as against 494 per mille formerly. The fall has been much more marked among females than among males. It is common to almost every important group of occupations. No economic explanation can be offered, and it is almost certain that the true reason consists in the fresh instructions issued for the classification of " earners ", " working dependants " and so on. The tests laid down to enable a person to qualify for one or other of these categories are undoubtedly capable of being more stringently applied than those formerly in force for actual workers, and their complexity would also tend to the relegation of many border-line cases to the company of non-workers, for in cases of doubt one naturally inclines towards a negative solution as affording the easiest way out of the difficulty. So far as females are concerned, there is no doubt that, when it was decided to eliminate " house-keeping " as a census occupation, the number of workers was reduced by a stroke of the pen to less than half what it would otherwise have been. It may be of interest to note here that in other parts of India there has been a similar decline, though less pronounced, in the proportion of the working population—from 460 to 438 per mille. Ten years ago Bihar and Orissa was distinctly above the average as regards the number of its workers; now it is somewhat below.

In this connexion it is relevant to call to mind that the number of persons in this province aged 15—50, which is roughly the working period of life in the Indian population, is 502 per mille, being 497 for males and 507 for females. Judged by this criterion, it would even now appear, not only that there must be singularly few " drones " among the men who are of an age to work, but that there must also be a very considerable number of boys and elderly men bringing grist to the mill. It may be remarked that in Orissa, with its enervating climate, the proportion of workers (376 per mille) is lower than in any other natural division; in South Bihar (452 per mille) it is highest. Extremes meet on the Chota Nagpur plateau, which contains the only two districts in the province (Angul and the Santal Parganas) where the workers comprise more than 50 per cent of the total population, and at the same time in Ranchi and Singhbhum it is distinguished by the only two districts in which the proportion falls below 35 per cent.

9. The general distribution by occupations of the working population of the province is illustrated in the following diagram:— **General distribution by occupations.**

Diagram showing the proportional distribution of the working population of the province between the main occupations.



For the purpose of the above diagram the 12 occupational sub-classes have been grouped together under 5 main heads in the manner indicated in the margin. Thus *Agriculture* comprises not only ordinary cultivation, but the cultivation of special crops, fruit, lac, silkworms, etc.; also stock-raising, forestry, fishing and hunting. *Industry* covers the extraction of raw minerals from the ground as well as the industrial occupations included in sub-class III. Transport and trade have been bracketted together under the head *Commerce*; while Government servants, other than those who by reason of the special character of their work are allocated to different heads, are here shown under *Professions*. Among *Other occupations* the most important single item is Domestic service, but in this category are also included the formidable array of occupations which were described too vaguely to permit of their correct classification.

Main head.	*Sub-class.*
Agriculture	I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation.
Industry	II. Exploitation of minerals. III. Industry.
Commerce	IV. Transport. V. Trade.
Professions	VI. Public force. VII. Public administration. VIII. Professions and liberal arts.
Other occupations ...	IX. Persons living on their income. X. Domestic service. XI. Insufficiently described occupations. XII. Unproductive.

10. No exact comparison of the figures illustrated in this diagram with those of 1921 can be made owing to the different methods employed for arriving at the "working population". Nor are statistics available on the present occasion of the proportion of the total population (including non-workers) supported by each of the main heads of occupation given above. **Variations since 1921.**

But the statement below will serve to give an approximate idea of the position as regards both these points:—

Occupation.	Number per mille. 1931. Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	1921. Actual workers (principal occupation).	1921. Persons supported.
All occupations	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**
Agriculture	778	796	814
Stock-raising	*16*	*21*	*13*
Fishing and hunting	*3*	*3*	*3*
Industry	77	80	71
Exploitation of minerals	*7*	*8*	*5*
Textiles	*12*	*14*	*13*
Food industries	*12*	*13*	*10*
Dress and toilet	*15*	*15*	*14*
Commerce	44	49	46
Transport	*8*	*7*	*8*
Trade in food stuffs	*21*	*27*	*23*
Professions	12	12	14
Public force	*2*	*2*	*3*
Public dministration	*1*	*2*	*2*
Other occupations	89	63	55
Domestic service	*12*	*16*	*15*

As already explained, the earners *cum* working dependants of the present census may be taken to correspond roughly with the actual workers of 1921, and the ratio between the working population and the total number of persons supported is not likely to differ materially from that previously recorded. For it is apparent that this ratio conforms in the main to what are obvious social and economic facts. Thus, under Industry and Commerce the percentage of dependants is markedly low, because the workers consist largely of male immigrants unaccompanied by their families. Under Agriculture and the Professions, occupations in which the foreign element is very small, the percentage of dependants is correspondingly high. One reason for the relatively small number of persons supported by "other occupations" is that this head includes beggars, vagrants, inmates of asylums and jails, and the poorer class of landless labourers, etc. Thus it would be a comparatively simple matter, on the basis of the 1921 figures, to calculate the proportion (or the actual number) of persons who at the present time derive their main support from any particular occupation or group of occupations—though for the reasons given in paragraph 2 the value of the information thus arrived at is open to question.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that there has been an appreciable decline in the proportion of the working population engaged in Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. Professions have remained stationary, while Other Occupations account for a much higher proportion than they did in 1921. Of the various sub-heads shown in the statement transport is the only one to register an advance; the others have either stayed where they were or have fallen off. The reasons for the variations under individual heads will be examined more closely in the latter part of this chapter, but here it may be observed that the general impression given by the comparative statement is to some extent misleading. The heading "other occupations" conceals over a million workers who should by rights be distributed among the other four heads, but whose business was not described with sufficient exactitude to enable this to be done. The substantial

increase that has occurred in the number of these insufficiently described occupations must mean that, as compared with 1921, the other main heads have been more severely mulcted. The loss sustained by commerce, for example, is certainly exaggerated; and the same also applies to agriculture, in the case of which it will be seen later that there were other factors at work to make the decline appear greater than it really is.

Analysis of subsidiary occupations.

11. The statistics so far given take into account only the principal occupation of earners and the occupation (for they are not allowed more than one) of working dependants; they ignore the subsidiary occupation of those earners who have more than one means of livelihood. It has already been observed that such calculations are apt to give a wrong impression, the more so because it is often caprice or considerations of prestige which decide the priority of the dual occupations. In the margin all earners returning a subsidiary occupation have been distributed proportionately between the main and sub-heads previously exhibited, and this distribution is very different from that of the principal occupations. Agriculture has decreased by nearly 50 per cent, and every other head without exception has gained in importance. This is striking testimony to the fact that, where agriculture is one of two pursuits followed, the other one is usually relegated to the background. Perhaps the best way of arriving at a fairly accurate estimate of the respective importance of the various main occupations would be to give half value to each of two joint occupations; but the material for doing this is not available. As the next best alternative, the man who has two separate means of livelihood has been counted twice over in the following statement, and the revised distribution of the working population thus obtained has been shown alongside of the original distribution :—

All occupations	**1,000**
Agriculture	445
Stock-raising	*17*
Fishing and hunting	*18*
Industry	231
Exploitation of minerals	*20*
Textiles	*36*
Food industries	*19*
Dress and toilet	*47*
Commerce	145
Transport	*27*
Trade in food stuffs	*67*
Professions	63
Public force	*12*
Public administration	*5*
Other occupations	116
Domestic service	*19*

Occupation.	Number per mille of working population. *Earners (principal occupation only) and working dependants.*	*Earners (principal and subsidiary occupations) and working dependants.*
All occupations	**1,000**	**1,103**
Agriculture	778	824
Stock-raising	*16*	*18*
Fishing and hunting	*3*	*5*
Industry	77	100
Exploitation of minerals ...	*7*	*9*
Textiles	*12*	*16*
Food industries	*12*	*15*
Dress and toilet	*15*	*20*
Commerce	44	59
Transport	*8*	*10*
Trade in food stuffs	*21*	*28*
Professions	12	19
Public force	*2*	*3*
Public administration ...	*1*	*2*
Other occupations	89	101
Domestic service	*12*	*14*

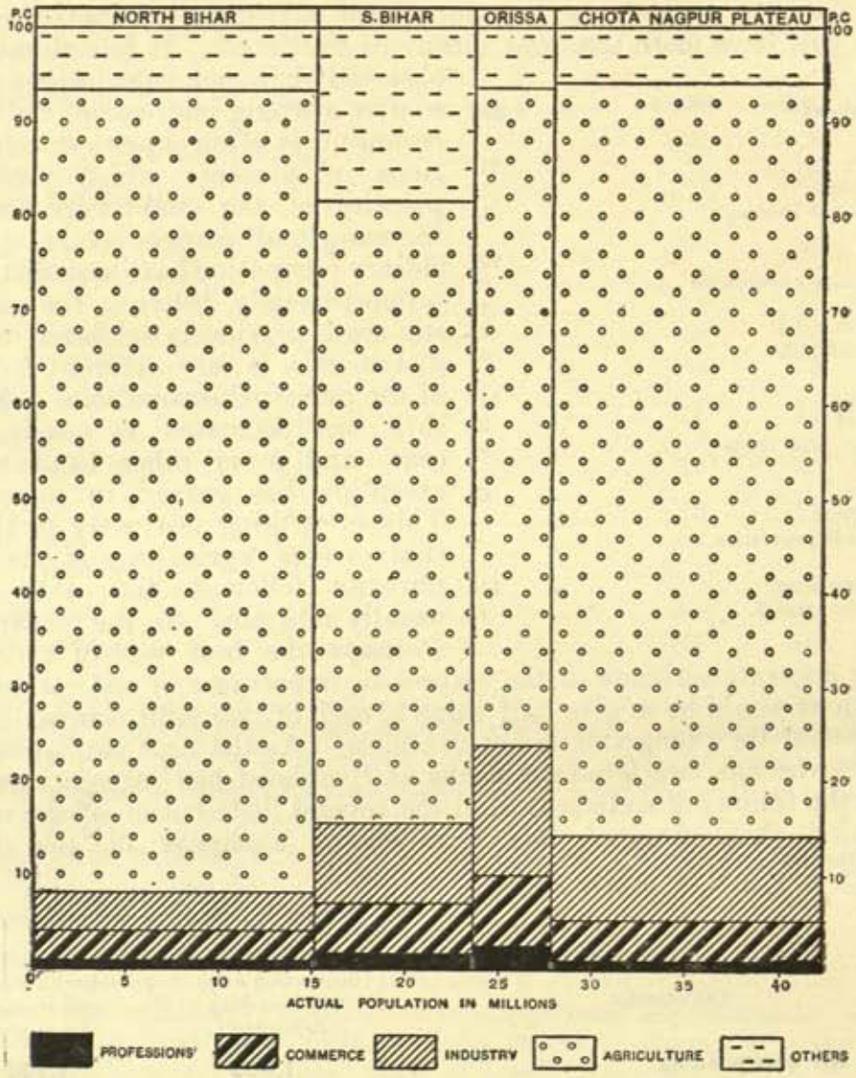
The difference between the two sets of figures is interesting. While the proportion supported by agriculture has only risen by something less than

6 per cent, there have been increases of 30 per cent and more under Industry and Commerce, and in the case of Professions the increase exceeds 50 per cent.

Occupations by locality.

12. The distribution of the working population in each natural division of the province is illustrated in the next diagram.

Diagram showing the distribution of the working population of each natural division between the main occupations.



The width of the section allotted to each division is in proportion to the *total* (i.e., not the working) population it contains. The key to this diagram is given in the following statement, which also shows the corresponding distribution of "actual workers" in 1921 :—

Occupation.	*North Bihar.*		*South Bihar.*		*Orissa.*		*Chota Nagpur Plateau.*	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All occupations ...	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**
Agriculture ...	852	865	662	714	696	624	799	803
Industry ...	41	45	84	94	139	161	90	92
Commerce ...	32	39	55	67	76	101	42	37
Professions ...	8	8	16	18	25	31	10	11
Other occupations	67	43	183	107	64	83	59	57

North Bihar is, as it always has been, the most purely agricultural part of the province—a natural corollary of the circumstance that the proportion of rural inhabitants in this division is greater than in any other. On the

same analogy it is not surprising to find that South Bihar, where the urban population is outstandingly large, is according to the present returns less dependent on agriculture than any other tract. In this respect, however, the latest figures differ substantially from those of 1921, when Orissa had a much lower proportion of agriculturists than South Bihar. Two possible explanations of the changed position suggest themselves. The decade 1911—21 witnessed a very abrupt, and not altogether convincing, decrease in the number of agriculturists in Orissa, and there has now been a swing back to something like the state of affairs recorded in 1911, which possibly is more in accordance with the actual facts. On the other hand, the present returns for South Bihar almost certainly under-state the agricultural element in that division, owing to the exceptionally high proportion of workers relegated to the category of " other occupations ", which appears to conceal many field labourers, particularly in the district of Monghyr. In industry, commerce and the professions Orissa retains the pre-eminence which she enjoyed ten years ago. On the Chota Nagpur plateau the contribution to industry made by certain highly developed areas is to a great extent obscured by the backward character of the rest of the division; even so, the proportion of persons engaged in industrial occupations on the plateau as a whole is slightly higher than in South Bihar and more than twice as high as in North Bihar.

As before, the figures so far quoted for the various natural divisions do not take into consideration the subsidiary occupations of earners. The main heads between which these are distributed are shown in the statement below :—

OCCUPATION.	*North Bihar.*	*South Bihar.*	*Orissa.*	*Chota Nagpur Plateau.*
All occupations ...	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**
Agriculture	464	520	391	433
Industry	194	126	273	269
Commerce	144	109	177	141
Professions	58	61	92	56
Other occupations ...	140	184	67	101

Occupations in cities.

13. A great contrast is naturally to be expected between the occupations commonly pursued in rural areas and those prevalent in towns. The larger the town, the more striking the contrast will ordinarily be, and the figures given in the margin show the distribution of the working population in the four " cities " of Bihar and Orissa, namely, Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Jamshedpur. A comparison of these figures with those relating to the province as a whole is of considerable interest, but the variations are not such as to call for any particular comment. It may, however, be noticed that the proportion of " other occupations " is quite abnormally high in the four cities. This is due to the greater variety and intricacy of the entries found in the urban schedules, which are therefore correspondingly more difficult to interpret and classify. In rural areas the vast majority of the " insufficiently described occupations " are labourers of one kind or another, and as a rule they should probably have been shown as agricultural labourers. But in the cities two-thirds of these vague entries come under the heading of " cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops ". In Jamshedpur the technical designations of the employees in Tata's Company and other industrial firms

OCCUPATION.	*Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.*	*Earners (subsidiary) occupation.*
All occupations ...	**1,000**	**1,000**
Agriculture ...	156	404
Stock-raising ...	*3*	*6*
Fishing and hunting	*1*	*1*
Industry ...	271	102
Exploitation of minerals.	*1*	...
Textiles ...	*20*	*2*
Food industries ...	*12*	*5*
Dress and toilet ...	*42*	*29*
Commerce ...	163	138
Transport ...	*39*	*29*
Trade in food stuffs	*43*	*32*
Professions ...	70	48
Public force ...	*10*	*5*
Public administration	*3*	*1*
Other occupations ...	340	308
Domestic service ...	*44*	*9*

completely defeated the slip-copyist and sorter alike, and all the enumeration books of that city had to be called in to the provincial office and the occupations re-classified under my personal supervision. But in Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur most of the unidentified workers were probably clerks or servants employed in shops and so forth, and it is certain that, if they could have been allotted to their proper groups, the proportion of persons engaged in commerce would be much higher than it is. Industry also has doubtless suffered to some extent for the same reason, while a fairly large number of clerks in Government offices appear to have been inadequately described.

Occupations of females.

14. Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter gives statistics of the number and proportion of male and female workers in each order and larger unit as well as in certain groups, the groups selected being those in which either the total number of workers is large or the proportion of females is specially high. Taking all occupations together, there are 411 female workers to 1,000 males. Certain tasks, such as rice pounding and husking and the parching of grain, seem to fall naturally to a woman's lot. A list is given in the margin of all important occupations in which male workers are outnumbered by females, and none of them is such as to occasion surprise. Domestic service and selling wood are other pursuits in which women are specially prominent. It has already been remarked that the decline in the working population since 1921 is much more marked among females than among males. At the last census there were 562 female workers to every thousand males. The statement in the margin gives the comparative proportions in each of the twelve occupational sub-classes. It will be seen that Domestic service is the only one of these units in which there has not been a fairly pronounced fall. To a very slight extent the general decline in the number of women workers, as compared with men, may be attributed to the change in the sex ratio since 1921; but the main factor is the perennial difficulty of determining in what circumstance a woman should be treated as contributing towards the upkeep of her family. On this subject the fair sex found more than one doughty champion among the authors of the last census reports. Mr. Marten, in the all-India volume, asserted that "the economic distinction between the 'work' of a man who assists nature to produce the raw material of food in the field and the 'dependence' of the woman who converts that raw material into edible food in the house is when analysed not sustainable." More downright was the Provincial Superintendent of the Punjab, who attributed the apparent shortage of female workers to the fact that the scheme of occupations was the product of the male brain, and roundly declared that it would have to be completely revised before a fair comparison could be drawn between the sexes. "Many women" he wrote "appear as unemployed when they should be classed as actual workers engaged in domestic duties, in cooking, grinding of grain, drawing water from wells, taking food to their families in the field, preparing and mending clothes, and last but certainly not least in child-bearing". The sentiment is irreproachable, but one rather shudders at the prospect of compiling an occupational table based on such principles as these.

	Females per 1,000 males.
Rope, twine and string making	3,121
Basket making	1,117
Rice pounding and flour grinding	8,610
Grain parching	2,250
Furniture industries ...	2,542
Scavenging	1,069
Trade in dairy products ..	1,448
Trade in fodder for animals ...	1,818
Trade in fuel	2,616
Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses ...	7,527

	1931.	*1921.*
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation ...	379	521
II. Exploitation of minerals	332	577
III. Industry	532	843
IV. Transport	156	230
V. Trade	605	961
VI. Public force ...	0.02	0.1
VII. Public administration	23	106
VIII. Professions and liberal arts	131	267
IX. Persons living on their income	199	539
X. Domestic service ...	939	672
XI. Insufficiently described occupations ...	614	841
XII. Unproductive ...	511	698

Traditional occupations of certain castes.

15. The extent to which castes are gradually abandoning their old, traditional occupations is a matter on which a few words may be said here.

A correspondent from Orissa, who holds emphatic—but always interesting—views on a variety of subjects, writes as follows in regard to this particular question:—

> With the advancement of education and growth of cosmopolitan views the tendency to stick to traditional occupations has totally disappeared in towns, where at present the profession of a man is purely one of his choice or of his guardians. But in distant mufasils adherence to such traditional occupations has been determined more by the economic necessity of the villages and their inhabitants than by any sanctity of custom or restriction of caste government or opposition from other castes and communities. Thus though a son or two of a washerman or a barber or a carpenter may stick to the traditional occupations of their forefathers, the other sons generally go away to Calcutta or some such distant parts for their livelihood and take to any profession that they can conveniently lay their hands on. Annual exodus to distant parts of country is an outstanding feature in Orissa villages, and, as their supply of work is regulated by the demand for the same, following the traditional occupation is almost obsolete except on very broad lines. As for example, a Brahmin or a Karan may choose to work as cooli or millhand at Calcutta, but will not condescend to take up work as a domestic servant washing utensils, etc.

In Imperial Table XI statistics are given of the various occupations returned at the present census by eleven Hindu castes which are commonly regarded as having fairly distinctive pursuits of their own; similar figures are also given for the European and Anglo-Indian communities and (among Muslims) for the Jolahas. These statistics are summarized in Subsidiary Table VI at the end of this chapter. The statement in the margin gives comparative figures for 1931 and 1921 of the proportion of earners in some of these communities who still follow their traditional occupation as the principal means of livelihood. The first comment suggested by these figures is that there is no longer a single one of these functional castes in which (taking the province as a whole) 50 per cent of the members rely for a living on the special occupation with which their name is associated. The Dhobis indeed approach most nearly to this proportion, and after them come the Kumhars. It should, however, be remembered that in a fairly large number of cases the traditional occupation is returned as a subsidiary means of livelihood by persons belonging to these castes; and, if this be taken into consideration, the proportion of Dhobis in the province who are still engaged in the business of laundering will be as high as 69 per cent, while 57 per cent of the Kumhars are still whole-time or part-time potters. Another noticeable fact emerging from the marginal statement is that conditions in this matter vary greatly in different parts of the province. In Orissa, for example, the proportion of Tantis who have remained faithful to the business of weaving is nearly ten times as great as in Bihar; in Hazaribagh carpentry retains its hold over the Barhis to a very much smaller extent than elsewhere. In view of the extract just quoted, it is of interest to find that on the whole traditional occupations are still followed in Orissa more generally than in other parts of the province; on the other hand it is in Orissa that the widest divergence occurs between the figures of 1931 and those of 1921. And this leads to the third noticeable feature of the above statement, which is that the tendency to break away

	Per mille.	
	1931.	*1921.*
Barhi—		
Bihar ...	253	261
Orissa ...	367	509
Hazaribagh ...	61	80
Chamar—		
Bihar ...	84	92
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	90	
Dhobi—		
Bihar ...	479	539
Orissa ...	543	
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	446	
Hajjam—		
Bihar ...	396	395
Hazaribagh ...	126	138
Kamar—		
Orissa ...	289	413
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	335	391
Kumhar—		
Bihar ...	421	454
Orissa ...	586	
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	361	
Tanti—		
Bihar ...	53	112
Orissa ...	510	585
Orissa States ...	455	528

from traditional occupations has developed very considerably during the last decade. The Hajjams of Bihar are the only community in which at first sight this tendency has not manifested itself, but the reason here is that in 1921 the number of Hajjams who returned hair-dressing, etc., as their *subsidiary* occupation was much larger than on the present occasion.

Among Brahmans, about one worker in ten follows some priestly vocation as his main business in life; with an almost equal number religious duties are subordinated to some other occupation. Agriculture in some shape or form is the principal means of support of three Brahmans out of four. There has been but little change since 1921 in the statistics relating to this caste. The proportion of Kayasths in Bihar and Karans in Orissa returned as "writers" by profession is substantially less than it was ten years ago, but clerical duties can be carried out in almost every walk of life and cannot always be identified as such in the census returns. The following statement is of some interest as indicating the extent to which Brahmans and Kayasths are now beginning to take to occupations involving manual labour. The figures represent the actual number of earners (principal occupation):—

		Agriculture. *Field-labourers, wood cutters, etc.*	Mines. *Labourers.*	Industries. *Artisans and other workmen.*	Transport. *Labourers, boatmen, carters, palki-bearers, etc.*	Unspecified labourers.
Brahmans	1931 ...	16,166	2,077	3,204	1,714	3,820
	1921 ...	4,470	1,312	3,024	899	3,793
Kayasths	1931 ...	1,749	119	410	127	749
	1921 ...	716	13	367	105	318

An interesting report comes from Palamau district to the effect that a small community of Muslim *mehtars* in police-station Hussainabad, known either as Halalkhors or as Lalbegis, have given up almost entirely the occupation of scavenging and "have now largely taken to the *darzi's* occupation and are doing successfully with hired Singer sewing machines. They are well off and appear neat and clean, but Muslims in general do not still eat and drink with them although some *pirjis* have done so."

Occupations of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

16. More than half the workers in the Anglo-Indian community are employed in transport, mostly on the railways. "Public force", which means either army or police, accounts for 30 per cent of the European and allied races; industries (including mining) absorb another 20 per cent. Other occupations in which Europeans specialize are transport (17 per cent) and the professions (15 per cent), the latter of which would include missionaries, doctors, educationists, lawyers, etc. The total number of Europeans employed in Government service is not on record, as specialist officers are distributed between the various appropriate heads, but the number credited to "general administration" is only 148 (including 16 females), or 4.5 per cent of the European working population.

Labour.

17. It is not possible to isolate as a distinct class the "labourers" of the province and treat them as a separate subject of statistical enquiry, for the term covers a multitude of persons performing different kinds of work, sometimes skilled and sometimes not, but usually merged in the census returns with other persons following the same occupations in what may be called a non-labouring capacity. There are, however, in the scheme of occupations a few groups in which labour is specially distinguished, and the number of persons classified in each of these groups at the last two censuses (excluding subsidiary occupations) is noted in the margin. There are many other groups in which labour figures prominently, such as wood-cutters and

Group.	*1931.*	*1921.*
7. Agricultural labourers ...	3,970,963	3,313,253
104. Labourers in harbours, rivers, canals, etc. ...	92	128
106. Road labourers ...	35,575	42,834
113. Railway labourers ...	13,596	12,067
191. Unspecified labourers ...	1,041,580	711,310
Total ...	**5,061,806**	**4,079,592**

charcoal-burners; mining and industrial occupations; palki bearers and owners; owners and drivers of pack animals; and so forth. Again, the petty agriculturist and the agricultural labourer are often hard to keep separate, and at the present census there would seem to have been a substantial transfer from the former to the latter head. Group 191 contains a fairly large proportion of persons who were so classified because their occupation was inadequately described, but a still larger number would probably answer to the designation of " general labourers ". As observed in the last report, there is a considerable local demand for the miscellaneous labour which calls for no special skill or experience beyond what a cooli may expect to acquire in the ordinary course of his career in connexion, say, with the construction or repair of roads for Government or the local bodies, or with railway works or with the thousand and one minor activities of the local contractor. Labourers of this kind emigrate in large numbers to Bengal, but openings for them are fairly plentiful in this province also. The demand and supply is regulated to a very great extent by the seasons. The contractor requires labour from July to October for consolidating *pukka* roads, and from November to February for repairing *kutcha* roads and other forms of earth-work; bridges are repaired and buildings erected most conveniently in the cold or hot weather, rather than during the monsoon. On the other hand, labourers are not easily obtainable in the cultivating and harvesting seasons, when the demand for and price of agricultural labour rises. It is probable that, if the census were held in or about the month of July, a large number of persons now shown in group 191 would figure in group 7. And the same thing applies, though in a smaller degree, to various other forms of labour. The marginal statement shows the proportion of female labourers in each of the groups already mentioned, excepting the minor one concerned with harbours, rivers and canals. In the three most important groups the proportion is high, specially when it is borne in mind that, for all occupations taken together, there are only 411 female workers to every thousand males.

Group.	*Females per 1,000 males.*
7. Agricultural labourers ...	745
106. Road labourers ...	653
113. Railway labourers ...	66
191. Unspecified labourers ...	798

Unemployment among educated persons.

18. A special enquiry was undertaken at the present census with a view to ascertain the extent of unemployment among the educated classes. For this purpose a separate schedule was issued, to be filled in by " male persons who are literate in English and who are wishful for employment but have tried in vain to obtain any employment for which their education has fitted them ". No person was treated as " literate in English " for the purpose of this enquiry unless he had passed the Matriculation or some higher examination. Unfortunately the returns obtained were hopelessly incomplete and the enquiry must be written down as a failure. Subsidiary Table VII at the end of this chapter exhibits its meagre results. Only 462 educated persons between the ages of 20 and 40 are shown as unemployed, and this number includes only about 60 graduates. About one in every four is a Brahman by caste, the depressed classes being entirely without representation. Rather more than half of the unemployed are the sons of cultivators. But indeed no very useful purpose is served by an analysis of the figures, as they obviously represent only an inconsiderable fraction of the young men who have passed through the high schools and colleges of the province and have found themselves unable to obtain work for which " their education has fitted them ". For this reason it has not been thought worth while to tabulate particulars of the local distribution of these persons. Various reasons have been advanced by the district authorities for the failure of this census of " educated unemployment ", as it came to be called. The task of distributing the special schedules was entrusted to the ordinary enumerators, who (except in urban areas) would ordinarily have full knowledge of any persons within their " beat " coming under this particular category; they were, moreover, enjoined to make enquiries at every household in the course of the preliminary enumeration and leave one of these schedules to be filled in by anybody who claimed to satisfy the prescribed conditions. Yet it is the opinion of most census officers that this method of distribution proved

ineffective, and that a fairly large proportion of unemployed graduates, etc., were not aware of the enquiry at all. It is generally agreed, however, that many who knew all about it did not take the trouble to fill up the schedules. Apathy is said to have been chiefly responsible for this; unless the enquiry meant that there was some immediate prospect of getting a job, they did not see why they should fill in a special form on the subject. Some appear to have been vaguely mistrustful of the motive behind this curiosity on the part of Government, and one District Census Officer speaks of a rumour that it betokened a general round up of the *goondas* !

SECTION II.—Statistical analysis by sub-classes.

N.B.—*Unless otherwise specifically stated, figures of workers engaged in any particular occupation exclude persons following that occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood.*

I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation.

19. The occupations comprised in sub-class I represent Agriculture in the widest sense of that term—the sense in which it has been used in paragraphs 9 to 13 to this chapter. Two orders and 28 groups are included in this sub-class, the first order being divided into five sub-heads. The main divisions are shown in the margin. Out of a total working population of 17,610,171 persons, no less than 13,702,355 (or 77.8 per cent) follow one or other of these occupations as their sole or principal means of livelihood. At the previous census the proportion was slightly higher still, *viz.* 79.7 per cent, but it is doubtful whether the difference between these two figures is an accurate index of the extent to which agriculture is being ousted by industrial, commercial and other pursuits. Three separate factors combined to reduce the returns of agricultural workers to a lower figure than that recorded in 1921. (1) There is little doubt that an appreciable number of persons classified as field labourers at the previous census were shown on this occasion as "labourers unspecified", and have therefore been lost to this sub-class. (2) In 1921 agriculture, when combined with some other occupation, was almost invariably returned as the *principal* means of livelihood; at the present census there has been an increase of over 400,000 in the number of persons who returned it as their *subsidiary* occupation, and these persons also are excluded from the total figure given above. (3) There has been a general decline in the number of female workers, but it is very much more marked under the head "agriculture" than under any other head. As already explained, the classification of the female population into workers and non-workers is largely capricious, and the sudden drop (it is one of no less than 33 per cent) in the number of female agriculturists is for the most part unreal. Allowing for the cumulative effect of these three factors, the decrease in the proportion of the working population engaged in agricultural pursuits must—if it exists at all—be almost negligible. For reasons explained in paragraph 10, the percentage of the total population dependent on agriculture for its support is always somewhat greater than the percentage of agricultural workers. In 1921 it was estimated that 81.4 per cent of the people of Bihar and Orissa were wholly or mainly dependent on agriculture for their daily bread. The percentage to-day cannot be less than 80, nor the actual number less than 33,864,000.

1. Pasture and Agriculture—
   (*a*) Ordinary cultivation.
   (*b*) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc.
   (*c*) Forestry.
   (*d*) Stock raising.
   (*e*) Raising of small animals and insects.
2. Fishing and hunting.

Order 1(a).—Ordinary cultivation.—This is incomparably the most important of the divisions in sub-class I, accounting as it does for over 97 per cent of workers included in the whole unit. At the previous census the bulk of the persons contained in this order were classified as (1) rent-receivers or landlords, (2) rent-payers or ordinary cultivators, (3) farm servants and (4) field labourers. On this occasion a slightly different classification was made. Farm servants and field labourers were lumped together under the designation of "agricultural labourers", while the

other classes were distinguished as (1) non-cultivating owners, (2) cultivating owners and (3) tenant cultivators. As usual, much difficulty was experienced in keeping these classes separate. Vernacular terms were prescribed, but it was not easy to choose terms which would be universally understood in the villages, where the local nomenclature varies considerably. Moreover, many persons qualified for inclusion in at least two of the separate classes, and the distinction between cultivating owners and tenant cultivators in particular gave rise to much scratching of heads. The tendency of enumerators to resort to such vague terms as *kheti* did not make matters any easier. The results finally achieved are set forth in the margin, along with those recorded in 1921. There is a fairly close correspondence between "non-cultivating proprietors" and "rent-receivers". "Cultivating owners" and "tenant cultivators" between them are far less numerous than "rent-payers" were ten years ago; this is due partly to the operation of the three factors mentioned in the previous paragraph, and partly to the fact that petty cultivators are frequently more or less indistinguishable from agricultural labourers. On the present occasion the majority of these seem to have been placed in the latter category, with the result that there has been a substantial increase in the number of agricultural labourers in spite of the transfer from this head to "labourers unspecified".

1931.	
Non-cultivating proprietors ...	119,966
Cultivating owners	375,126
Tenant cultivators	8,842,429
Agricultural labourers ...	3,970,963
Total	**13,308,484**

1921.	
Rent receivers	114,942
Rent payers	10,911,349
Farm labourers	82,722
Field labourers	3,230,531
Total	**14,339,544**

Order 1(b).—Cultivation of special crops.—There has been little fluctuation since 1921 under this head, which is composed for the most part of market gardeners. Indigo has ceased to be of any practical importance in Bihar. The few persons who still cultivate it usually do so in conjunction with other crops, and the tabulation of separate statistics for indigo-growers has therefore been discontinued. *Pan* is the only other special crop which calls for mention; the cultivation of this vine constitutes the main source of livelihood of some 1,500 workers and the subsidiary occupation of nearly as many more.

Order 1(c).—Forestry.—The number of workers has decreased from 16,358 to 11,448, but this is almost entirely due to the unchivalrous exclusion from the category of "workers" of several thousand females formerly shown as wood-cutters and collectors of forest produce. Group 20 is reserved for collectors of lac, and this opportunity may be taken of referring briefly to the part played by lac in the economic life of the province. There are various occupational groups in which lac figures, the more important of which are shown in the margin, together with the number of workers contained in each. Groups 70 and 125 do not relate exclusively to lac, but (in the case at least of the former group) lac is without doubt the principal item included therein. There are various other groups concerned with the manufacture and sale of articles (such as bangles) made from lac. But the census returns, as usual, completely fail to give any adequate impression of the importance of the lac business in Bihar and Orissa. There are indeed very few agriculturists who derive their living solely, or mainly, from the cultivation of lac; it is usually combined with ordinary cultivation. Moreover, as it is carried on only at certain seasons of the year and often on a very small scale, it generally seems to have been thought not worth mention at all in the census schedules. In 1921 the experience was the same, but

Group.	*Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.*	*Earners (subsidiary occupation).*
20. Collectors of lac ...	131	149
26. Cultivators of lac ...	1,170	14,299
70. Manufacturers of miscellaneous chemical (and analogous) products.	3,911	1,861
125. Dealers in chemical products.	3,505	1,526

on that occasion an independent form was issued with the object of ascertaining the number of lac-growers and the number and variety of trees cultivated. As a result it was found that 311,866 persons were engaged in rearing lac on over six million trees. The districts in which lac-growers were most numerous were (in the order here given) Manbhum, Singhbhum, Palamau, Ranchi and the Santal Parganas. These five districts between them accounted for about 260,000, the share of Manbhum being 83,651. According to the special industrial census of 1921, the number of workers employed in lac factories was 4,363. Some account has already been given in Chapter I, when relating the history of the Chota Nagpur districts (particularly Manbhum and Palamau), of the violent fluctuations in the lac market during the last decade and their effect on the prosperity of the people.

Order 1(d).—Stock-raising.—Under this head there has been a marked decrease in the number of workers—from 394,235 to 284,317. The greater portion of it occurs in group 23 (herdsmen, etc.) and may be ascribed in part to the fact that boys tending their fathers' cattle in the fields were for the most part treated as non-working dependants. It is not easy, however, to account for a decline of about 19,000 in the number of cattle and buffalo breeders. The line of distinction between this occupation and that of trade in dairy product (group 131) is apt to become blurred, but the fact that there has been a decrease under both these heads rules out the possibility of any considerable transfer from one group to the other. Cattle breeding is of course often combined with cultivation, and it may be that there was a more general tendency in such cases to relegate it to the background.

Order 1(e).—Raising of small animals and insects.—Apart from the cultivation of lac, which has already been dealt with, there is no occupation of any importance in this category. Bee-keeping and the rearing of silkworms provide employment for a small handful of persons only.

Order 2.—Fishing and hunting.—The number of persons engaged in the primitive pursuit of hunting is steadily growing less. Ten years ago there were some 2,000 of them but the latest returns show a decrease of 25 per cent. Fishermen also are becoming less numerous—or rather fisher-women, for the decline is confined to the female sex, being specially pronounced in Orissa and the Chota Nagpur plateau. In North Bihar, where the decade 1911—21 had witnessed a heavy slump in this occupation, there has now been some recovery. Fishing not infrequently forms a supplementary means of subsistence.

II.—Exploitation of minerals.

20. According to the present census the total number of persons employed in the exploitation of minerals is 119,614. This is less by 22,947 than the number returned 10 years ago, the main reason for the decrease being the depression in the coal and mica industries. The labour employed in mines is largely foreign, with the result that the proportion of the non-working population supported by occupations in this sub-class is relatively very small. In 1921 there was on the average only one dependant to two actual workers. In the scheme of occupations minerals have been classified as either metallic or non-metallic, one order being reserved for each of these classes.

Order 3.—Metallic minerals.—The most important mineral in this class is iron, in the extraction of which 7,650 persons are engaged. The iron mines of the province are located in Mayurbhanj State and the south of Singhbhum district, and their development during the last decade has been rapid. It is worthy of remark that the number of female workers employed in these mines is as large as the number of males. Other metallic minerals which figure to a very minor extent in the census returns are gold, lead, zinc, manganese, tin and copper, all of which are practically confined to the district of Singhbhum. Between them, they provide employment for only about 2,000 persons.

Order 4.—Non-metallic minerals.—The principal coal-fields of the province are to be found in the districts of Manbhum and Hazaribagh. The statement in the margin gives the outstanding statistics relating to this industry. If we assume that the ratio between workers and dependants is the same now as it was at the time of the last census, the total population supporting by coal mining may be taken as approximately 140,000. The slump in the coal trade has led to the closing down of many mines producing second-class coal. The number of females employed in these mines is 22,969, which means that there are about two women for every seven men.

Locality.	1931. Workers.	1921. Workers.	1921. Dependants.
Manbhum ...	72,298	87,766	29,253
Hazaribagh ...	16,714	18,619	13,209
Elsewhere ...	10,210	5,885	2,642
Total ...	**99,222**	**112,270**	**45,104**

During recent years mica has fared even more disastrously than coal, and the number of employees in mica mines to-day (4,562) is less than half the number recorded at the last census (11,600). It is noticeable, however, that as many as 4,579 other persons have on this occasion returned mica-mining as a subsidiary occupation—a procedure which does not appear to have been adopted previously. But this in itself furnishes evidence of the declining importance of the mica industry. It is commonly stated that more than half of the world's mica supply comes from India, and more than half of the Indian supply comes from Bihar and Orissa. In Bihar and Orissa the district of Hazaribagh has a virtual monopoly. But the demand for mica has fallen off steadily ever since the end of the War, and at present there is little indication of any revival.

The extraction of saltpetre is another industry to which a temporary fillip was given by the War, but which is now suffering a reaction. It is carried on by the Nuniyas of Bihar proper, and in the old days saltpetre was one of the chief articles of trade in the Company's factory at Patna. The conditions for its manufacture are eminently favourable in Bihar, especially in the Tirhut division. But the total number of persons engaged in the extraction of this substance has fallen from 15,124 to 5,292. As with mica, an almost equivalent number combine this occupation with some other work of greater importance. Women workers are as numerous as men in the saltpetre industry.

III.—Industry.

21. The various industrial occupations included in sub-class III provide employment for 1,226,869 persons, as compared with 1,367,749 at the previous census. The occupations are split up into 13 separate orders, and (with two quite insignificant exceptions) each of these has recorded a greater or less decline. Comparative figures for the more important orders are given in the margin. In considering these figures it should be borne in mind that, despite the large increase in the total population since 1921, there has been a fall of over 1,000,000 (or roughly 6 per cent) in the number of actual "workers" in the province. It follows from this that the proportion of the working population employed in most of these industries is approximately the same as it was ten years ago, while in the case of chemical products it is appreciably higher. Textiles and food industries are the two main heads under which there has been a real loss.

	1931.	1921.
5. Textiles	208,995	260,022
7. Wood	140,749	150,145
8. Metals	93,014	97,431
9. Ceramics ...	115,564	125,367
10. Chemical products ...	81,888	84,301
11. Food industries ...	204,466	245,889
12. Dress and toilet ...	269,332	282,636
14. Building ...	30,670	33,793
17. Miscellaneous ...	76,558	77,321

Order 5.—Textiles.—Cotton is outstanding among the textiles and absorbs 90 per cent of the workers contained in this order. Group 42 is concerned with the ginning, cleaning and pressing of cotton, and group 43

with the processes of spinning, sizing and weaving. The marginal statement shows the distribution between the sexes of the persons included in these two groups in 1931 and in 1921. This particular industry furnishes a good illustration of the difficulty of classifying workers and non-working dependants in separate water-tight compartments. For the weaving unit is not the weaver, but his family. When the yarn is purchased, the women and children do all the winding and warping and often assist in the sizing of the warps; but whether they get any credit or not for the substantial labour which this involves depends on the view taken by the enumerator. The number of persons engaged in textile factories in this province is negligible, and it may be assumed that practically all of the 187,529 workers in these two groups are persons whose primary occupation is the manufacture of cotton cloth in their homes. There are in addition something over 56,000 persons by whom it was returned as a subsidiary occupation. Cuttack, Sambalpur and the Feudatory States are the localities in which cotton weavers are most numerous. Gaya is another centre of some importance, but in this district the number of persons so employed has fallen from about 18,000 to below 10,000. There has also been a marked decrease in most of the Chota Nagpur districts.

	Males.	*Females.*
1931	115,841	71,688
1921	130,164	101,970

Order 8.—Metals.—The village blacksmith is the most conspicuous member of this order, and the statistics of group 59, to which he belongs, indicate that things are not what they were in his line of business. But group 57, though numerically less important, has a greater bearing on the industrial development of the province. It is concerned with the " smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals ", and the number of workers recorded in this group is 23,049, all of whom (excepting only 758) were enumerated in Jamshedpur city. Some account of the development of this centre of industry has been given in Chapter II. The census returns suggest that there has been an increase of over 100 per cent in the employees of the iron and steel companies working there, but this is not actually so. The 1921 figures under-stated their number, doubtless owing to the extreme difficulty (which, as already mentioned, was experienced on this occasion also) of classifying the technical entries of occupation in the Jamshedpur schedules.

IV.—Transport.

22. Transport by water, road, rail and post are the four components of this sub-class, to which it may be presumed that transport by air will have to be added before the next report is written. From the marginal statement it will be seen that there has been a net decrease of about 2,000 in the number of persons following these various occupations: nevertheless they represent a somewhat higher proportion of the total working population than was the case in 1921. Transport by road is the only department in which there has been an actual increase. In group 107 (owners, managers and employees connected with mechanically driven vehicles) the number has gone up from 65 to 2,941, which reflects in an exaggerated form the rapid development that has taken place in motor transport during the last decade. There is always a possibility of confusion between this group and group 186, which relates to motor drivers and cleaners in private domestic service. It may be remarked that the census version of the number of persons employed in the irrigation, railway and postal departments differs considerably from the departmental figures, which are given in Subsidiary Table V at the end of this chapter.

	1931.	*1921.*
Transport ...	**133,660**	**135,892**
19. Transport by water ...	11,892	12,233
20. Transport by road ...	85,764	82,748
21. Transport by rail ...	33,653	37,365
22. Postal, etc., services	2,351	3,546

V.—Trade.

23. The proportion of the working population engaged in trade has fallen from 42 to 36 per mille. Comparative figures for this sub-class as

a whole and for the more important of the 17 orders which it contains are given in the margin. Trade in articles of food accounts for more than half of the grand total, and it is this head which is primarily responsible for the heavy decrease since 1921. One of the few orders to show an increase is "39.—Trade of other sorts", which consists for the most part of general store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified. The large dimensions of this order are due to the fact that most shop-keepers sell a wide assortment of articles, which are not susceptible of more exact classification. Indeed, in the case of many who have actually been allotted to particular heads, the classification is more or less arbitrary, and for this reason alone a detailed scrutiny of the comparative figures would be of little value. But there are more fundamental reasons why the census returns fail to do justice to the part played by trade and commerce in the economic life of the province. In the first place, it has been explained that a person who both manufactures and sells any article is brought to account under the industrial head, and in India goods are more often than not sold by the person who makes or produces them. Above all, the trafficking that takes place in the greatest industry of all, agriculture, passes almost unnoticed in the census tables, where only some 67,600 persons are shown as dealers in grain, etc. Agriculture apart, most of the buying and selling that goes on in the province takes place in the rural markets or *hats*, and by far the greater part of this traffic eludes the census enumerator completely. Even in urban areas, such as Patna, the artizan and trader are often combined in one and the same person, with the result that the latter aspect of his activities is given no credit in the tables. Again, in respect of urban areas, it has been mentioned that the number of workers in group 189 (cashiers, clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops) is disproportionately high. This group falls entirely outside subclass V, though the majority of the persons included in it are probably employed in some commercial occupation. The analysis given in the margin of the working population of Patna City, which is essentially a stronghold of the petty shop-keeper and trader, affords a striking illustration of the manner in which the real prevalence of trade is obscured by the census figures. It will be noticed that "insufficiently described occupations" (which does *not* include unspecified shop-keepers) absorb more than 30 per cent of the whole working population.

	1931.	1921.
Trade	**642,937**	**778,221**
23. Banks, credit exchanges, etc. ...	7,918	16,072
25. Trade in textiles	20,290	22,804
26. Trade in skins, etc.	5,915	3,592
27. Trade in wood	12,638	13,992
29. Trade in pottery, etc.	3,065	6,114
30. Trade in chemical products ...	3,505	3,855
31. Hotels, cafes, etc.	26,867	25,818
32. Other trade in food-stuffs ...	346,253	474,375
33. Trade in clothing, etc.	4,926	5,590
36. Trade in means of transport ...	3,226	2,788
37. Trade in fuel	42,431	54,748
38. Trade in articles of luxury, etc. ...	14,410	17,357
39. Trade of other sorts	147,259	121,189

All occupations	**67,024**
I. Exploitation of animals and vegetation	9,640
III. Industry	10,673
IV. Transport	3,251
V. Trade	9,481
VIII. Professions	6,484
XI. Insufficiently described occupations	21,486
All other occupations	6,009

VI.—Public force.

24. Of the four units which compose the "public force" of the country—*viz.* army, navy, air force and police—the second and third are unrepresented in Bihar and Orissa. The army can boast a strength of but 1,026, contributed almost entirely by the British regiment at Dinapur and its detachment at Muzaffarpur. Under the head "police" there has been a decrease of some 6,000, but this is due to a substantial reduction in the number of village *chaukidars*, who often combine this duty with some other occupation. The members of the regular police force have increased from 13,111 to 15,230.

VII.—Public administration.

25. There has been a drop of more than 50 per cent (from 37,611 to 17,385) in the number of workers returned under the head "Public

administration". It has been explained elsewhere that this head is reserved mainly for Government servants whose work does not require that they should be separately classified as doctors, professors, engineers, forest officers, judicial officers and so forth; in other words, it includes only those employed in the work of general administration. It will be easily supposed, however, that "Government service" not infrequently figures as an entry in the census schedules, and such entries are perforce taken to this head. Hence there are bound to be considerable fluctuations from census to census. Moreover, clerks working in Government offices do not always specify their employer, and a part of the present decrease may well be due to the relegation of such persons to group 189. Another point to be observed is that 9,117 persons considered their work as public servants to be in the nature of a subsidiary occupation, and these persons are not included in the figure given above. In addition to the service of Government, this sub-class deals with service under local bodies, service in Indian and foreign states, and village officials other than *chaukidars;* and these three groups between them contain just over 5,000 employees.

VIII.—Professions and liberal arts.

26. The statistics relating to the chief professions are summarized in the margin. This is one of the few sub-classes to record a definite advance, and it may be that the figures reflect a genuine tendency towards the more common adoption of a professional career. The increase is shared by nearly all the professions except that of medicine, in which case the reduction is wholly due to the circumstance that fewer women have been returned as village midwives. Religion is the most favoured profession of all, and accounts for just over half of the "professional classes". In this connexion it may be pointed out that in Imperial Table XI about 70,000 Brahmans are shown as priests by occupation. Lest the somewhat high-sounding title of order 49 (letters, arts and sciences) give rise to a false impression, it should be explained that it is composed for the most part of musicians, drummers, actors, dancers and the like.

	1931.	*1921.*
Professions	**161,967**	**146,523**
45. Religion	81,811	70,122
46. Law	8,129	5,797
47. Medicine	19,518	24,603
48. Instruction	31,064	24,523
49. Letters, arts and sciences ...	21,445	21,478

IX.—Persons living on their income.

27. The number of persons returned as "living on their income" was not large (2,292) ten years ago; to-day it is smaller still (1,922). One can only suppose that most pensioners have a second string to their bow, especially when it is remembered that this class is supposed to include also students in receipt of scholarships and persons whose main source of income is house-rent or "unearned increment" of any other kind. The only districts in which these gentlemen of means and leisure run into three figures are Cuttack (390), Hazaribagh (340) and Shahabad (223). In the Feudatory States also they number 192.

X.—Domestic service.

28. Little reliance can be placed on the statistics of Domestic Service. Genuine domestic servants often return their occupation as *naukari*, but, as this term may apply equally to a hundred other forms of service, they cannot be classified properly. Various other expressions are used which may or may not denote service in a private household. The number of domestic servants, as actually recorded, has fallen from 307,654 to 206,888, but it is probable that even the previous figure was an under-statement. Some idea of the vagaries that occur from census to census may be gathered from the fact that, whereas in Darbhanga district male domestic servants have increased in number from 8,859 to 15,514 and in Champaran from 2,852 to 7,485, they have decreased in Monghyr from 24,262 to 1,157, in Gaya from 31,329 to 4,713 and in Bhagalpur from 11,436 to 831. The only class of private servant for which separate figures are tabulated is motor-drivers and cleaners, and the number of these has risen from 1,483 to 2,052. The increase in this case is probably genuine.

XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.

29. This residuary sub-class comprises three groups, for which details are given in the margin. In the preceding paragraphs reference has been made more than once to the nature of the occupations which are for the most part concealed under these vague terms, and unspecified labourers have been dealt with more particularly in paragraph 17. The five-fold increase in group 189 is specially noticeable, and probably accounts in large measure for the loss sustained by the commercial occupations. Most of these clerks, etc., were of course enumerated in urban areas, and it is significant that the four cities alone, although they contain only 1.0 per cent of the total population of the province, are responsible for 14.3 per cent of the persons in group 189.

	1931.	*1921.*
Insufficiently described occupations ...	**1,265,975**	**760,529**
188. Unspecified businessmen, contractors, etc.	13,150	4,403
189. Unspecified clerks, etc. ...	208,338	41,902
190. Unspecified labourers	1,041,580	711,310

XII.—Unproductive.

30. There has been an appreciable increase in the jail population, which is more than counterbalanced by a drop in the number of beggars, etc. It should be explained that persons undergoing rigorous imprisonment in jails were treated as "working dependants" and thus figure in the working population of the province, though no record was made of the occupations followed by them in ordinary life. Under-trial prisoners and persons undergoing simple imprisonment were (in common with inmates of leper asylums, almshouses and so on) treated as "non-working dependants", and in consequence do not appear at all in figures quoted above. Their number, however, is separately shown in Imperial Table X, and amounts in all to 5,457 persons.

	1931.	*1921.*
Unproductive	**93,787**	**111,861**
53. Inmates of jails, asylums, etc. ..	11,538	8,192
54. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes ...	81,943	103,279
55. Other non-productive industries ...	306	390

SCHEME OF OCCUPATIONS.

Group no. | Occupation.

CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS.

SUB-CLASS I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION.

ORDER 1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE.

(a) *Ordinary cultivation.*

1. Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.
2. Estate Agents and Managers of owners.
3. Estate Agents and Managers of Government.
4. Rent collectors, clerks, etc.
5. Cultivating owners.
6. Tenant cultivators.
7. Agricultural labourers.
8. Cultivators of jhum, taungya and shifting areas.

(b) *Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers).*

9. Cinchona.
10. Coconut.
11. Coffee.
12. Ganja.
13. Pan—Vine.
14. Rubber.
15. Tea.
16. Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers.

(c) *Forestry.*

17. Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.
18. Wood cutters and charcoal burners.
19. Collectors of forest produce.
20. Collectors of lac.

(d) *Stock raising.*

21. Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers.
22. Breeders of transport animals.
23. Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals.

(e) *Raising of small animals and insects.*

24. Birds, bees, etc.
25. Silkworms.
26. Lac cultivation.

ORDER 2.—FISHING AND HUNTING.

27. Fishing and Pearling.
28. Hunting.

SUB-CLASS II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS.

ORDER 3.—METALLIC MINERALS.

29. Gold.
30. Iron.
31. Lead, silver and zinc.
32. Manganese.
33. Tin and wolfram.
34. Other metallic minerals.

ORDER 4.—NON-METALLIC MINERAL.

35. Coal.
36. Petroleum.
37. Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays).
38. Mica.
39. Precious and semi-precious stones.
40. Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances.
41. Other non-metallic minerals.

CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.

SUB-CLASS III.—INDUSTRY.

ORDER 5.—TEXTILES.

42. Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing.
43. Cotton spinning, seizing and weaving.
44. Jute pressing, spinning and weaving.
45. Rope, twine, string and other fibres.
46. Wool carding, spinning and weaving.
47. Silk spinning and weaving.
48. Hair (horse-hair), etc.
49. Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles.
50. Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc. and insufficiently described textile industries.

ORDER 6.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.

51. Working in leather.
52. Furriers and persons occupied with feathers, and bristles; brush-makers.
53. Bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc., workers (except buttons).

ORDER 7.—WOOD.

54. Sawyers.
55. Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.
56. Basket-makers and other industries of woody materials, including, leaves and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials.

ORDER 8.—METALS.

57. Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals.
58. Makers of arms, guns, etc.
59. Blacksmiths, other workers in iron, makers of implements.
60. Workers in brass, copper and bell metal.
61. Workers in other metals (except precious metals).
62. Workers in mints, die-sinkers, etc.

ORDER 9.—CERAMICS.

63. Potters and makers of earthen-ware.
64. Brick and tile makers.
65. Other workers in ceramics.

ORDER 10.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO-CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.

66. Manufacture of matches, fire-works and other explosives.
67. Manufacture of aerated and mineral waters and ice.
68. Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils.
69. Manufacture and refining of mineral oils.
70. Others.

ORDER 11.—FOOD INDUSTRIES.

71. Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders.
72. Grain parchers, etc.
73. Butchers.
74. Makers of sugar, molasses and gur.
75. Sweetmeat and condiment makers.
76. Toddy drawers.
77. Brewers and distillers.
78. Manufacturers of Tobacco.
79. Manufacturers of Opium.
80. Manufacturers of Ganja.
81. Others.

Group no.	Occupation.	Group no.	Occupation.

CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—*continued.*

SUB-CLASS III.—INDUSTRY.—concluded.

ORDER 12.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET.

82. Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers.
83. Tailors, milliners, dress-makers and darners.
84. Embroiderers, hat-makers and makers of other articles of wear.
85. Washing and cleaning.
86. Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers.
87. Other industries connected with the toilet.

ORDER 13.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES.

88. Cabinet-makers, carriage-painters, etc.
89. Upholsterers, tent-makers, etc.

ORDER 14.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES.

90. Lime-burners, cement workers; excavators and well sinkers; stone cutters and dressers; brick layers and masons; builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc.

ORDER 15.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

91. Persons engaged in making, assembling or repairing motor vehicles or cycles.
92. Carriage, cart, palki, etc. makers and wheel-wrights.
93. Ship, boat, aeroplane builders.

ORDER 16.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE.

94. Heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc., gas works and electric light and power.

ORDER 17.—MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDEFINED INDUSTRIES.

95. Printers, engravers, book-binders, etc.
96. Makers of musical instruments.
97. Makers of clocks and surgical or scientific instruments, etc.
98. Makers of jewellery and ornaments.
99. Other miscellaneous and undefined industries (toy-making, taxidermy, etc.).
100. Scavenging.

SUB-CLASS IV.—TRANSPORT.

ORDER 18.—TRANSPORT BY AIR.

101. Persons concerned with aerodromes and aeroplanes.

ORDER 19.—TRANSPORT BY WATER.

102. Ship-owners, boat-owners and their employees, officers, mariners, etc. Ships brokers, boatmen and tow men.
103. Persons (other than labourers) employed in harbours, docks, rivers and canals, including pilots.
104. Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals.

ORDER 20.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD.

105. Persons (other than labourers) employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.
106. Labourers employed on roads and bridges.
107. Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams).
108. Owners, managers and employees (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles.
109. Palki, etc. bearers and owners.
110. Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock, owners and drivers.
111. Porters and messengers.

CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—*continued.*

SUB-CLASS IV.—TRANSPORT.—concluded.

ORDER 21.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL.

112. Railway employees of all kinds other than coolies.
113. Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance and coolies and porters employed on railway premises.

ORDER 22.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES.

114. Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services.

SUB-CLASS V.—TRADE.

ORDER 23.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE.

115. Bank managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers and brokers and their employees.

ORDER 24.—BROKERAGE COMMISSION AND EXPORT.

116. Brokers, commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employees.

ORDER 25.—TRADE IN TEXTILES.

117. Trade in piece-goods, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles.

ORDER 26.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHERS AND FURS.

118. Trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horn, etc., and the articles made from these.

ORDER 27.—TRADE IN WOOD.

119. Trade in wood (not fire-wood).
120. Trade in barks.
121. Trade in bamboos and canes.
122. Trade in thatches and other forest produce.

ORDER 28.—TRADE IN METALS.

123. Trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc.

ORDER 29.—TRADE IN POTTERY, BRICKS AND TILES.

124. Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles.

ORDER 30.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS.

125. Drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc.

ORDER 31.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANTS, ETC.

126. Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice.
127. Owners and Managers of hotels, cook shops, *sarais*, etc. (and employees).
128. Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs.

ORDER 32.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS.

129. Grain and pulse dealers.
130. Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices.
131. Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry.
132. Dealers in animals for food.
133. Dealers in fodder for animals.
134. Dealers in other food-stuffs.
135. Dealers in tobacco.
136. Dealers in opium.
137. Dealers in ganja.

ORDER 33.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES.

138. Trade in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress and the toilet (hats, umbrellas, socks, ready-made shoes, perfumes, etc.).

II.—Distribution by occupational sub-classes in natural divisions and districts.

N. B.—In this table the sum of columns 6, 8, 10, 12, etc., up to 28 is equal to the sum of columns 3, 4 and 5; and the sum of columns 7, 9, 11, 13, etc., up to 29 is equal to column 5 alone.

District and Natural Division.	Total 1,000.				Number per mille of total population occupied in :—																							
			Earners.		I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.		II.—Exploitation of Minerals.		III.—Industry.		IV.—Transport.		V.—Trade.		VI.—Public Force.		VII.—Public Administration.		VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts.		IX.—Persons living on their income.		X.—Domestic Service.		XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.		XII.—Unproductive.	
	Non-working Dependants.	Working Dependants.	Without a subsidiary occupation.	With a subsidiary occupation.	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).	As earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	As earners (subsidiary occupation).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Bihar and Orissa ...	***584***	***16***	***357***	***43***	***324***	***19***	***3***	***0·9***	***29***	***9***	***3***	***1***	***15***	***5***	***1***	***0·5***	***0·4***	***0·2***	***4***	***2***	***0·05***	***0·02***	***5***	***0·8***	***30***	***4***	***2***	***0·2***
North Bihar	***601***	***6***	***357***	***36***	***340***	***17***	***0·4***	***0·4***	***16***	***7***	***1***	***0·8***	***11***	***4***	***1***	***0·4***	***0·2***	***0·1***	***2***	***2***	***0·01***	***0·01***	***6***	***1***	***20***	***3***	***1***	***0·2***
Saran	**576**	**4**	**371**	**49**	379	20	0·3	0·4	16	12	1	1	9	6	2	0·6	0·1	0·1	2	2	0·02	0·04	3	2	11	4	1	0·3
Champaran	**549**	**6**	**396**	**49**	411	23	0·2	0·3	10	8	1	0·7	7	6	0·2	0·4	0·1	0·2	1	2	0·03	...	5	2	14	7	2	0·3
Muzaffarpur	**605**	**11**	**333**	**51**	341	27	1	1	16	8	1	1	11	6	1	0·7	0·5	0·1	3	3	0·01	0·01	15	2	4	1	1	0·3
Darbhanga	**639**	**4**	**323**	**34**	287	15	0·1	0·04	14	6	1	1	10	4	0·2	0·3	0·2	0·1	3	1	...	...	7	1	38	5	1	0·2
Bhagalpur	**580**	**7**	**395**	**18**	334	7	0·03	0·01	21	3	1	0·5	15	3	1	0·3	0·1	0·04	3	0·8	0·02	0·01	1	0·08	42	3	2	0·05
Purnea	**643**	**2**	**348**	**7**	306	4	0·03	...	20	0·9	3	0·2	16	1	2	0·3	0·2	0·03	2	0·4	...	...	1	0·01	6	0·3	1	0·03
South Bihar	***548***	***3***	***425***	***24***	***299***	***13***	***0·04***	...	***38***	***3***	***4***	***0·8***	***20***	***2***	***0·6***	***0·2***	***0·3***	***0·02***	***7***	***1***	***0·04***	***0·03***	***5***	***0·2***	***76***	***4***	***2***	***0·05***
Patna	**554**	**2**	**419**	**25**	272	14	0·1	...	38	3	6	0·7	24	2	1	0·2	0·3	0·02	9	1	0·03	...	7	0·2	86	4	3	0·05
Gaya	**557**	**3**	**416**	**24**	288	15	0·01	...	39	3	3	0·5	16	1	0·4	0·1	0·1	0·01	6	0·8	0·01	...	5	0·3	84	4	2	0·03
Shahabad ...	**540**	**1**	**428**	**31**	347	17	0·03	...	48	4	4	1	24	3	1	0·5	1	0·06	7	3	0·1	0·1	6	0·4	20	2	2	0·07
Monghyr	**540**	**7**	**434**	**19**	291	7	0·03	...	29	3	4	0·6	20	2	1	0·2	0·2	0·02	5	0·8	0·02	...	2	0·09	107	6	1	0·05
Orissa	***624***	***17***	***279***	***80***	***264***	***31***	...	...	***52***	***22***	***2***	***3***	***26***	***11***	***1***	***0·6***	***1***	***0·2***	***7***	***7***	***0·1***	***0·07***	***5***	***1***	***12***	***4***	***6***	***0·5***
Cuttack	**640**	**9**	**275**	**76**	249	28	...	...	57	26	2	2	22	10	1	0·5	1	0·3	6	6	0·2	0·08	4	0·9	11	2	7	0·4
Balasore	**606**	**23**	**277**	**94**	307	34	...	...	28	21	2	5	23	15	0·4	0·8	1	0·3	5	8	0·02	0·1	7	2	15	7	6	0·8
Puri	**606**	**29**	**293**	**72**	249	30	...	...	66	13	2	0·6	38	12	2	0·4	1	0·01	11	6	0·09	...	7	0·4	13	3	6	0·4
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***576***	***35***	***338***	***51***	***339***	***22***	***8***	***2***	***30***	***12***	***5***	***1***	***13***	***6***	***1***	***0·7***	***0·5***	***0·5***	***3***	***2***	***0·06***	***0·02***	***4***	***0·5***	***19***	***4***	***2***	***0·2***
Hazaribagh	**606**	**3**	**348**	**43**	323	10	14	7	12	12	4	1	8	4	0·5	0·6	0·3	0·09	2	2	0·2	0·01	1	0·5	28	6	1	0·1
Ranchi	**674**	**90**	**205**	**31**	274	14	0·02	...	20	7	1	0·4	8	3	0·4	0·3	0·6	0·05	3	1	0·06	...	1	0·1	17	5	0·7	0·09
Palamau	**535**	**25**	**390**	**50**	388	16	0·07	0·02	24	18	4	3	16	6	0·8	0·5	0·3	0·03	2	2	0·03	0·01	9	1	20	4	1	0·1
Manbhum	**640**	**13**	**297**	**50**	239	20	40	8	19	8	11	2	14	5	1	0·5	0·1	...	3	1	0·05	0·01	3	0·5	26	5	4	0·4
Singhbhum	**664**	**12**	**281**	**43**	228	24	7	2	46	7	7	2	12	2	1	0·7	0·3	0·1	3	0·8	0·04	...	4	0·3	27	5	1	0·09
Santal Parganas	**474**	**9**	**455**	**62**	478	23	0·2	0·3	14	16	2	1	10	12	0·4	0·6	0·05	0·02	2	2	0·03	...	1	0·6	18	7	1	0·2
Angul	**495**	**7**	**437**	**61**	415	34	0·01	0·05	58	12	1	2	9	4	2	1	2	0·5	2	5	0·02	0·04	3	0·4	13	2	0·2	0·2
Sambalpur	**522**	**76**	**353**	**49**	351	20	0·4	0·04	60	15	5	2	18	5	2	0·7	1	0·6	3	2	...	0·07	4	0·5	31	4	3	1
Orissa States	**559**	**49**	**338**	**54**	350	29	3	0·9	42	11	4	0·9	17	6	2	1	1	1	3	2	0·04	0·02	6	0·3	10	2	3	0·1
Chota Nagpur States ...	**480**	**27**	**384**	**109**	434	66	1	0·04	33	12	4	2	7	4	0·5	0·5	1	2	2	1	0·06	0·02	2	0·3	33	21	2	0·4

III.—Occupations of females

BY CLASSES, SUB-CLASSES, ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS.

Group no.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.* Males.	Females.	Number of females per 1,000 males.
1	2	3	4	5
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	**13,772,574**	**5,667,062**	**411**
	A.—Production of Raw Materials	**10,640,574**	**4,031,947**	**379**
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	**10,522,815**	**3,992,825**	**379**
	1. Pasture and agriculture ...	10,442,072	3,980,131	**381**
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	10,127,864	3,924,227	**387**
1	Non-cultivating proprietors	149,329	23,065	**154**
5	Cultivating owners	357,864	46,702	**131**
6	Tenant cultivators	7,113,572	2,011,101	**283**
7	Agricultural labourers	2,474,815	1,842,614	**745**
	(b) Cultivation of special crops ...	16,684	4,425	**265**
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	13,480	4,030	**299**
	(c) Forestry	11,031	5,912	**536**
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners ...	7,339	4,461	**608**
	(d) Stock raising	271,030	44,810	**165**
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	69,331	23,704	**342**
23	Herdsmen and breeders of other animals ...	201,574	21,106	**105**
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	15,463	757	**49**
	2. Fishing and hunting ...	80,743	12,694	**157**
27	Fishing and pearling	78,572	12,490	**159**
	II.—Exploitation of Minerals ...	**117,759**	**39,122**	**332**
	3. Metallic minerals	7,710	5,377	**684**
	4. Non-metallic minerals ...	110,049	33,845	**308**
35	Coal	95,010	27,296	**287**
38	Mica	6,967	2,174	**312**
40	Salt, saltpetre and other saline substances	7,006	3,929	**561**
	B.—Preparation and supply of material substances ...	**1,745,115**	**907,926**	**520**
	III.—Industry	**1,051,978**	**559,649**	**532**
	5. Textiles	182,652	91,348	**500**
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving ...	164,419	75,309	**458**
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving ...	4,239	2,912	**687**
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres ...	2,245	7,007	**3,121**
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving ...	4,363	1,403	**322**
47	Silk spinning and weaving	2,054	1,846	**899**
	6. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom ...	4,627	1,597	**345**
	7. Wood	122,054	65,273	**535**
56	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials	55,653	62,162	**1,117**
	8. Metals	102,282	16,346	**160**
	9. Ceramics	104,554	51,998	**497**
63	Potters and makers of earthenware ...	98,659	50,031	**507**
	10. Chemical (and analogous) products	71,421	42,594	**596**
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	66,294	41,060	**619**
	11. Food Industries	77,927	161,305	**2,070**
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	9,605	82,699	**8,610**
72	Grain parchers, etc.	32,105	72,361	**2,250**
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers ...	7,804	2,298	**294**
	12. Industries of dress and the toilet	251,413	103,510	**412**
83	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darners	27,810	9,109	**328**
85	Washing and cleaning	78,879	61,086	**774**
86	Barbers, hairdressers and wig-makers ...	103,941	24,681	**237**
	13. Furniture industries ...	72	183	**2 542**
	14. Building industries	29,472	9,037	**307**
	15. Construction of means of transport	791	5	**6**
	16. Production and transmission of physical forces	430	6	**14**
	17. Miscellaneous and undefined industries	104,283	16,447	**158**
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments ...	85,315	2,525	**30**
100	Scavenging	10,378	11,092	**1,069**
	IV.—Transport	**157,903**	**24,709**	**156**
	19. Transport by water	15,164	637	**42**
	20. Transport by road	101,132	22,753	**225**
106	Labourers employed on roads and bridges...	28,868	18,856	**653**
111	Porters and messengers	10,129	3,171	**313**
	21. Transport by rail	38,721	1,294	**33**
	22. Post office, telegraph and telephone services	2,886	25	**9**
	V.—Trade	**535,234**	**323,568**	**605**
	23. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance ...	18,872	1,115	**59**
	24. Brokerage commission and export	964	244	**253**
	25. Trade in textiles	22,355	3,865	**173**
	26. Trade in skins, leather and furs	6,995	1,433	**205**
	27. Trade in wood	17,411	16,407	**942**
	28. Trade in metals	805	240	**298**
	29. Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	3,552	2,056	**806**
	30. Trade in chemical products ...	4,385	646	**147**
	31. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	20,429	11,901	**583**
126	Vendors of wine, aerated waters and ice ...	18,791	10,655	**567**
	32. Other trade in food-stuffs ...	258,294	205,298	**795**
129	Grain and pulse dealers	51,899	34,905	**673**
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices ...	22,323	6,374	**286**
131	Dealers in dairy product, eggs and poultry	47,565	68,865	**1,448**
133	Dealers in fodder for animals	1,880	3,418	**1,818**
	33. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	4,458	1,617	**363**
	34. Trade in furniture	1,952	441	**226**
	35. Trade in building materials ...	479	437	**912**
	36. Trade in means of transport ...	4,810	263	**54**
	37. Trade in fuel	15,020	39,297	**2,616**
	38. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences ...	11,556	5,717	**495**
147	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, toys, flowers, etc.	8,390	5,306	**632**
	39. Trade of other sorts ...	143,897	32,502	**226**
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified	138,568	31,294	**226**
	C.—Public Administration and Liberal Arts	**303,783**	**29,466**	**97**
	VI.—Public Force	**57,937**	**1**	**0·02**
	VII.—Public Administration ...	**25,895**	**607**	**23**
	VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts	**219,951**	**28,858**	**131**
	45. Religion	125,326	10,707	**85**
	46. Law	9,688	46	**5**
	47. Medicine	11,037	13,761	**1,247**
169	Registered medical practitioners, including oculists	4,059	234	**58**
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses	1,769	13,316	**7,527**
173	Veterinary surgeons	471	17	**36**
	48. Instruction...	38,601	1,585	**41**
	49. Letters, arts and sciences ...	35,299	2,779	**79**
182	Musicians, actors, dancers, etc. ...	29,502	2,475	**84**
	D.—Miscellaneous	**1,083,102**	**697,723**	**644**
	IX.—Persons living on their income	**2,382**	**474**	**199**
	X.—Domestic Service	**124,457**	**116,809**	**939**
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	**888,341**	**545,747**	**614**
189	Clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, shops, etc.	318,013	22,771	**104**
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	653,064	521,326	**798**
	XII.—Unproductive	**67,922**	**34,693**	**511**
	53. Inmates of jails, asylums, etc.	11,235	303	**27**
	54. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	56,149	34,374	**612**
	55. Other unclassified non-productive industries	541	16	**30**

*"Actual workers" includes:

(a) Earners following the occupation in question as their principal means of livelihood;

(b) Earners following the occupation as a subsidiary means of livelihood; and

(c) Working dependants.

IV.—Selected occupations, 1931 and 1921.

N. B.—No exact comparison is possible between the figures of 1931 and 1921, as the method of classifying the working population was not the same at the two censuses.

Group number.	Occupation.	1931. Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.	1931. Earners (subsidiary occupation).	1921. Actual workers (principal occupation).
1	2	3	4	5
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	**17,610,171**	**1,829,465**	**18,756,913**
	A.—Production of raw materials	**13,821,969**	**850,552**	**15,065,463**
	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation	**13,702,355**	**813,285**	**14,922,902**
	1. Pasture and agriculture ...	13,641,948	780,357	14,858,616
	(a) Ordinary cultivation ...	13,330,474	721,617	14,433,114
1	Non-cultivating proprietors	119,966	52,428	114,942
2	Estate agents and managers of owners ...	1,067	734	93,570
3	Estate agents and managers of Government	251	94	
4	Rent collectors, clerks, etc.	20,502	10,305	
5	Cultivating owners	375,126	29,440	10,911,340
6	Tenant cultivators	8,842,429	282,244	
7	Agricultural labourers	3,970,063	346,366	3,313,253
	(b) Cultivation of special crops ...	14,329	6,780	14,556
16	Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	12,357	5,153	14,106
	(c) Forestry	11,448	5,405	16,358
	(d) Stock raising	284,317	31,533	394,235
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	81,090	11,945	100,052
23	Herdsmen and breeders of other animals	203,163	19,519	292,815
	(e) Raising of small animals and insects	1,378	14,842	353
	2. Fishing and hunting ...	60,409	33,028	64,286
27	Fishing and pearling	58,965	32,097	63,323
	II.—Exploitation of minerals ...	**119,614**	**37,267**	**142,561**
	3. Metallic minerals	9,636	3,351	2,060
	4. Non-metallic minerals ...	109,978	33,916	140,501
35	Coal	99,222	33,084	112,270
38	Mica	4,562	4,579	11,600
	B.—Preparation and supply of material substances	**2,003,466**	**649,575**	**2,281,862**
	III.—Industry	**1,226,869**	**384,758**	**1,367,749**
	5. Textiles	208,995	65,005	260,022
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving ...	184,207	55,521	226,722
44	Jute pressing, spinning and weaving ...	3,320	3,831	3,876
47	Silk spinning and weaving	3,280	620	5,279
	6. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom...	4,420	1,804	9,752
	7. Wood	140,749	46,578	150,145
55	Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc. ...	44,843	23,005	44,373
56	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials	95,145	22,670	103,229
	8. Metals	93,014	25,614	97,431
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals	23,040	352	11,372
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron ...	53,759	22,623	67,196
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	15,178	2,219	18,264
	9. Ceramics	115,564	40,988	125,367
63	Potters and makers of earthen-ware ...	109,411	39,279	116,413
	10. Chemical (and analogous) products	81,888	32,127	84,301
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	77,208	30,146	78,736
	11. Food industries	204,466	34,766	245,889
71	Ricepounders, huskers and flour grinders	79,346	12,958	97,484
72	Grain parchers, etc.	88,131	16,395	112,873
73	Butchers	5,130	662	5,376
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers ...	9,097	1,005	12,474
76	Toddy drawers	15,356	2,660	13,428
78	Manufacturers of tobacco	6,019	851	1,424
79	Manufacturers of opium	33	25	
80	Manufacturers of ganja	12	2	
	12. Industries of dress and the toilet	269,332	85,591	282,636
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers ...	36,791	9,870	27,809
83	Tailors, milliners, dress-makers and darners	30,829	6,090	34,060
85	Washing and cleaning	106,684	33,281	121,314
86	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig makers ...	92,708	35,914	96,928
	13. Furniture industries ...	236	29	404
	14. Building industries ...	30,670	7,839	33,793
	15. Construction of means of transport	584	213	300
	16. Production and transmission of physical forces ...	403	33	388
	17. Miscellaneous and undefined industries	76,558	44,172	77,321
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments ...	46,038	40,902	59,808
100	Scavenging	19,063	1,507	14,404
	IV.—Transport	**133,660**	**48,952**	**135,892**
	19. Transport by water ...	11,892	3,909	12,233
	20. Transport by road... ...	85,764	38,121	83,748
106	Labourers employed on roads and bridges	35,576	12,149	42,834
107	Owners, managers and employees connected with mechanically driven vehicles ...	2,941	774	65
108	Owners, managers and employees connected with other vehicles	17,223	10,111	19,851
109	Palki, etc, bearers and owners ...	9,621	12,171	5,095
110	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers	7,899	1,786	11,365
111	Porters and messengers	12,224	1,076	3,279
	21. Transport by rail	33,653	6,362	37,365
112	Railway employees other than coolies ...	20,057	2,893	25,298
113	Labourers employed on railway works, coolies and porters	13,596	3,469	12,067
	22. Post office, telegraph and telephone services ...	2,351	560	3,546
	V.—Trade	**642,937**	**215,865**	**778,221**
	23. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	7,918	12,969	16,072
	24. Brokerage commission and export	940	268	2,102
	25. Trade in textiles	20,290	5,930	22,804
	26. Trade in skins, leather and furs	5,915	2,513	3,592
	27. Trade in wood	12,638	21,180	13,092
	28. Trade in metals	839	206	2,858
	29. Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	3,065	1,543	6,114
	30. Trade in chemical products ...	3,505	1,526	3,855
	31. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	26,867	5,463	25,818
126	Vendors of wine, aerated waters and ice...	24,535	4,911	25,421
	32. Other trade in food-stuffs ...	346,353	117,339	474,375
129	Grain and pulse dealers	67,606	19,198	119,967
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices...	23,795	4,002	14,783
131	Dealers in dairy product, eggs and poultry	85,231	31,199	112,750
135	Dealers in tobacco	3,469	1,361	8,130
136	Dealers in opium	113	44	
137	Dealers in ganja	373	106	
	33. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	4,926	1,149	5,590
	34. Trade in furniture ...	1,888	506	3,743
	35. Trade in building materials...	567	349	1,224
	36. Trade in means of transport...	3,226	1,846	2,788
	37. Trade in fuel	42,431	11,886	54,748
	38. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	14,410	2,863	17,357
147	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, toys, flowers, etc. ...	11,255	2,441	15,343
	39. Trade of other sorts ...	147,259	29,230	121,189
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified	142,136	27,726	105,796
	C.—Public administration and liberal arts	**216,164**	**117,085**	**227,252**
	VI.—Public Force	**36,812**	**21,126**	**43,118**
	40. Army	1,026	8	1,408
	43. Police	35,786	21,118	41,710
157	Police	15,230	2,521	13,111
158	Village watchmen	20,556	18,597	28,599
	VII.—Public administration ...	**17,385**	**9,117**	**37,611**
	VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts	**161,967**	**86,842**	**146,523**
	45. Religion	81,811	54,222	70,122
	46. Law	8,129	1,605	5,797
167	Lawyers of all kinds including qazis, lawyers and mukhtiars	5,216	839	3,018
	47. Medicine	19,518	5,280	24,603
169	Registered medical practitioners including oculists	3,540	753	6,629
170	Unregistered medical practitioners ...	2,514	2,339	
171	Dentists...	72	7	
173	Veterinary surgeons	402	86	
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, etc.	12,990	2,095	17,974
	48. Instruction	31,064	9,102	24,533
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds ...	25,694	8,836	23,760
	49. Letters, arts and sciences ...	21,445	16,633	21,478
182	Musicians, actors, dancers, etc. ...	17,236	14,741	18,064
	D.—Miscellaneous	**1,568,572**	**212,253**	**1,182,336**
	IX.—Persons living on their income	**1,922**	**934**	**2,292**
	X.—Domestic service	**206,888**	**34,378**	**307,654**
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	**1,265,975**	**168,113**	**760,529**
188	Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified	13,150	2,545	4,403
189	Clerks and other employees in unspecified offices, etc.	208,338	32,443	41,902
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	1,041,580	132,819	711,310
	XII.—Unproductive	**93,787**	**8,828**	**111,861**
	53. Inmates of jails, asylums, etc.	11,538	...	8,192
	54. Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	81,943	8,577	103,279
193	Beggars and vagrants	79,983	8,330	101,115
	55. Other unclassified non-productive industries ...	306	251	390

V.—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON RAILWAYS AND IN THE IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT AND IN THE POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT ACCORDING TO THE DEPARTMENTAL RETURNS.

Class of persons employed.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
1	2	3
RAILWAYS.		
Total persons employed ...	*1,548*	*75,334*
Officers	106	36
Subordinates on scales of pay rising to Rs. 250 per month or over	650	166
Subordinates on scales of pay rising from Rs. 30 to Rs. 249 per month	782	15,355
Subordinates on scales of pay under Rs. 30 per month	10	59,777
IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT.		
Total persons employed ...	*4*	*6,349*
Persons directly employed ...	**4**	**2,289**
Officers	3	21
Upper Subordinates	...	75
Lower Subordinates	...	82
Clerks	1	335
Peons and other servants	...	1,285
Coolies	...	491
Persons indirectly employed ...	...	**4,060**
Contractors	...	268
Contractors' regular employés	...	134
Coolies	...	3,658

Class of persons employed.	Post office.		Telegraph Department.	
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
1	2	3	4	5
POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.				
Total persons employed ...	*3*	*8,661*	*49*	*464*
(1) Post and Telegraphs ...	**3**	**7,414**	**49**	**464**
Supervising officers (including probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of post offices, and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs, and all officers of higher rank than these)	2	42	19	10
Postmasters (including Deputy, Assistant, Sub and branch Postmasters)	1	659	...	...
Signalling establishment (including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employés). ...	...	...	36	49
Miscellaneous agents, school masters, station masters, etc.	...	1,107	...	...
Clerks of all kinds	...	965	...	41
Postmen	...	2,127	...	...
Skilled labour establishment (including foremen, instrument makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen and line-riders and other employés)	...	2	4	320
Unskilled labour establishment (including line coolies, cable guards, batterymen, telegraph messengers, peons, and other employés)	...	737	...	44
Road establishment (consisting of overseers, runners, clerks and booking agents, boatmen, syces, coachmen, bearers and others)	...	1,775	...	...
(2) Railway Mail Service ...	...	**694**	...	...
Supervising officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of sorting) ...	...	14	...	...
Clerks of all kinds	...	11	...	...
Sorters	...	406	...	...
Mail guards, mail agents, van peons, porters, etc.	...	263	...	...
(3) Combined offices	...	**553**	...	...
Signallers	...	174	...	...
Messengers and other servants	...	379	...	...

VI.—Occupations of selected castes.

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 earners engaged in each occupation as principal means of livelihood.	Number of females per 100 males.
1	2	3
Anglo-Indian.		
Whole province	**1,000**	**15**
Income from rent of land	15	67
Cultivators of all kinds	11	16
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	16	19
Exploitation of minerals	26	2
Industries	113	7
Transport	518	1
Public force	13	...
Public administration	41	17
Arts and professions	101	298
Persons living on their income	29	26
Domestic service	12	317
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	89	12
Others	16	27
Barhi [Vishvakarma Brahman] *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**32**
Carpenters	253	9
Cultivators of all kinds	481	34
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	144	77
Labourers unspecified	65	87
Others	57	16
Orissa	**1,000**	**7**
Carpenters	367	1
Cultivators of all kinds	479	4
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	69	6
Industries	35	72
Others	50	84
Hazaribagh	**1,000**	**60**
Carpenters	61	5
Cultivators of all kinds	803	56
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	87	375
Labourers unspecified	18	77
Others	32	27
Brahman *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**10**
Priests	108	11
Income from rent of land	45	8
Cultivators of all kinds	755	9
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	24	20
Arts and professions	11	4
Domestic service	13	7
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	12	2
Others	32	16
Orissa	**1,000**	**8**
Priests	95	4
Income from rent of land	37	25
Cultivators of all kinds	728	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	23	7
Industries	9	212
Trade	18	17
Arts and professions	25	9
Domestic service	23	10
Beggars and prostitutes	10	33
Others	32	23
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**10**
Priests	93	6
Income from rent of land	51	21
Cultivators of all kinds	615	9
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	17	4
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	25	28
Exploitation of minerals	17	6
Industries	16	8
Transport	13	2
Trade	26	13
Public administration	12	...
Arts and professions	37	2
Domestic service	25	14
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	13	2
Labourers unspecified	12	16
Beggars and prostitutes	15	35
Others	13	12
Chamar *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**76**
Hide-dressers	84	58
Cultivators of all kinds	297	55
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	468	93
Exploitation of minerals	9	66
Labourers unspecified	115	107
Others	27	40
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**71**
Hide-dressers	90	32
Cultivators of all kinds	408	52
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	303	139
Exploitation of minerals	103	61
Labourers unspecified	47	133
Others	49	27
Dhobi [Dhoba] *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**61**
Washermen	479	83
Cultivators of all kinds	343	37
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	130	64
Labourers unspecified	29	77
Others	19	31
Dhobi—*concluded.*		
Orissa	**1,000**	**46**
Washermen	543	112
Cultivators of all kinds	341	5
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	83	5
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	10	4
Others	23	43
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**59**
Washermen	445	109
Cultivators of all kinds	344	22
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	127	78
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	13	4
Exploitation of minerals	23	45
Labourers unspecified	16	75
Others	31	32
European and allied races.		
Whole province	**1,000**	**13**
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	30	7
Exploitation of minerals	72	4
Industries	132	3
Transport	172	1
Trade	19	9
Public force	300	...
Public administration	45	12
Arts and professions	152	120
Persons living on their income	13	38
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	51	11
Others	14	50
Hajjam [Nai, Napit, Nai Brahman] *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**46**
Barbers	396	41
Cultivators of all kinds	415	37
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	124	97
Domestic service	9	70
Labourers unspecified	37	136
Others	19	26
Hazaribagh	**1,000**	**53**
Barbers	126	23
Cultivators of all kinds	718	45
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	100	342
Exploitation of minerals	12	33
Labourers unspecified	22	208
Others	22	19
Jolaha [Sheikh Momin] *Muslim.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**49**
Weavers	149	34
Income from rent of land	11	22
Cultivators of all kinds	470	42
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	210	86
Industries	24	31
Trade	23	19
Domestic service	20	28
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	14	7
Labourers unspecified	53	128
Others	26	52
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**49**
Weavers	98	30
Cultivators of all kinds	660	43
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	121	178
Exploitation of minerals	38	38
Trade	13	29
Domestic service	12	13
Labourers unspecified	21	75
Others	37	16
Kamar [Lohar, Vishvakarma Brahman] *Hindu.*		
Orissa	**1,000**	**7**
Blacksmiths	289	3
Income from rent of land	15	7
Cultivators of all kinds	495	4
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	85	13
Industries	64	27
Trade	10	108
Labourers unspecified	11	72
Others	31	54
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**43**
Blacksmiths	335	24
Cultivators of all kinds	381	35
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	164	134
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	12	12
Exploitation of minerals	24	61
Industries	18	47
Trade	11	99
Labourers unspecified	29	131
Others	26	30
Karan *Hindu*		
Orissa	**1,000**	**10**
Writers	124	2
Income from rent of land	57	26
Cultivators of all kinds	567	8
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	20	...
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	44	5
Karan—*concluded.*		
Industries	19	103
Trade	21	11
Public force	11	...
Public administration	17	...
Arts and professions	44	9
Domestic service	28	24
Labourers unspecified	13	77
Others	26	17
Kayasth *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**7**
Writers	220	2
Income from rent of land	70	12
Cultivators of all kinds	487	9
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	16	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	19	24
Trade	13	6
Public administration	11	...
Arts and professions	42	3
Domestic service	19	3
Contractors, clerks, etc., unspecified	73	1
Others	30	11
Kumhar *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**53**
Potters	421	60
Cultivators of all kinds	414	37
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	111	87
Labourers unspecified	33	119
Others	21	37
Orissa	**1,000**	**40**
Potters	586	72
Cultivators of all kinds	324	5
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	49	18
Industries	11	431
Others	30	71
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**49**
Potters	361	75
Cultivators of all kinds	493	27
Field-labourers wood-cutters, etc.	88	125
Trade	11	88
Labourers unspecified	12	89
Others	35	33
Tanti [Tatwa] *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**56**
Weavers	53	36
Cultivators of all kinds	316	35
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	425	73
Exploitation of minerals	17	131
Industries	10	31
Labourers unspecified	135	97
Others	44	16
Orissa	**1,000**	**27**
Weavers	510	36
Cultivators of all kinds	314	6
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	87	13
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	10	10
Industries	32	562
Trade	15	111
Others	32	95
Orissa States	**1,000**	**46**
Weavers	455	66
Cultivators of all kinds	315	10
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	125	64
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	11	17
Exploitation of minerals	18	131
Trade	26	243
Others	50	109
Teli *Hindu.*		
Bihar	**1,000**	**41**
Oil-pressers	250	71
Cultivators of all kinds	502	29
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	110	58
Transport	13	5
Trade	66	23
Labourers unspecified	27	88
Others	33	27
Orissa	**1,000**	**17**
Oil-pressers	146	67
Cultivators of all kinds	567	5
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	114	4
Industries	23	238
Trade	90	30
Labourers unspecified	12	47
Others	48	37
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**1,000**	**41**
Oil-pressers	170	100
Cultivators of all kinds	509	25
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	97	82
Exploitation of minerals	16	46
Industries	10	26
Trade	48	46
Labourers unspecified	20	128
Others	40	19

VII.—Unemployment of educated persons.

(1) BY CLASS.

Class.	Total unemployed (Aged 20-39.)	Aged 20-24. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 20-24. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 25-29. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 25-29. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 30-34. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 30-34. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 35-39. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 35-39. Unemployed for one year or more.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total ...	*462*	*51*	*198*	*25*	*102*	*8*	*49*	*3*	*26*
Brahmans	**111**	10	55	7	24	2	7	...	6
Depressed Hindus ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other Hindus ...	**281**	34	114	16	60	5	35	1	16
Muslims	**59**	6	22	2	17	1	6	1	4
Anglo-Indians ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
All other classes ...	**11**	1	7	...	1	...	1	1	...

(a) *Total number of educated unemployed—*

(1) aged under 20 years	69
(2) aged 40 years or over	16
(3) whose fathers were soldiers	...
(4) whose fathers were cultivators	240
(5) whose fathers were artizans	6
(6) whose fathers were menials or servants	...

(b) *Total number of educated persons* who, though not totally unemployed, have failed to obtain employment with which they are satisfied 52

(2) BY DEGREE.

Degree.	Total unemployed (Aged 20-39.)	Aged 20-24. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 20-24. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 25-29. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 25-29. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 30-34. Unemployed for less than one year.	Aged 30-34. Unemployed for one year or more.	Aged 35-39. Unemployed for less than one year	Aged 35-39. Unemployed for one year or more.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Foreign degrees ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indian degrees ...	*462*	*51*	*198*	*25*	*102*	*8*	*49*	*3*	*26*
Medical	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Legal	**1**	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Agricultural ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Commerce	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
M. A.	**5**	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	...
M. Sc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B. A.	**44**	5	14	7	13	...	4	...	1
B. Sc.	**9**	3	4	1	...	...	1	...	...
B. Eng. or L. C. E. ...	**4**	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
B. T. or L. T. ...	**1**	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
I. Sc.	**12**	2	6	1	1	...	...	...	2
I. A.	**41**	3	16	..	12	1	5	...	4
Matric. or S. L. C. ...	**345**	38	156	11	72	7	39	3	19

CHAPTER IX.—Literacy.

Reference to statistics.

The main statistics of literacy are contained in Imperial Table XIII. The table has three parts, the first of which is a provincial summary giving statistics by age-periods for all religions combined and for each religion separately; the other two parts give similar information for individual districts and cities, but here separate figures are only shown for those religions which are numerically important in the respective localities. Imperial Table XIV contains statistics of literacy for certain selected castes and tribes.

Proportional and supplementary figures will be found in the following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter :—

I.—Literacy by age, sex and religion.

II.—Literacy by age, sex and locality.

III.—Literacy by religion, sex and locality.

IV.—English literacy by age, sex and locality : 1931-1901.

V.—Proportion of literacy at certain ages.

VI.—Progress of education since 1881.

VII.—Literacy in certain selected castes.

VIII.—Number of educational institutions and pupils.

Nature of the enquiry.

2. The census test of literacy is the ability to " write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it ". This criterion was adopted in 1911, and it is therefore only in respect of the last three censuses that the returns of literacy are strictly comparable. In 1881 and 1891 the population was divided into three classes—*literate*, *illiterate* and *learning*. Persons who were under instruction either at home or at school or college were recorded as *learning;* those who, not being under instruction, were able both to read and to write any language were shown as *literate;* and the remainder were *illiterate*. This classification, however, was found to be unsatisfactory in practice The census returns of *learning* bore no resemblance to the departmental statistics of persons under instruction, because children who had only recently started going to school were wrongly classed as *illiterate*, and the more advanced pupils were shown as *literate* while still pursuing their studies In 1901, therefore, the *learning* category was dropped, and the population was divided simply into the *literate* and the *illiterate*. But at that census no special instructions were given as to the degree of proficiency in reading and writing required to satisfy the test of literacy, and considerable local variations resulted. In general, it is believed that many persons who could read sufficiently to decipher the sacred texts but could not write at all (except perhaps to sign their own names), and others who could read and write a very little but were not capable of conducting a private correspondence, were treated as literate in 1901, with the result that the exclusion of such persons from the returns of the following census obscured to some extent the true growth of literacy in the decade 1901—11.

At the present census, while there has been no change in the general criterion of literacy laid down in 1911, the returns were complicated by two new factors. In the first place it was desired to obtain a record of persons whose education had progressed beyond the primary stage and who had completed successfully the " middle " course. The main object in view in making this enquiry was to obtain information which might be of

value in determining the educational qualification required for the exercise of the franchise. The question of adopting some lower standard for the purpose of this enquiry—such as the completion of the upper primary course—was considered by the local Government, but it was felt that the margin of difference between the achievement of such a standard and the acquisition of simple literacy which would not relapse into illiteracy before years of discretion were reached was so small that it would not be worth while to collect separate figures. The instructions issued to the census staff in this connexion were that in the literacy column of the general schedule an entry of *middle* should be made for all persons who had successfully completed the middle school course of education (including middle vernacular schools) or had progressed beyond that stage; the entries of *literate* should be confined to persons who could read and write a letter but had not succeeded in passing the middle standard; and, as usual, a cross should be used to signify persons who did not fall within either of the above categories.

The other circumstance which complicated the returns on the present occasion was that it had originally been intended to obtain a record of the vernacular language or script in which each person was literate, and in the printed forms of the general schedule the heading of the literacy column and the instructions for filling it in were drafted with this object in mind. The proposal was subsequently abandoned and revised instructions were duly circulated, but there is no doubt that this modification in the original plan, together with the supplementary directions about the record of " middle " qualifications (which were also issued at a somewhat late stage of the proceedings), tended to give rise to some confusion and may have affected adversely the accuracy of the figures.

From the nature of things a child under the age of five years cannot be expected to have acquired literacy, and infant prodigies of this kind, where they figured in the returns, were left out of account. Moreover, in considering the proportion of literate persons to the total population, it is probably better to confine the calculation entirely to persons aged five and over, for it not infrequently happens that the percentage of the population in the first five years of life varies markedly from census to census (as indeed it has done on the last two occasions) and it is undesirable that such fluctuations should have the effect of exaggerating or obscuring the progress of literacy in the population as a whole. In this report, therefore, as in the last, all the proportional figures have been based on the total exclusion of persons below five years of age except where the contrary is expressly stated.

General extent of literacy.

3. The total number of persons returned as literate in Bihar and Orissa at the present census was 1,853,094, or 52 per mille of the population aged five and over. The vast majority of these literate persons are males, who out-number the females by about 12 to 1. For the sexes separately the proportions are 95 literate males per mille and 8 literate females. The statement in the margin shows how backward this province is in comparison with the other provinces of India. At this point it may be stated that ten years ago Bihar and Orissa had a distinctly higher proportion of literate persons than any one of the three provinces which are now immediately above it in the gradation list. But in this province the proportion is still almost exactly the same as it was at the last census, whereas the other three units have each shown a remarkable increase, varying from 30 to 40 per cent, over their previous figure. The apparent failure of Bihar and Orissa to make any advance at all will be discussed in more detail later on.

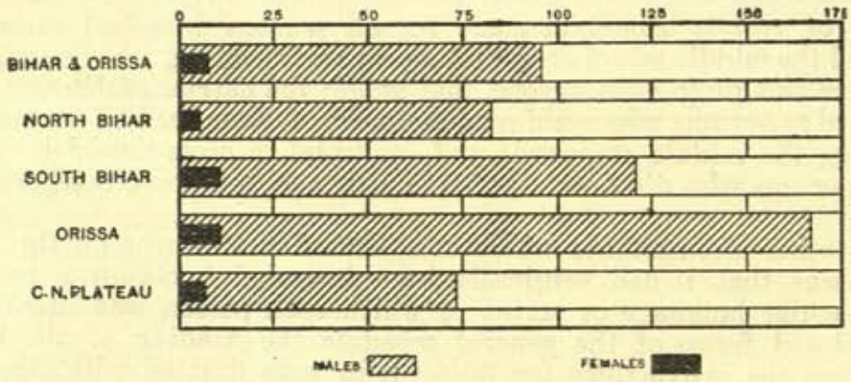
	No. literate per mille.
Bihar and Orissa	**52**
United Provinces	55
Punjab	59
Central Provinces	60
Assam	91
Bombay	102
Madras	108
Bengal	110
Burma	368

Distribution by locality.

4. The following diagram shows the distribution of the literate population of each sex between the four natural divisions of the province.

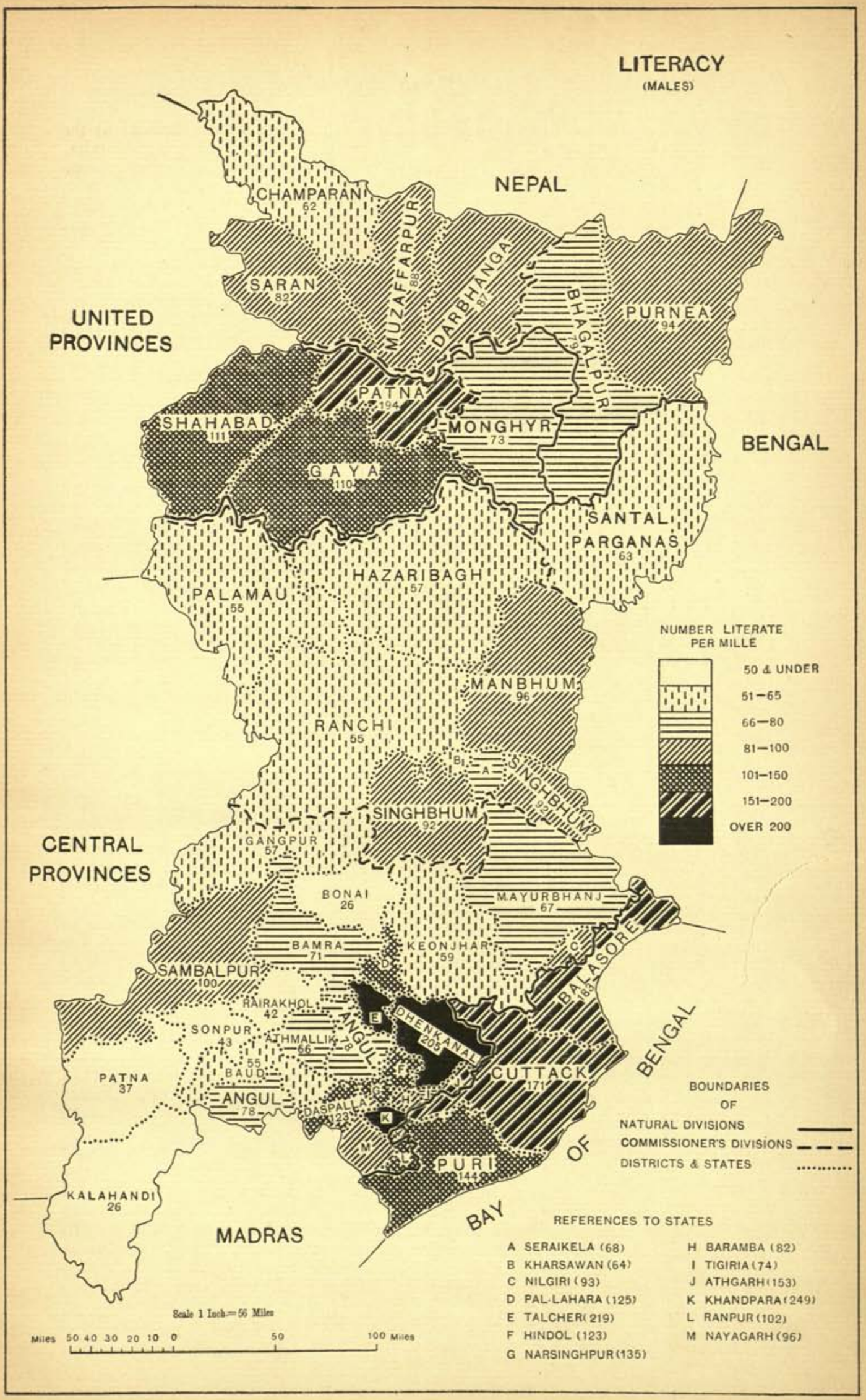
The figures which it illustrates will be found in Subsidiary Table II at the end of the chapter, along with the figures for each individual district. The district distribution is illustrated in the two accompanying maps, one of which deals with male literacy and the other with female.

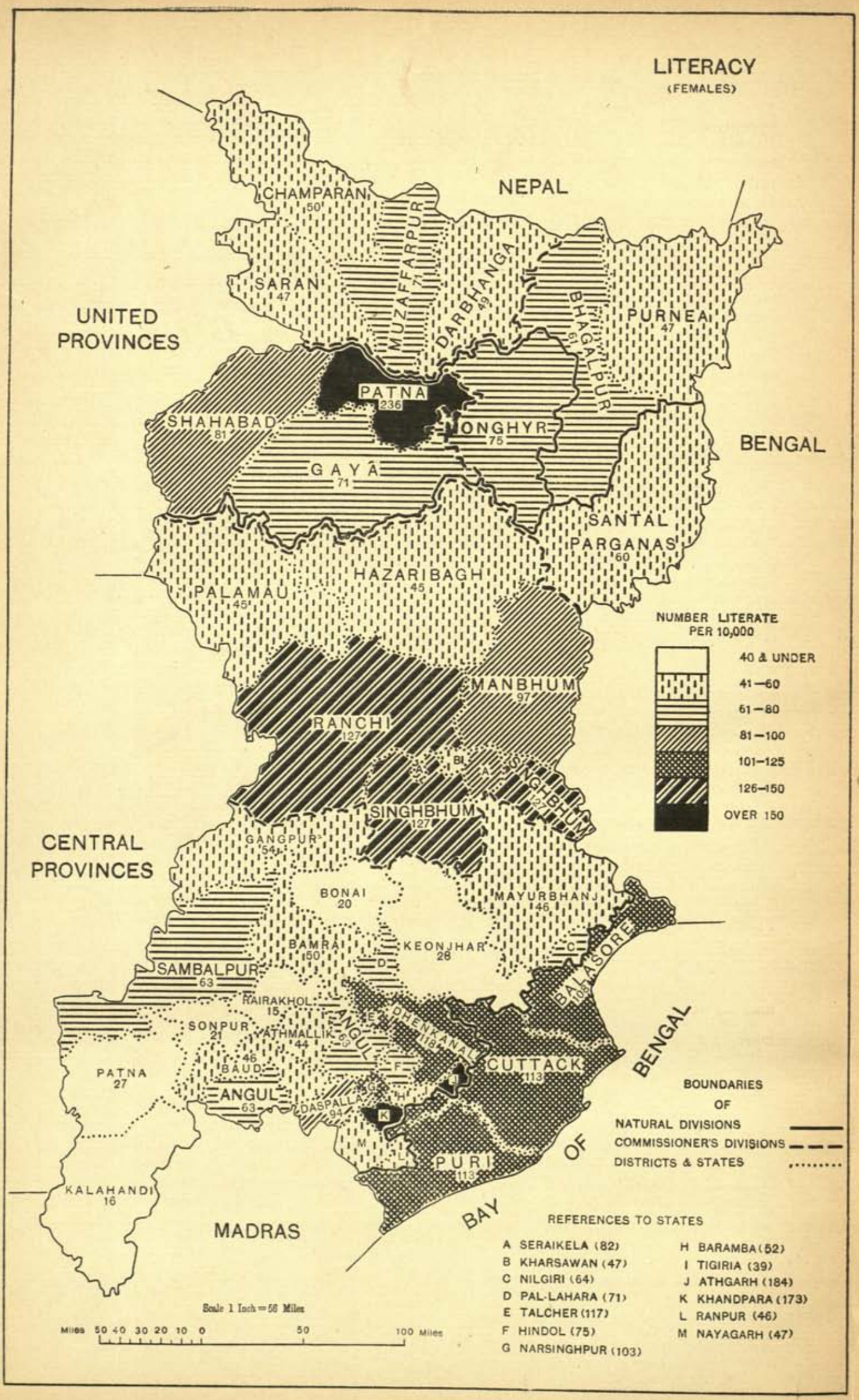
Diagram showing the number of literate persons per mille aged five and over by sex and natural divisions.



Taking both sexes together, Orissa—where 85 persons in every thousand are literate—is easily the most advanced division. In point of female literacy it is on exactly the same footing as South Bihar, but among males the proportion is about 40 per cent higher. North Bihar and Chota Nagpur come a long way behind the others in every respect; but of the two, although the plateau can claim a superiority in the standard of female literacy, it is more than counterbalanced by the larger proportion of literate males in North Bihar. The pre-eminence of Orissa in this sphere is of long standing; and in the days when the test of literacy was less strict than it is supposed to be now the disparity was even greater. Two reasons for this were suggested in the last report. The Orissa districts occupy the coastal strip of land which connects Bengal with Madras—and these are, with the exception of Burma, the most highly educated provinces in India. Moreover, priests are many in Orissa and its traditions are clerkly rather than martial. In South Bihar the relatively high standard of literacy is probably due in the main to the much larger proportion of town-dwellers in this division; for urban conditions are far more conducive to the acquisition and spread of literacy than life in the villages. Chota Nagpur, " the Boeotia of the province ", is the home of numerous primitive tribes who are educationally backward. But it has its bright spots nevertheless, for in three of its districts the proportion of literacy is above the provincial average and distinctly higher than that found in any district of North Bihar, while the standard of female education is conspicuously advanced in certain parts of the plateau—for reasons which will presently appear.

Among individual districts, Patna alone can boast that one out of every ten of its inhabitants is literate. Here the proportion for both sexes combined is 113 per mille, which is more than twice as high as the average for the province. Patna is, and has always been, much more urban than any other district. Next in order come the three coastal districts of Orissa, where the number of literate per mille ranges from 94 (Balasore) to 75 (Puri). There are five other districts which are better than the average. They are, in order of merit, Shahabad, Gaya, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Sambalpur. The first two, it will be noted, fall within the fairly advanced tract of South Bihar, and the other three in the backward division of Chota Nagpur. In Manbhum and Singhbhum the growth of modern industrial conditions is responsible for the purplish patch, while in Sambalpur the influence of the Orissa tradition is clearly traceable. In the Feudatory States as a whole, as well as in Angul district, the Oriya's love of learning is overshadowed by the aboriginal's neglect of it; but there are certain states—notably Dhenkanal, Khandpara, Talcher, Narsinghpur, Daspalla and Athgarh—where the proportion of literate persons of both sexes is


LITERACY
(MALES)
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 62
SARAN 82
MUZAFFARPUR 88
DARBHANGA 87
BHAGALPUR 69
PURNEA 94
PATNA 194
SHAHABAD 111
MONGHYR 73
GAYA 110
SANTAL PARGANAS 63
HAZARIBAGH 57
PALAMAU 55
MANBHUM 96
RANCHI 55
SINGHBHUM 92
GANGPUR 57
BONAI 26
MAYURBHANJ 67
BAMRA 71
KEONJHAR 59
SAMBALPUR 100
BALASORE 185
RAIRAKHOL 42
SONPUR 43
ATHMALLIK 66
BAUD 55
ANGUL 78
DHENKANAL 205
CUTTACK 171
DASPALLA 123
PURI 144
PATNA 37
KALAHANDI 26
NUMBER LITERATE PER MILLE
50 & UNDER
51—65
66—80
81—100
101—150
151—200
OVER 200
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (68)
B KHARSAWAN (64)
C NILGIRI (93)
D PAL-LAHARA (125)
E TALCHER (219)
F HINDOL (123)
G NARSINGHPUR (135)
H BARAMBA (82)
I TIGIRIA (74)
J ATHGARH (153)
K KHANDPARA (249)
L RANPUR (102)
M NAYAGARH (96)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles


LITERACY
(FEMALES)
NEPAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BENGAL
CENTRAL PROVINCES
MADRAS
BAY OF BENGAL
CHAMPARAN 50
SARAN 47
MUZAFFARPUR 71
DARBHANGA 49
BHAGALPUR 61
PURNEA 47
PATNA 236
SHAHABAD 81
MONGHYR 75
GAYA 71
SANTAL PARGANAS 60
HAZARIBAGH 45
PALAMAU 45
MANBHUM 97
RANCHI 127
SINGHBHUM 127
GANGPUR 54
BONAI 20
MAYURBHANJ 146
BAMRA 150
KEONJHAR 26
SAMBALPUR 63
HAIRAKHOL 15
SONPUR 21
ATHMALLIK 44
BAUD 46
PATNA 27
ANGUL 63
ANGUL 69
DHENKANAL 118
CUTTACK 113
BALASORE 108
DASPALLA 94
PURI 113
KALAHANDI 16
NUMBER LITERATE PER 10,000
40 & UNDER
41—60
61—80
81—100
101—125
126—150
OVER 150
BOUNDARIES OF
NATURAL DIVISIONS
COMMISSIONER'S DIVISIONS
DISTRICTS & STATES
REFERENCES TO STATES
A SERAIKELA (82)
B KHARSAWAN (47)
C NILGIRI (64)
D PAL-LAHARA (71)
E TALCHER (117)
F HINDOL (75)
G NARSINGHPUR (103)
H BARAMBA (52)
I TIGIRIA (39)
J ATHGARH (184)
K KHANDPARA (173)
L RANPUR (46)
M NAYAGARH (47)
Scale 1 Inch = 56 Miles
Miles 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 Miles

exceptionally high. All these outstanding states are grouped together in the south-eastern corner, quite close to Cuttack and Puri. In the five most backward districts of the province the proportion varies from 30 to 35 per mille. In order of demerit these five districts are Palamau, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Champaran and the Santal Parganas. All of them except one are situated on the plateau.

If we were to prepare a gradation list of districts on the basis of literacy among males only, it would differ hardly at all from the list for both sexes combined, since the number of literate females is seldom sufficient to exercise a determining influence. But there would be some notable re-shuffling in a list which confined itself to literacy among females. Patna indeed would still be an easy first, but immediately after it would come Ranchi, which is very nearly at the bottom of the combined list. This is largely due to the educational work carried on by the Christian missions among the female converts of that locality. Fully half the literate girls and women in Ranchi are Indian Christians, although not more than one-sixth of the female population of the district belong to the Christian community. Nor is the activity of the missions confined to their own people. Under the head "tribal religions" there are only 1,307 literate females in the whole province, and 748 of these are found in Ranchi district. Bracketted second with Ranchi in the sphere of female education is Singhbhum, which has to be content with ninth place so far as males are concerned. Here the explanation is to be found in the high proportion of literate women in Jamshedpur city, where their number is about twice as great as in the whole of the rest of the district. More will be said on this point later. The three Orissa districts follow next, and then Manbhum. The seven districts so far mentioned are the only ones in which one woman out of every hundred is literate, and after them there is a big gap. North Bihar shows up very badly in the matter of female education, particularly the districts of Purnea, Muzaffarpur and Saran, where the disparity between the number of literate persons of either sex is greater than in any other part of the province. Another district which is above the average in respect of male literacy and below it in respect of female literacy is Sambalpur. Palamau and Hazaribagh rank at the bottom of the list for males, and occupy the same unenviable position in the female list also.

Literacy in cities.

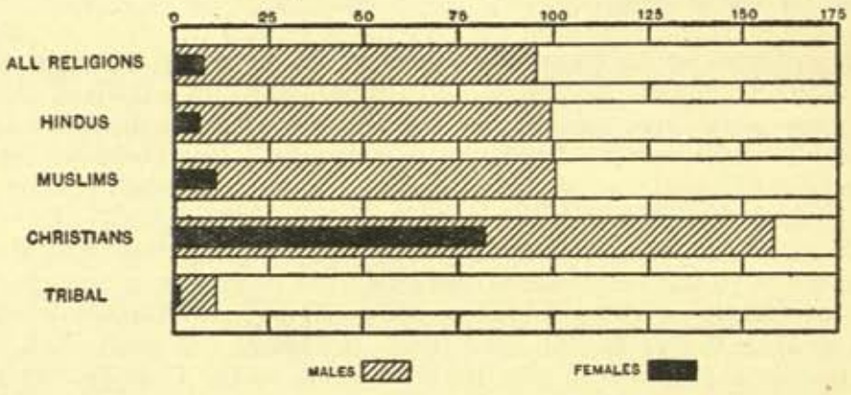
5. The more rapid spread of education in urban areas is demonstrated clearly in the marginal statement, which gives particulars for the four places treated as "cities". The figures for females are particularly striking, and it will be noticed that the proportion of literate women in Patna and Jamshedpur is actually higher than the proportion of literate men in the province as a whole. To a limited extent this is doubtless due to the presence in the larger towns of a relatively large number of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, etc.; but, except possibly in Jamshedpur, this factor is not really of outstanding importance. For the four cities combined, not more than about 7 per cent of the literate females are foreigners; for Jamshedpur alone the proportion would be about 10 per cent. It has been seen in an earlier chapter that the female population of Jamshedpur is relatively small, owing to the fact that many of the male immigrants into the city leave their womenfolk at home. This would apply more especially to the unskilled, casual employees, and the men with higher qualifications who come to Jamshedpur on a contract for several years would be more likely to bring their families with them. Hence it is that the proportion of educated females in Jamshedpur is so large. Patna city has the advantage not only of a long urban tradition behind it but also of a number of educational institutions to which persons of both sexes, who have commenced their studies elsewhere, come to pursue them further.

	No. literate per mille.		
	Persons.	*Males.*	*Females.*
Bihar and Orissa	**52**	**95**	**8**
Cities ...	**212**	**301**	**82**
Patna ...	240	339	99
Gaya ...	190	288	53
Bhagalpur ...	171	258	58
Jamshedpur ...	220	286	110

Distribution by religion.

6. The proportional figures of literacy by religion, on which the following diagram is based, will be found in Subsidiary Table I at the end of the chapter.

Diagram showing the number of literate persons per mille aged 5 *and over by sex and religions.*



Among Christians, if both sexes are considered together, the percentage of literate persons is more than twice as high as among the members of any other major community. It is naturally much higher among non-Indian Christians (785 per mille) than among Indian Christians (96 per mille), for in the nature of the case most of the foreigners in this country would not be here unless they were educated; but even among Indian Christians literacy is much more prevalent, especially in the case of females, than it is among their compatriots. This again is due primarily to the educational fervour of the Christian missionaries in Chota Nagpur. As is only to be expected, the standard of literacy among the adherents of tribal religions is very low. Not only is the aboriginal generally backward, but the more advanced aboriginal is usually to be found under some other religious designation. Either his thoughts turn to Hinduism after he has acquired education, or his thoughts turn to education after he has embraced Christianity. Separate figures have been given in the subsidiary table for those Hindus who returned themselves as Brahmos or Aryas, and naturally the proportion of literate persons in these communities is high. The appeal of the Brahmo Samaj is to the enlightened of both sexes; and, although many of the Aryas are recruited from the lower Hindu castes, education is frequently the cause—or the result—of their zeal for reform. It is noticeable, however, that, whereas with the Brahmos the ranks of the literate contain practically as many women as men, with the Aryas there are nearly five literate men to every literate woman. As between Hindus and Muslims, Muslims have a slight advantage. Among males there is practically nothing to choose, the proportion of the literate per mille being a shade under 100 Hindus and a shade over 100 Muslims; but in the same number of females there are 11 literate Muslims to only 7 Hindus. It would seem that the Muslims owe their superiority in this matter largely to the fact that they are more addicted to town life than the Hindus. This of course does not necessarily mean that the urban Muslim is more literate than the urban Hindu. Indeed, Subsidiary Table II shows that in the cities of the province the proportion of literate Hindus of either sex is higher than the proportion of literate Muslims; and the same probably applies to most other towns also. In urban areas *taken by themselves* the Hindus are the more literate, and in rural areas *taken by themselves* they are again the more literate; but the general standard of literacy is so much higher in the towns than in the country, and the proportion of town-dwellers is so much greater among the Muslims than among the Hindus, that when urban and rural areas are taken together Muslims can show the better results. In this connection it may be noticed that in North Bihar, where the relatively large Muslim population is not concentrated in towns to anything like the same degree as elsewhere, the standard of literacy among the male members of the community is exceptionally low; and this has a depressing effect on the provincial average. The Muslim women of South Bihar are particularly advanced.

7. Statistics in regard to the prevalence of literacy in particular castes and tribes are contained in Imperial Table IX, while Subsidiary Table VII at the end of this chapter gives the proportional figures for the more important of these communities at each of the last two censuses. An attempt was made on this occasion to extract complete statistics of literacy among the "depressed classes", and the only material omission (due to an unfortunate oversight) was that no such statistics were compiled for the *Musahar* caste.* For the rest, a few castes and tribes representative of the different strata of society have been selected for this special treatment. The more advanced castes, six in number, fall into three pairs. Of these, as is only meet and proper, the *Kayasths* and *Karans*—the writer castes of Bihar and of Orissa respectively—easily take the highest place. There are 372 literate Kayasths and 318 literate Karans in every thousand; and in both these castes the standard of education among women is relatively high, there being one literate female to about six literate males. In the matter of *English* education the Kayasths greatly excel. The next pair are the *Brahmans* and *Babhans* (or *Bhumihar Brahmans*), among whom the number of literate persons per mille is 195 and 136 respectively. It will be seen that they come a long way behind the writer castes, and the disparity is twice as great in the female sex as it is in the male sex. Among 14 literate Brahmans we may only expect to find one woman. Then come the *Rajputs* of Bihar with 120 literate persons in every thousand, and the *Khandaits* of Orissa with 97. **Literacy in certain castes, etc.**

After these three pairs there is a very noticeable gap, and of the other castes for which statistics have been tabulated the only one which can show a slightly higher proportion of literacy than the provincial average of 52 per mille is the *Teli* caste. Their dealings in trade have led a fair number of their menfolk (about one in ten) to acquire some familiarity with the three R's, but their females are still very backward. After the Telis come the great agricultural classes of the province: the *Kurmis* and *Goalas* of Bihar, and their opposite numbers in Orissa—the *Chasas* and *Gauras*. In all these communities, except the Goalas, the number of literate persons per mille is between 40 and 50; but among the Goalas the proportion drops right down to 20.

Of the "depressed classes" the least illiterate are the *Dhobis* and *Pasis*. There is no other important caste in this category which can produce one literate person in a hundred, while among females the average is less than one in a thousand. Male literacy is at its lowest among the *Doms* (7 per mille), and female literacy among the *Pans* (3 per 10,000).

The primitive tribes of the province, other than those which have been almost completely absorbed in Hinduism and have lost their distinctive characteristics, are not included among the "depressed classes". Separate statistics of literacy have been shown for the different religious categories under which the members of these tribes were returned. Among Christians the proportion of literate persons is generally high—higher indeed than in any of the Hindu castes except the really "advanced" group; among Hindus the proportion is as a rule slightly above that found in the depressed classes; but among the adherents of the old tribal religions it is very low indeed. It is interesting to note, however, that in the case of the *Oraons* the "tribal" contingent has exactly the same proportion of literate persons as the Hindu contingent; so far indeed as the males are concerned, literacy is more common among those who have embraced Hinduism, but this is countered by the greater illiteracy of the Hinduized females. The *Santal* tribe is as a whole more impervious to the onslaughts of education than any of the other great aboriginal tribes of the province.

The only Muslim "caste" for which statistics of literacy have been extracted are the *Jolahas*. In respect of the male sex, this community

* In Provincial Table II, where literacy figures are given separately for *Brahmans*, *Depressed classes* and *other Hindus* in each district and revenue thana of the province, it has been assumed that the proportion of literate *Musahars* at the present census was the same as in 1921.

ranks midway between the Kurmis and the Goalas, but among its women literacy is more prevalent than in any of the " intermediate " Hindu castes.

English literacy.

8. The number of persons returned at the census as literate in English was 178,701, or just 5 per mille of the total population. Of these, all except 13,059 were males. Leaving out of account Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the like, the number is reduced to about 160,350 males and 9,230 females. To this number the community of Indian Christians, although it represents scarcely 1 per cent of the whole population, contributes 6,240 males and 2,306 females. In other words, out of every four women in this country (excluding foreigners) who are literate in English, one is a Christian. Among Muslims 13 males per mille are literate in English, and among Hindus the corresponding figure is 9. In both these communities the proportion for females is only 4 in 10,000. Of the small band of Brahmos nearly 50 per cent of those aged 5 and over are literate, and in this respect the women are not far behind the men. In the Arya community the proportion in the male sex (61 per mille) is relatively high, but English literacy is rare among Arya females.

The local distribution of English literacy is shown in Subsidiary Table IV. The natural division of Orissa is more advanced than any other, so far as males are concerned. With regard to females, the preponderating influence of Patna district gives to South Bihar the palm which would otherwise have been more genuinely earned by the Chota Nagpur plateau. Among individual districts, Singhbhum and Patna stand out in a class by themselves, with Manbhum following at a respectful distance. The only other districts where the proportion of males who are literate in English is not less than 10 per mille are the three Orissa units and one representative from each of the other divisions, viz., Bhagalpur, Shahabad and the Santal Parganas. In English literacy, as in literacy of other kinds, Palamau lags behind all other localities.

The middle standard of education

9. Proportional figures are given in Subsidiary Tables I, II and V of persons who were returned as having successfully completed the middle school course of education. For the province as a whole the ratio is 42 per 10,000; for males only it is 79 and for females 4. It would appear that, out of every twelve males who claim to have acquired literacy, only one has pursued his studies with success up to this stage. Generally speaking, there is a fairly close correspondence between the numbers of those who are literate in English and of those who have passed the middle standard, the latter being as a rule slightly fewer than the former. In both classes the distribution by religion and by locality follows much the same lines, though there are certain districts, such as Gaya, where the returns of " middle pass " are obviously incomplete, while in a few others, of which Angul is an example, they are unexpectedly high.

Variation in literacy since 1921.

10. Since 1921 there has been an increase of 151,605 in the total number of persons returned as literate. Literate males are more numerous by 122,257, and literate females by 29,348. But the growth in literacy has barely kept pace with the growth in population; in fact, in respect of the male sex it has failed to do so, with the result that the proportion of literate males is now actually lower (albeit very slightly) than it was ten years ago. The proportional figures are given below :—

	Number literate per 10,000 aged 5 and over.		
	Persons.	*Males.*	*Females.*
1921	508	962	64
1931	516	954	77

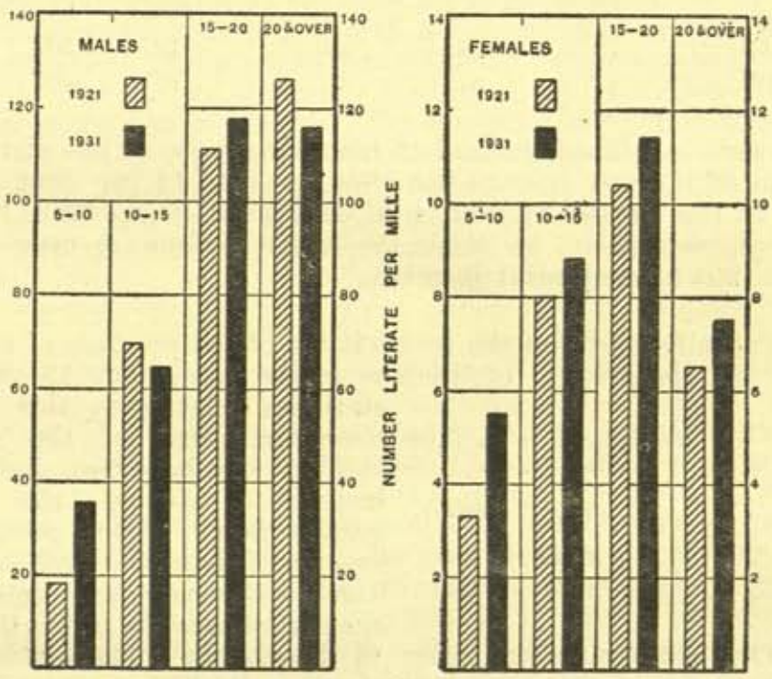
In view of the common belief that education in this country is making rapid strides forward—a belief which certainly appears to be borne out by the departmental statistics of schools and pupils—this result must be

accounted surprising, and the more so because it is at variance with the general experience elsewhere in India. How far it may be ascribed to inaccurate returns, either on this occasion or on the last, is a question difficult to answer; though some incidental light may be shed on this point in the course of our analysis of the variations by age and by locality. At the beginning of this chapter mention was made of two special circumstances which complicated the returns of literacy at the present census, and it is possible that in some cases the enumerator, having failed to grasp what he was really required to enter in column 16, solved the problem by the simple expedient of entering nothing at all. In other cases the entry may have been so recondite that the ingenuity of the slip-copyist or the sorter failed to interpret it and it was accordingly consigned by one or other of those functionaries to the limbo of illiteracy. Apart from these possibilities, it should be borne in mind that the census definition of literacy—the ability to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it—may be much more strictly applied by one enumerator than by another. By some the enquiry would not be pursued beyond a simple *likh parh sakte hain*? and there are undoubtedly many persons returned as literate at every census who can do little more than sign their own name and decipher a few words in print. I know of no particular reason why it should be supposed that the test was on the whole more rigidly interpreted on the present occasion than formerly, except perhaps that, as the enumerators themselves become more literate, they might be expected to be more exacting in admitting the claims to literacy advanced by others.

Variation by age.

11. The diagram below shows the proportion of literate persons of each sex in certain age-periods at the two last censuses.

Diagram showing the variations in literacy since 1921 *by age-groups.*



At the present census literacy increases with increasing age up to the third period, but in the fourth there is a drop. This drop is much more marked with females than with males, but it is present with both sexes, *whereas in 1921 the proportion of literate males went on increasing up to the very end.* Herein lies the whole explanation of the apparent decline in male literacy during the last ten years. It is of course natural that the standard of literacy among adult women should be very much lower than the standard among girls aged 15—20. The spread of female education is a phenomenon of fairly recent growth, and some time must elapse before it penetrates into the advanced age-periods. It is also possible that, as the necessity for

practising the arts of reading and writing is less in a woman's life than in a man's, she may more frequently forget the knowledge acquired in her youth. In the case of males these considerations have not equal force, but at the same time, so long as education is steadily advancing and the number of pupils attending schools and colleges is rising year by year, one would normally expect to find a distinctly higher proportion of literate males at the period 15—20 than among older persons, many of whom passed the school-going age at a time when the opportunities for learning were far less than they are now. This difficulty was recognized at the census of 1911, when almost all parts of India returned a higher proportion of literates among adults than at any other age-period. The explanations then offered were three in number, but none of them is very convincing. First, it was suggested that even at the age of 15 a boy's education is sometimes not sufficiently complete to enable him to conduct a correspondence with a friend. Secondly, in the case of youths the enumerators might investigate more strictly than they would with older persons the validity of claims to literacy. Lastly, it is possible that among the trading classes the knowledge how to read and write is sometimes picked up in the course of business at a fairly advanced age. However this may be, at the census of 1921 a different state of affairs developed. Some provinces (including Bihar and Orissa) continued to show a progressive increase in literacy right up to the fourth age-period, but others did not; and for India as a whole there was a slight decline after the third period was passed. This province has now come into line with the majority, and, whether the present returns are complete or incomplete, they appear in this respect at least to be more in accordance with the inherent probabilities than the previous returns. If we confine the comparison with 1921 to persons below the age of 20, it will be seen that the result is very different from that shown at the beginning of paragraph 10.

	Number literate per 10,000 aged 5—20.		
	Persons.	*Males.*	*Females.*
1921	327	569	64
1931	377	655	82

For both sexes combined, instead of remaining more or less stationary, the proportion of literate persons has risen by over 15 per cent. The gain recorded by the female sex is a good deal more pronounced than it was formerly represented to be, while the slight decline in male literacy is converted into a substantial increase.

It is usually held that the truest index of the progress of education is furnished by the growth of literacy in the age-group 15—20, for the statistics relating to this group give some indication of the number of children who have been under *effective* instruction during the preceding quinquennium. The preceding diagram will show that both sexes can at least show some improvement in this age-period over the proportions returned in 1921. The figures are given in the margin. The increase in the absolute figures is of course much greater than in the proportional figures.

	Number literate per 10,000 aged 15—20.	
	Males.	*Females.*
1921	1,113	104
1931	1,177	114

Some comment is perhaps called for on the variations since 1921 in the proportion of literate persons in the two earliest age-periods. Among males a remarkable increase of nearly 100 per cent at the ages 5—10 is followed by a slight decline at the ages 10—15. Among females, although there is no actual drop in the second period, the rate of increase falls very sharply. The main reason in either case is probably to be found in the method adopted at the present census of "smoothing" the age-groups. It has been explained in Chapter IV that half the persons who returned their age as somewhere between 7 and 13 were adjusted in the 5—10 group

and the other half in the 10—15 group; as the influenza and scarcity of 1918—20 had depleted to a quite abnormal extent the number of those whose actual age was 11, 12 or 13 years, the result of this adjustment was that the group 10—15 includes a large number of persons who by rights should have found place in the younger group. Most of these errant persons of course are illiterate, and the inevitable consequence of this was to exaggerate the prevalence of illiteracy in the ages 10—15. Not only this: when the time came to allocate the persons returned as literate to their respective age-periods, the 5—10 group was credited with half the literate persons between the ages of 7 and 13. Now it may reasonably be assumed that by far the greater number of these persons were really over 10 years of age, and a much larger share of them might justly have been claimed by the 10—15 group. The net result of these two adjustments, therefore, is that in the present tables the proportion of persons shown as literate in the age-period 5—10 is higher than it should be, and the proportion in the age-period 10—15 is lower.

Variation by locality.

12. North Bihar is the only natural division in which, taking both sexes together, the proportion of literate persons is less than it was in 1921. In this division the increase in female literacy is almost imperceptible, while the male ratio has fallen from 86 per mille to 82.5. South Bihar has recorded a distinct advance in female literacy (from 9 to 11 per mille) and a slight decline on the male side (from 122 to 121 per mille); on the balance there is one more literate person in every thousand than there was at the last census. In the other two natural divisions the proportion for both sexes has increased. Among individual districts there are ten (to which number the Feudatory States should also be added) in which the standard of literacy among males has risen; two in which it has remained stationary; and nine in which it has deteriorated. The most violent fluctuations are those which have occurred in Purnea, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. In Purnea the proportion of literate males has shot up from 66 to 94 per mille; it is now the most advanced district in North Bihar, whereas in 1921 it shared with Champaran the lowest place in that division. There can be little doubt that literacy in Purnea has not really made such rapid strides during the last ten years as the figures suggest. On the other hand, the 1921 returns for this district, when compared with those of the previous census, show a heavy fall which in its turn can hardly have been genuine. The marginal statement gives the proportion of literate males aged 10 and over in Purnea, Monghyr and Bhagalpur, as recorded at each of the last three censuses.

	LITERATE MALES PER MILLE AGED 10 AND OVER.		
	1931	*1921*	*1911*
Purnea ...	106	78	97
Monghyr ...	83	126	106
Bhagalpur ...	89	127	104

In Monghyr there has been an appalling drop since 1921; actually amounting to over 33 per cent. while Bhagalpur has not fared much better. But both these districts had recorded an advance at the previous census which was more than double the rate for the province as a whole, and some part of this may reasonably be discounted. At the same time it is almost certain that the present returns for these two districts are defective. It is worth pointing out that, despite their disastrous showing in the sphere of male literacy, both Monghyr and Bhagalpur record an increase in the proportion of literate females since 1921. Apart from Purnea, the localities which have registered a noticeable advance in literacy so far as males are concerned are Patna, Balasore, Singhbhum, Angul, Sambalpur and the Feudatory States. Those districts in which, after Monghyr and Bhagalpur, the decline is most marked are Saran, Ranchi, Hazaribagh and (surprisingly) Manbhum.

Progress in female education.

13. Only three districts, namely, Saran, Gaya and the Santal Parganas, have a smaller proportion of literate females than they had in 1921. It is curious to find that in the Santal Parganas, where the relapse is most pronounced, it is combined with a substantial increase in male literacy. Particularly striking progress has been made in Patna, where the number

of literate females per mille has risen from 16 to 24; in Singhbhum and Ranchi (from 9 to 13 each); in Balasore (from 8 to 11); and in Angul (from 4 to 6). The rapid spread of women's education in Bihar and Orissa is evident from the fact that at the beginning of the century, out of 10,000 females aged 10 and over, there were only 34 who could read and write a simple letter; now there are 81. The increase is one of nearly 140 per cent in thirty years, whereas among males during the same period the proportion has only risen from 104 to 107 per mille—an increase of barely 3 per cent. Nevertheless, the marginal statement shows that, rapidly as the women of this province are now imbibing education, in comparison with the other provinces of India they still have even more lee-way to make up than the men have.

	Literate females per mille aged 5 and over.
Bihar and Orissa	**8**
United Provinces	11
Central Provinces	11
Punjab	15
Assam	23
Bombay	29
Madras	30
Bengal	32
Burma	165

Variation by religion.

14. The Muslims are the only major religious community in which the standard of literacy among males is higher now than it was at the last census. In the province as a whole the number of literate Muslim males has risen from 99 per mille to 100. There has been appreciable progress in both the divisions of Bihar proper and in the Orissa division, but in Chota Nagpur there has been a decline. Among Hindu males the proportion has fallen from 101 per mille to just below 100, but in the case of this community it is the two Bihar divisions that are responsible for the deterioration, while the rest of the province has advanced. With regard to females, the progress achieved in the course of the decade is common to both these communities, but is more marked in the case of the Muslims. The education of Indian Christians has not kept pace with conversions, so that although the actual number of literates has increased substantially since 1921 the proportion in each natural division is lower than it was then. The decrease, however, is confined to the male sex. Among the followers of the various tribal religions the proportion of literate persons in either sex is practically unchanged.

Growth of literacy in English.

15. Progress in English literacy since 1921 has been more general than in other departments. It is common to both sexes in each natural division, and to the adherents of every religion except "tribal" and non-Indian Christians. Details may be seen in Subsidiary Table IV at the end of the chapter.

Educational institutions and pupils.

16. It is never an easy matter to correlate the census returns of literacy with the number of pupils attending educational institutions according to the departmental returns. Subsidiary Table VIII gives the number of institutions of various kinds and the number of pupils receiving instruction in them in 1931, together with the corresponding figures for the three preceding census years Ten years ago the total number of pupils in British territory was just about double the number of literate persons below the age of 20. Since then there has been an increase of about 254,000 (or over 30 per cent) in the number of pupils, while the number of literates under 20 years of age has risen by about 70,000 (or just under 17 per cent).

Losses due to wastage.

17. The Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission to enquire into the progress of education in India observed in their report (published in 1929) that: "We think it justifiable to assume that, on the average, no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate." By *a course of four years* it would appear from the context that the Committee meant a period of study extending up to (and including one year in) Class IV, and in actual practice this usually covers at least five years and sometimes longer. The Committee further remarked: "In Bihar and Bengal, owing to the immense preponderance of lower primary schools with only three classes, vast numbers of boys have no chance of reaching Class IV..... In boys' schools only 14 per

cent in Bihar, and in girls' schools only 3 per cent, of the pupils reach it." The statement in the margin shows the distribution of Indian boys attending primary schools in Bihar and Orissa during the year 1930-31. It will be seen that more than half the total number are in the "infant class," and most of these never get any higher. Even if we adopt a somewhat lower standard than that postulated by the Auxiliary Committee, and allow that a child who has satisfactorily emerged from Class III before discontinuing his studies has a fair chance of remaining literate, the outlook is not greatly improved. For we find that in 1927, out of 125,000 pupils enrolled in Class III, only 57,000 succeeded in passing the lower primary examination. Indeed, the Committee is driven to the gloomy conclusion that "the losses due to wastage prevent all but a few pupils from becoming literate." Not only so, but "even of those few it is not possible to say with any confidence that many will not relapse into illiteracy.....Retention of initial literacy acquired at the early age of ten or eleven depends largely on environment, and the environment of the great majority of Indian pupils who leave school at the primary stage is not conducive to such retention. The parents in the village home are usually illiterate, they are too poor to buy books, and attractive vernacular literature and periodicals suitable for children are not available, though there are vernacular books which might be read by children under religious impulse."

		Number.	*Percentage.*
Class I	...	441,606	53.9
Class II	...	167,146	20.4
Class III	...	120,880	14.8
Class IV	...	49,607	6.1
Class V	...	39,582	4.8
Total	...	818,821	100

Some idea of the dreadful wastage involved in the present system may be gathered from the fact that in 1925-26 approximately 800,000 boys between the ages of 5 and 10 were under instruction in recognized institutions in this province—apart from pupils in unrecognized institutions and those receiving tuition at home. All these boys would fall within the age-period 10—15 at the present census, but the total number of literate boys in that period in British territory is little over 150,000, and this number undoubtedly includes a fair proportion who began their studies after the year 1925-26. Perhaps the nearest approach we can get to correspondence between the census returns of literacy and the departmental returns of scholars is along the following lines. Excluding pupils reading in Classes I to III, there were about 215,000 boys under instruction in recognized institutions in British territory at the time when the census was taken. Nearly all of these would have been returned as literate and nearly all of them would be between the ages of 10 and 20. The actual number of literate males between those ages (excluding the Feudatory States) is, according to the census, something over 342,000. This leaves only about 127,000 literate youths out of the vast number below the age of 20 who must have already left school, to say nothing of those who acquired their knowledge at unrecognized institutions or at home. On the whole, it is not perhaps so very surprising that the growth of literacy during the past decade has been less rapid than might at first have been supposed.

I.—Literacy by age, sex and religion.

Religion.	Number per 10,000 aged 5 and over who— Are literate. Total. P.	M.	F.	5—10. M.	F.	10—15. M.	F.	15—20. M.	F.	20 and over. M.	F.	Are illiterate. P.	M.	F.	Have passed the middle (or some higher) standard of education. P.	M.	F.	Are literate in English. P.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
All religions ...	*516*	*954*	*77*	*356*	*55*	*643*	*88*	*1,177*	*114*	*1,160*	*75*	*9,484*	*9,046*	*9,923*	*42*	*79*	*4*	*50*	*92*	*7*
Hindu	**532**	995	69	372	49	673	78	1,225	103	1,302	67	**9,468**	9,005	9,931	**40**	77	3	**45**	86	4
Brahmo ...	*7,139*	*7,387*	*6,868*	*6,538*	*5,556*	*8,148*	*5,714*	*7,391*	*6,522*	*7,398*	*7,596*	*2,861*	*2,613*	*3,132*	*4,226*	*4,623*	*3,791*	*4,803*	*5,327*	*4,231*
Arya	*2,241*	*3,418*	*770*	*1,738*	*725*	*2,880*	*1,137*	*4,162*	*1,192*	*3,833*	*619*	*7,759*	*6,582*	*9,230*	*323*	*539*	*50*	*377*	*613*	*89*
Muslim	**554**	1,004	109	363	77	653	118	1,225	159	1,261	108	**9,446**	8,996	9,891	**47**	92	3	**66**	130	4
Christian ...	**1,198**	1,578	831	740	585	1,388	932	2,189	1,105	1,834	806	**8,802**	8,422	9,179	**312**	434	200	**518**	679	358
Europeans, etc. ...	*7,850*	*8,048*	*7,595*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*2,150*	*1,952*	*2,405*	*4,623*	*5,380*	*3,645*	*7,595*	*7,817*	*7,308*
Indians ...	*955*	*1,310*	*607*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*9,045*	*8,690*	*9,393*	*155*	*219*	*91*	*260*	*382*	*139*
Tribal religions ...	**64**	115	13	49	10	91	12	160	14	136	14	**9,936**	9,885	9,987	**5**	9	0·4	**4**	7	0·3

II.—Literacy by age, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 aged 5 and over who— Are literate. Total. Persons.	Males.	Females.	5—10. Males.	Females.	10—15. Males.	Females.	15—30. Males.	Females.	20 and over. Males.	Females.	Have passed the middle (or some higher) standard of education. Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	*516*	*954*	*77*	*356*	*55*	*643*	*88*	*1,177*	*114*	*1,160*	*75*	*42*	*79*	*4*
North Bihar	*441*	*825*	*55*	*323*	*39*	*568*	*60*	*1,036*	*81*	*1,001*	*53*	*34*	*65*	*3*
Saran	**425**	817	47	318	32	579	50	1,055	69	989	48	**34**	69	1
Champaran	**340**	621	50	255	38	436	57	752	78	744	47	**32**	61	3
Muzaffarpur	**469**	881	71	350	44	603	70	1,097	109	1,067	73	**44**	86	4
Darbhanga	**455**	866	49	343	36	588	54	1,053	71	1,059	48	**19**	36	2
Bhagalpur	**431**	789	61	297	51	531	73	1,054	89	959	56	**32**	60	4
Purnea...	**512**	937	47	354	35	649	57	1,176	68	1,141	44	**44**	83	3
South Bihar	*667*	*1,206*	*112*	*519*	*79*	*949*	*102*	*1,662*	*164*	*1,371*	*109*	*51*	*96*	*6*
Patna	**1,125**	1,936	236	953	186	1,617	284	2,534	342	2,136	223	**98**	176	12
Gaya	**595**	1,106	71	438	40	932	84	1,817	127	1,208	79	**9**	16	1
Shahabad	**621**	1,154	81	538	53	924	84	1,405	110	1,333	81	**57**	110	3
Monghyr	**406**	733	75	275	54	485	79	943	111	892	74	**53**	98	8
Orissa	*854*	*1,671*	*112*	*497*	*85*	*888*	*138*	*1,634*	*167*	*2,115*	*103*	*62*	*123*	*5*
Cuttack	**862**	1,710	113	505	90	905	145	1,702	174	2,178	101	**69**	140	6
Balasore	**940**	1,826	108	569	83	1,009	135	1,719	160	2,275	100	**56**	112	4
Puri	**754**	1,440	113	414	80	739	126	1,398	159	1,831	110	**57**	101	5
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	*402*	*733*	*70*	*266*	*52*	*434*	*83*	*883*	*101*	*908*	*67*	*38*	*70*	*5*
Hazaribagh	**305**	567	45	191	32	361	51	702	63	718	43	**34**	63	5
Ranchi	**339**	553	127	242	108	442	163	743	196	650	111	**37**	61	10
Palamau	**297**	545	45	209	34	394	53	673	59	673	43	**23**	44	1
Manbhum	**551**	935	97	356	56	650	92	1,132	130	1,157	101	**65**	113	12
Singhbhum	**531**	923	127	341	80	589	126	1,123	190	1,138	127	**95**	173	14
Santal Parganas	**349**	635	60	217	45	397	73	761	83	810	57	**27**	49	5
Angul	**412**	777	63	439	62	779	101	1,082	94	814	51	**49**	98	3
Sambalpur	**523**	1,002	63	259	50	529	76	1,135	83	1,269	60	**50**	98	4
Orissa States	**388**	737	49	281	39	496	64	860	69	911	44	**21**	41	1
Chota Nagpur States ...	**367**	668	74	221	38	394	54	775	76	868	89	**33**	64	4
CITIES	*2,115*	*3,013*	*824*	*1,495*	*673*	*2,356*	*974*	*3,681*	*1,078*	*3,259*	*779*	*405*	*627*	*86*

III.—Literacy by religion, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 aged 5 and over who are literate.							
	Hindu.		Muslim.		Christian.		Tribal religions.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***995***	***69***	***1,004***	***109***	***1,578***	***821***	***115***	***13***
North Bihar	***827***	***48***	***801***	***74***	***4,726***	***3,359***	***132***	***44***
Saran	814	37	823	111	8,306	7,568	...	...
Champaran	636	36	563	90	3,903	2,545	...	...
Muzaffarpur	898	68	740	85	6,090	4,663	3,333	...
Darbhanga	890	43	700	78	7,561	7,037	...	...
Bhagalpur	785	53	789	105	5,508	3,525	424	142
Purnea	922	50	962	37	2,698	2,482	40	20
South Bihar	***1,153***	***92***	***1,651***	***234***	***7,464***	***5,588***	***99***	...
Patna	1,826	183	2,706	527	9,333	7,779	8,824	...
Gaya	1,074	70	1,365	131	8,649	7,815	...	...
Shahabad	1,106	67	1,712	172	2,180	1,114	...	...
Monghyr	710	64	906	119	8,541	7,229	53	...
Orissa	***1,665***	***101***	***1,795***	***169***	***6,800***	***6,406***	***71***	***2***
Cuttack	1,692	101	2,088	166	7,386	7,040	344	...
Balasore	1,855	98	1,445	203	6,218	6,126	57	2
Puri	1,430	105	1,547	131	6,354	5,221	...	...
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***830***	***64***	***894***	***75***	***1,280***	***569***	***113***	***13***
Hazaribagh...	587	40	677	27	5,357	4,372	56	8
Ranchi	563	79	842	91	993	406	143	49
Palamau	580	40	638	75	993	497	23	2
Manbhum	1,006	90	917	102	4,488	2,518	61	4
Singhbhum	1,245	163	1,997	343	3,799	1,641	249	10
Santal Parganas	1,056	72	772	54	3,192	2,455	89	9
Angul	982	76	5,125	737	6,691	4,796	153	2
Sambalpur	988	59	3,453	416	2,259	657	86	...
Orissa States	781	50	2,359	160	629	142	43	2
Chota Nagpur States	871	99	1,941	235	2,752	1,284	94	6
CITIES	***2,966***	***762***	***2,842***	***592***	***8,661***	***6,439***	***794***	***99***

IV.—English literacy by age, sex and locality : 1931—1901.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 aged 5 and over who are literate in English.															
	1931.										1921.		1911.		1901.	
	Total.		5—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.		Total.		Total.		Total.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BIHAR AND ORISSA	***92***	***7***	***21***	***4***	***52***	***7***	***143***	***11***	***113***	***7***	***78***	***5***	***47***	***3***	***40***	***2***
North Bihar	***70***	***4***	***18***	***3***	***43***	***4***	***118***	***6***	***85***	***4***	***61***	***3***	***38***	***2***	***32***	***2***
Saran	**67**	**2**	14	1	39	2	115	3	83	2	73	3	46	2	41	1
Champaran	**54**	**4**	14	4	30	7	76	6	67	3	44	2	25	1	27	1
Muzaffarpur	**68**	**4**	14	2	39	4	122	7	83	3	62	3	40	2	45	2
Darbhanga	**56**	**3**	14	2	33	3	95	5	69	4	58	3	35	2	17	2
Bhagalpur	**101**	**8**	29	6	64	8	170	10	121	8	98	4	54	2	27	1
Purnea	**82**	**4**	25	2	59	3	141	6	96	4	32	2	25	2	35	3
South Bihar	***119***	***11***	***30***	***8***	***74***	***12***	***198***	***16***	***140***	***11***	***102***	***7***	***64***	***5***	***57***	***4***
Patna	**248**	**31**	63	27	154	42	433	48	280	27	206	20	116	12	10	10
Gaya	**63**	**3**	18	1	42	3	95	5	75	4	68	3	37	1	37	1
Shahabad	**101**	**6**	26	3	69	5	157	8	119	6	95	3	69	3	62	2
Monghyr	**83**	**8**	22	4	48	6	133	9	101	9	61	6	47	6	35	4
Orissa	***121***	***6***	***21***	***3***	***57***	***6***	***168***	***10***	***130***	***5***	***105***	***5***	***59***	***4***	***44***	***2***
Cuttack	**138**	**6**	21	4	59	8	196	11	173	5	118	7	68	4	53	3
Balasore	**105**	**4**	21	2	54	5	131	7	138	4	87	3	52	2	35	1
Puri	**104**	**6**	20	3	56	4	143	9	126	7	97	5	48	4	35	2
Chota Nagpur Plateau	***91***	***9***	***20***	***4***	***48***	***8***	***128***	***12***	***116***	***10***	***75***	***6***	***43***	***3***	***34***	***3***
Hazaribagh	**84**	**10**	22	5	52	9	125	14	105	10	75	5	51	3	41	4
Ranchi	**74**	**15**	19	8	51	16	122	25	90	16	93	8	67	3	33	2
Palamau	**41**	**2**	6	1	21	1	58	3	54	2	41	2	32	6	21	...
Manbhum	**154**	**17**	36	6	82	13	194	22	191	19	150	15	78	8	50	1
Singhbhum	**250**	**32**	54	15	125	24	328	41	323	36	191	23	65	8	38	5
Santal Parganas	**115**	**12**	32	7	67	11	152	11	148	14	53	3	48	3	25	3
Angul	**51**	**3**	26	1	50	2	105	4	46	3	42	1	22	1	11	...
Sambalpur	**66**	**2**	8	1	26	1	99	3	84	2	65	3	32	2	...	...
Orissa States	**43**	**1**	4	...	15	1	64	2	58	2	34	1	15	1	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	**85**	**3**	22	2	47	...	122	3	108	5	46	1	28	1	...	...

V.—Proportion of Literacy at Certain Ages.

Age and Locality.	Total Population.			Total Literate.						Passed middle (or some higher) standard of education.						Literate in English.					
				Actual number.			Number per 10,000.			Actual number.			Number per 10,000.			Actual number.			Number per 10,000.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Bihar and Orissa ...	*7,306,816*	*3,870,458*	*3,436,358*	*224,908*	*198,516*	*26,392*	*308*	*513*	*77*	*8,666*	*7,812*	*854*	*12*	*20*	*2*	*14,064*	*12,040*	*2,024*	*19*	*31*	*6*
7—13. British Territory ...	6,489,356	3,450,306	3,039,150	204,980	†180,932	24,048	316	524	79	8,388	7,552	836	13	22	3	13,722	11,718	2,004	21	34	7
Feudatory States ...	817,460	420,252	397,208	19,928	17,584	2,344	244	418	59	278	260	18	3	6	0·45	342	322	20	4	8	0·5
Bihar and Orissa ...	*2,479,924*	*1,300,250*	*1,179,674*	*148,296*	*134,144*	*14,152*	*598*	*1,032*	*120*	*12,658*	*11,900*	*758*	*51*	*92*	*6*	*16,188*	*14,846*	*1,342*	*65*	*114*	*11*
14—16. British Territory ...	2,203,182	1,154,494	1,048,688	137,040	123,884	13,156	622	1,073	125	12,076	11,336	740	55	98	7	15,544	14,218	1,326	71	123	13
Feudatory States ...	276,742	145,756	130,986	11,256	10,260	996	407	704	76	582	564	18	21	39	1	644	628	16	23	43	1
Bihar and Orissa ...	*4,704,156*	*2,216,816*	*2,487,340*	*307,460*	*279,734*	*27,726*	*654*	*1,262*	*111*	*32,832*	*30,982*	*1,850*	*70*	*140*	*7*	*38,114*	*35,586*	*2,528*	*81*	*161*	*10*
17—23. British Territory ...	4,166,634	1,973,446	2,193,188	282,450	256,666	25,784	678	1,301	118	30,932	29,146	1,786	74	148	8	36,084	33,620	2,464	87	170	11
Feudatory States ...	537,522	243,370	294,152	25,010	23,068	1,942	465	948	66	1,900	1,836	64	35	75	2	2,030	1,966	64	38	81	2
Bihar and Orissa ...	*19,384,236*	*9,541,393*	*9,842,843*	*1,164,080*	*1,095,291*	*68,789*	*601*	*1,148*	*70*	*95,036*	*90,458*	*4,578*	*49*	*95*	*5*	*109,887*	*102,867*	*7,020*	*57*	*108*	*7*
24 and over. British Territory ...	17,387,287	8,564,469	8,822,818	1,071,368	1,006,962	64,406	616	1,176	73	89,626	85,217	4,409	52	100	5	104,136	97,290	6,846	60	110	8
Feudatory States ...	1,996,949	976,924	1,020,025	92,712	88,329	4,383	464	904	43	5,410	5,241	169	27	54	2	5,751	5,577	174	29	57	2

VI.—Progress of education since 1881.

District and Natural Division.	Number literate per 10,000.																											
	All ages, 10 and over.												15—20.								20 and over.							
	Males.						Females.						Males.				Females.				Males.				Females.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	*1,073*	*1,139*	*1,042*	*1,045*	*920*	*780*	*81*	*72*	*49*	*34*	*20*	*30*	*1,177*	*1,113*	*1,034*	*1,013*	*114*	*104*	*71*	*45*	*1,160*	*1,259*	*1,137*	*1,142*	*75*	*65*	*44*	*32*
North Bihar	*928*	*1,017*	*977*	*891*	*850*	*620*	*57*	*55*	*40*	*24*	*10*	*20*	*1,036*	*1,025*	*985*	*890*	*81*	*80*	*60*	*32*	*1,001*	*1,105*	*1,051*	*977*	*53*	*51*	*36*	*23*
Saran	**921**	1,147	1,054	1,018	890	680	**50**	63	34	27	20	20	**1,055**	1,147	1,136	893	**69**	92	53	33	**989**	1,360	1,137	1,184	**48**	61	33	28
Champaran	**692**	757	678	589	530	390	**52**	48	28	15	10	10	**752**	744	654	553	**78**	76	46	23	**744**	825	737	668	**47**	44	25	13
Muzaffarpur	**989**	1,024	959	1,042	1,120	660	**76**	76	56	43	20	30	**1,097**	958	964	998	**109**	113	94	53	**1,067**	1,121	1,031	1,154	**73**	71	51	41
Darbhanga	**974**	1,087	1,096	949	830	680	**51**	51	40	18	10	10	**1,053**	1,072	1,112	1,114	**71**	71	58	30	**1,059**	1,174	1,175	986	**48**	47	34	15
Bhagalpur	**893**	1,272	1,042	886	770	590	**63**	56	41	19	10	20	**1,054**	1,458	1,067	893	**89**	86	56	20	**959**	1,360	1,104	964	**56**	49	36	19
Purnea	**1,059**	775	970	750	820	670	**49**	28	31	16	10	30	**1,176**	748	894	723	**68**	40	40	29	**1,141**	843	1,063	808	**44**	24	27	13
South Bihar	*1,335*	*1,432*	*1,250*	*1,079*	*1,050*	*870*	*118*	*94*	*62*	*40*	*30*	*50*	*1,662*	*1,495*	*1,336*	*1,065*	*164*	*136*	*95*	*50*	*1,371*	*1,512*	*1,328*	*1,158*	*109*	*86*	*57*	*40*
Patna	**2,103**	1,981	1,638	1,544	1,390	1,330	**244**	176	111	73	50	180	**2,524**	2,178	1,810	1,625	**342**	264	176	94	**2,136**	2,043	1,708	1,587	**222**	160	100	67
Gaya	**1,233**	1,293	1,142	938	960	820	**86**	82	49	29	20	10	**1,817**	1,328	1,219	908	**127**	114	70	27	**1,208**	1,375	1,319	1,005	**79**	79	47	31
Shahabad	**1,272**	1,276	1,233	1,145	950	760	**85**	63	49	41	20	20	**1,405**	1,383	1,379	1,061	**110**	96	78	46	**1,333**	1,304	1,290	1,285	**81**	60	46	42
Monghyr	**827**	1,258	1,057	771	940	620	**79**	70	48	26	30	20	**943**	1,250	1,063	792	**111**	103	79	44	**892**	1,322	1,150	823	**74**	59	44	24
Orissa	*1,862*	*1,873*	*1,699*	*1,964*	*1,440*	*1,470*	*116*	*99*	*65*	*54*	*30*	*40*	*1,634*	*1,555*	*1,519*	*1,755*	*167*	*146*	*99*	*70*	*2,115*	*2,199*	*1,935*	*2,145*	*103*	*88*	*58*	*49*
Cuttack	**1,910**	2,012	1,785	2,014	1,570	1,410	**116**	100	66	57	30	20	**1,702**	1,717	1,632	1,826	**174**	146	96	74	**2,178**	2,348	2,025	2,193	**101**	87	61	52
Balasore	**2,017**	1,901	1,802	2,038	1,360	1,680	**111**	91	64	51	40	20	**1,719**	1,437	1,525	1,817	**160**	134	103	68	**2,275**	2,256	2,007	2,222	**100**	79	52	46
Puri	**1,609**	1,557	1,431	1,795	1,270	1,370	**118**	108	63	49	30	80	**1,398**	1,317	1,268	1,538	**159**	158	100	65	**1,831**	1,839	1,617	1,982	**110**	99	57	46
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	*830*	*857*	*751*	*734*	*570*	*560*	*74*	*66*	*45*	*35*	*20*	*20*	*883*	*853*	*755*	*713*	*101*	*95*	*61*	*47*	*908*	*968*	*826*	*813*	*67*	*60*	*40*	*31*
Hazaribagh	**650**	805	603	706	670	486	**47**	48	40	25	20	20	**702**	794	618	768	**62**	59	60	33	**718**	914	668	778	**43**	47	36	24
Ranchi	**622**	873	817	737	490	450	**131**	99	86	61	40	20	**743**	903	812	699	**196**	139	114	83	**650**	984	914	859	**111**	85	74	51
Palamau	**621**	735	448	531	...	...	**47**	38	40	18	...	...	**673**	780	479	494	**59**	50	84	23	**673**	796	483	604	**43**	38	35	18
Manbhum	**1,073**	1,317	1,133	1,011	780	870	**104**	91	63	41	10	20	**1,132**	1,130	1,162	919	**130**	104	87	57	**1,157**	1,351	1,199	1,117	**101**	90	58	36
Singhbhum	**1,040**	955	716	643	560	590	**136**	96	51	33	30	20	**1,123**	870	731	579	**190**	120	57	42	**1,138**	1,114	788	725	**127**	94	50	31
Santal Parganas ...	**727**	681	869	660	450	510	**63**	101	43	29	10	20	**761**	782	862	655	**82**	158	51	37	**810**	723	968	707	**57**	84	39	25
Angul	**839**	691	666	529	370	550	**63**	41	32	15	10	10	**1,082**	613	663	465	**94**	84	45	24	**814**	800	709	586	**51**	30	19	11
Sambalpur	**1,132**	977	764	...	...	...	**65**	51	28	...	...	...	**1,135**	1,015	811	...	**83**	77	45	...	**1,269**	1,101	820	...	**60**	45	24	...
Orissa States	**830**	787	617	...	...	...	**50**	40	30	...	...	...	**860**	750	572	...	**69**	62	38	...	**911**	918	695	...	**44**	35	27	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	**766**	630	705	...	...	...	**81**	38	30	...	...	...	**775**	554	562	...	**76**	44	17	...	**868**	729	848	...	**89**	38	35	...

VII.—Literacy in certain selected castes (two censuses).

Caste.	Locality.	Number per 10,000 who are— Literate. 1931 (aged 7 and over). P.	M.	F.	1921 (aged 5 and over). P.	M.	F.	Literate in English. 1931 (aged 7 and over). P.	M.	F.	1921 (aged 5 and over). P.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Barhan	Bihar	1,356	2,333	246	1,387	2,487	229	78	143	3	70	134	3
Brahman	Whole Province	1,953	3,557	277	1,797	3,400	211	197	371	16	150	291	9
Karan	Orissa	3,175	5,811	931	2,835	5,524	624	466	1,001	11	381	833	10
Kayasth	Bihar	3,720	6,044	1,136	3,820	6,570	885	1,000	1,761	154	903	1,701	51
Khandait	Orissa	967	1,985	84	864	1,797	77	38	82	0·5	29	62	0·6
Rajput	Bihar	1,203	2,168	138	1,239	2,315	97	84	156	3	105	202	2
Chasa	Orissa	405	814	27	395	807	26	7	14	...	8	17	0·3
Gaura	Orissa	462	952	34	315	669	18	13	28	0·1	7	15	0·1
Goala	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	200	370	19	156	294	13	9	17	0·3	6	11	0·2
Kurmi	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	487	933	43	437	851	28	20	39	0·5	12	23	0·5
Teli	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	541	1,029	45	494	963	26	17	34	1	12	24	0·3
Bhuiya	Whole Province	66	128	4	65	127	6	2	3	0·1	1	2	0·2
Chamar	Bihar	47	92	7	45	91	5	1	2	0·1	0·8	2	0·2
Dhobi	Whole Province	155	292	17	Not available.			3	5	0·1	Not available.		
Dom	Whole Province	40	73	7				1	2	0·4			
Dosadh	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	64	123	7				2	4	0·1			
Pan	Orissa	82	168	3	76	158	5	0·4	1	...	1	2	0·7
Pasi	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	141	255	23	Not available.			6	11	0·1	Not available.		
Rajwar	South Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	88	167	12				7	14	0·4			
Munda ... Hindu	Chota Nagpur Division	174	328	26	139	250	11	3	6	...	2	4	...
Do. ... Christian	Ranchi	809	1,244	376	Not available.			144	265	24	Not available.		
Do. ... Tribal	Chota Nagpur Division	62	107	20	60	116	9	3	6	0·1	2	4	0·6
Oraon ... Hindu	Chota Nagpur Division	102	183	28	Not available.			2	4	0·1	Not available.		
Do. ... Christian	Ranchi	775	1,134	418				120	198	43			
Do. ... Tribal	Chota Nagpur Division	102	137	69	70	137	8	6	12	0·4	3	5	0·9
Santal ... Hindu	Chota Nagpur Plateau	65	122	8	61	118	3	2	4	0·2	2	4	0·2
Do. ... Christian	Chota Nagpur Plateau	2,466	3,033	1,906	Not available.			460	785	140	Not available.		
Do. ... Tribal	Chota Nagpur Plateau	43	81	5	40	74	5	1	2	0·1	2	4	0·5
Jolaha	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Plateau	364	667	81	314	578	75	20	40	0·9	26	49	4

VIII.—Number of educational institutions and pupils according to the returns of the education department (four censuses).

(BRITISH TERRITORY ONLY.)

Class of Institution.	1931. No. of institutions.	No. of pupils.	1921. No. of institutions.	No. of pupils.	1911. No. of institutions.	No. of pupils.	1901. No. of institutions.	No. of pupils.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL CLASSES	*31,488*	*1,081,967*	*28,129*	*828,019*	*27,231*	*715,398*	*23,091*	*478,194*
A.—Recognized Institutions	*29,592*	*1,031,322*	*26,255*	*784,860*	*23,583*	*671,970*	*17,886*	*430,141*
Colleges	*18*	*4,558*	*14*	*2,593*	*11*	*1,311*	*11*	*950*
Arts and Science ... for males	7	3,371	9	3,263	7	1,202	7	865
,, females	...	...	1	6				
Law ... ,, males	1	343	3	287	3	98	4	85
Medicine ... ,, males	1	233	...	...	...	...	...	...
Education ... ,, males	2	73	1	37	1	11	...	...
Engineering ... ,, males	1	256	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agriculture ... ,, males	1	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
Veterinary ... ,, males	1	40	...	...	...	...	...	...
Intermediate and Second grade Colleges ,, males	3	209	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, females	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Schools—General	*29,018*	*1,007,314*	*25,804*	*769,102*	*23,148*	*659,220*	*17,792*	*424,979*
High Schools ... for males	162	45,437	118	25,269	91	22,328	87	18,060
,, females	6	1,572	4	681	3	258	1	33
Middle English Schools ... ,, males	547	60,092	261	22,185	182	14,854	151	9,118
,, females	23	3,700	12	1,016	4	396	...	...
Middle Vernacular Schools ... ,, males	135	14,249	158	11,815	136	8,967	153	7,817
,, females	10	1,387	11	1,390	9	616	7	448
Primary Schools ... ,, males	25,654	817,495	22,591	644,267	21,352	577,742	16,817	378,665
,, females	2,481	62,382	2,649	62,479	1,372	34,050	506	10,838
Schools—Special	*556*	*19,450*	*437*	*13,165*	*424*	*11,439*	*153*	*4,212*
Law ... for males	2	123	...	...	...	...	...	...
Medical ... ,, males	2	372	2	388	2	223	2	246
Normal and Training ... ,, males	122	2,203	127	2,713	118	1,923	8	200
,, females	12	349	8	134	10	67	1	12
Engineering ... ,, males	1	114	3	163	3	259	3	207
Technical and Industrial ... ,, males	37	2,101	27	986	36	833	16	347
,, females	11	391	8	233				
Commercial ... ,, males	10	263	7	170	2	29	...	...
Agricultural ... ,, females	1	50	1	86	...	...	...	...
Reformatory ... ,, males	1	261	1	419	1	467	1	204
Schools for defectives ... ,, males	2	79	1	61	352	7,638	122	2,996
Schools for adults ... ,, males	2	100	1	67				
Other Schools ... ,, males	352	12,957	250	7,402				
,, females	1	187	1	253				
B.—Unrecognized Institutions	*1,896*	*50,645*	*1,874*	*43,159*	*3,648*	*43,428*	*5,205*	*48,053*

CHAPTER X.—Language.

Imperial Table XV, in which the statistics of language are exhibited, has two parts. The first is concerned with mother-tongues only, and corresponds with the language table in previous census reports; the second, which is new, deals with bi-lingualism. At the end of this chapter three subsidiary tables will be found, *viz* :— **Reference to statistics.**

I.—Distribution of total population by mother-tongues.

II.—Distribution by mother-tongues and subsidiary languages of the population of each district.

III.—Comparison of tribe and language tables.

2. Prior to this census the schedule contained only one column relating to language. In it the enumerators were directed to enter " the language which each person ordinarily speaks in his own home ", while for infants and deaf-mutes the language spoken by the mother was to be recorded. The returns thus obtained were not altogether satisfactory owing to the fact that a considerable part of the population, especially among the primitive tribes, is virtually bi-lingual. A Santal may speak his tribal language in the bosom of his family, but in the *bazar* or in every-day conversation with non-Santals he will often speak Hindustani or whatever happens to be the *lingua franca* of the countryside. It not infrequently happened that in such cases his language would incorrectly be recorded as Hindustani. Again, though more rarely, an enumerator would doubtless enter a person's language as Bhumij or Gondi simply because the person concerned happened to be a Bhumij or a Gond by race, although in actual fact he might have completely lost the use of his tribal language. It was partly to overcome these defects and partly in view of the intrinsic interest of an enquiry into the prevalence of bi-lingualism that an additional column was inserted in the schedule on the present occasion. Column 14 was reserved for the " mother-tongue ", *i.e.*, the tongue spoken from the cradle, and any other language or languages " commonly used in daily life " were to be entered in column 15. **Nature of the enquiry.**

The record of bi-lingualism thus obtained is of considerable interest, but the figures must be accepted with a certain amount of reserve. To a census staff consisting largely of veterans new departures are unwelcome and give rise to much puzzlement; and many of the enumerators, to say nothing of more highly-placed officials, found difficulty in understanding what they were really supposed to do with column 15. It sometimes happened, for example, that Hindustani would be shown as the mother-tongue of a Munda and Mundari would appear as his second language. Precocious infants, less than a year old, were occasionally returned as speaking two different languages. Some of the persons enumerated were anxious to seize this opportunity of displaying their linguistic proficiency, and secured an entry of all the languages, including French, Greek and so on, with which they scraped some acquaintance at school or college. Obvious mistakes were corrected as far as possible in the process of compilation, and the more exotic entries disappeared automatically, seeing that no language was tabulated as a subsidiary language unless it was spoken as mother-tongue by a large proportion of the local population. But it is not possible to guarantee that all the entries which escaped the blue pencil represent languages in common daily use by the persons concerned. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the column of subsidiary languages was often left blank when it should really have contained some entry, and the final table probably under-states the prevalence of bi-lingualism rather than the reverse.

Classification of languages.

3. In Imperial Table XV the languages of India have been grouped together under the four following heads :—

(1) Indo-Aryan languages.

(2) Munda languages.

(3) Dravidian languages.

(4) Other languages of India.

This classification, though convenient, is not strictly logical. According to Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* the languages and dialects of India, 872 in number, are (with the exception of a few "unclassed" languages) divided among the six main families shown in the margin. Most of these families contain a number of sub-families, branches, sub-branches and groups. Thus, the languages which in Table XV are described as Indo-Aryan form a particular branch of the Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family. Similarly, the Munda languages form a particular branch of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family. The Dravidian languages, on the other hand, represent a whole family to themselves. In Bihar and Orissa no languages comprised in the Karan and Man families are spoken at all. Five languages (Bhotia, Burmese, Murmi, Thado, and Magari) belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family are found, but they are spoken by only 42 persons in all. Pashto (1,579 speakers) and Kashmiri (16 speakers) are the only two languages of the Indo-European family which fall outside the Indo-Aryan branch; and Khasi (12 speakers) is the only language of the Austric family which falls outside the Munda branch. These minor languages have been grouped together in Table XV, along with the gipsy dialects, under the head "Other languages of India". Altogether, 49 Indian languages are spoken in the province, to which should be added 5 Asiatic languages foreign to India and 15 European languages. In Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter all the languages and dialects spoken by not less than 500 persons each have been classified in accordance with the scheme adopted in Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*.

Austric.	Man.
Tibeto-Chinese.	Dravidian.
Karan.	Indo-European.

Difficulties encountered.

4. Difficulties invariably arise in securing an accurate return of languages at the census. Obscure local terms are apt to be entered in the schedules, and the task of interpreting them is complicated by the fact that they may be either spelt incorrectly by the enumerator or mutilated at a later stage by the copyist. Even the names of well-known languages are sometimes rendered unrecognizable in this way. The use of unauthorized abbreviations, such as *O*, which may frequently stand either for Oriya or Oraon, is another obstacle to correct classification. Then there are various indeterminate or ambiguous entries which cause much trouble. The term *Farsi* comes in this category. Properly it means Persian, but investigation nearly always showed that persons so returned were not speakers of the genuine Persian language. Sometimes, especially in Orissa, it was used to signify Urdu, owing to the admixture of Persian words in that language. But more frequently still it was applied to members of the aboriginal tribes, in which case it might either denote their special tribal language (for the terms *Parsi* and *Farsi* often carry with them the idea of some secret *argot*) or it might refer to the form of Hindustani spoken by them in supersession of their tribal language. It will thus be clear that this term, which was not uncommonly met with, presented a peculiarly complex problem. Another unwelcome intruder was the expression *Kol*, which might crop up either in the language column or in the caste column or in both. Its presence in either context implied that the person enumerated was a non-Aryan, and when it was used only of his caste *or* of his language the other entry would usually assist in a correct classification of the term; but when it was used of both the only course possible was to rely on local knowledge and probabilities. It may be mentioned, however, that the use of this ambiguous term was much less general at the present census than on previous occasion. *Kora* is

a genuine tribal language spoken by the Kora tribe, but unfortunately there is a tendency to extend this term to earthworkers belonging to other communities, and sometimes the language entry follows suit. In general, Kora has been tabulated as a separate language in localities where the tribe is actually found. *Kurmali* and *Karmali* were very troublesome entries. The former is a corrupt form of Hindi spoken principally by the Kurmi Mahtos of Chota Nagpur (*see* appendix V) while the latter is a Santali dialect. The two words were almost always confused, and had to be sorted out as best they could be with reference to local circumstances. *Tamaria* is a name sometimes given to the language of the Bhumij tribe and sometimes it is synonymous with *Panch Pargania*, a dialect spoken mainly in the district of Ranchi and containing an admixture of Hindi, Bengali and occasionally Oriya. Panch Pargania is classified by Sir George Grierson as a form of Eastern Magahi (Hindi), and this classification was followed on the present occasion.

There are other dialects which are difficult to classify because they are composed partly of one language and partly of another, so that even an expert might be at a loss to say which is the preponderating element. Among these, mention may be made of *Kishanganjia* or *Siripuria*, a dialect spoken in eastern Purnea. According to the Linguistic Survey it is a form of the Northern dialect of Bengali, and the number of speakers is estimated at something over 600,000. The table below shows the total number of persons in Purnea district returned as speaking Hindustani and Bengali respectively at each of the last four censuses :—

	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	*Variation* 1921-31.	1911-21.	1901-11.
Hindustani	1,980,123	1,874,971	1,202,568	1,773,455	+105,152	+672,403	—570,887
Bengali	147,299	102,005	749,018	91,877	+45,294	—647,015	+657,141

These figures suggest, first, that the estimate given in the Survey of the number of persons speaking this borderline dialect is approximately correct, and, secondly, that in 1911 they were all returned under the head Bengali, but in each of the three remaining censuses they were all, or nearly all, returned under the head Hindustani. (On the present occasion, allowing for general increase of population, it would seem that a small proportion of these persons, say 33,000, have reverted to the Bengali classification.) In 1921 the Subdivisional Officer of Kishanganj expressed the view that a pure Hindi speaker would be more at home in this area than a speaker of pure Bengali, and that therefore the record of this dialect as Hindi (or Hindustani) was in his opinion correct. Another example of the same kind of difficulty is furnished by the language spoken by many of the inhabitants of the Dhalbhum subdivision of Singhbhum. It has no recognized name, but is a cross between Bengali and Oriya. At any time an enumerator might well be genuinely perplexed how to describe it in the schedule, but on the present occasion the controversy regarding the inclusion of Singhbhum in the potential province of Orissa introduced complications which were not calculated to assist him in arriving at an unprejudiced decision. This matter is further discussed in Appendix VII.

What is meant by Hindustani.

5. According to the Linguistic Survey, *Hindustani* is a dialect of Western Hindi, which is a language falling in the Central group of the Inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch of languages; and *Urdu* is simply one form of the Hindustani dialect. On this showing, if speakers of Urdu be left out of account, genuine Hindustani is spoken by very few persons in Bihar and Orissa. The language spoken by the majority is really *Bihari*, which falls in the Eastern group of the Outer sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan branch. Bihari again is sub-divided into three main dialects—Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri—and these in their turn have various forms and sub-dialects. But it is useless to look for scientific differentiations of

this nature in the census returns. The term *Hindustani* has been used in the present report to cover both Hindi and Urdu, both Western Hindi and Bihari, and no attempt has been made to tabulate separate statistics for the various sub-divisions of these languages. The linguistic experts are in a far better position to arrive at an approximately accurate classification on the basis of region and race than the untrained census staff is. On previous occasions an effort has indeed been made to distinguish " Hindi " from " Urdu ", but the resultant figures are of little value. In 1911, when there was considerable agitation among the Muslim population on the subject, 387,621 persons were returned as speaking Urdu. Ten years later the agitation had died down, and the number dropped to 293,638. This represented less than 8 per cent of the total Muslim community, the percentage varying from 2.3 in Bhagalpur division to 43.9 in the administrative division of Orissa. As pointed out in the last report, it is naturally easier to preserve the purity of the Urdu language in a land of Oriya speakers than in a land of Hindi speakers, where there is a constant tendency to lapse into the local idioms; nevertheless the Urdu of Orissa is commonly written in the Oriya, and not in the Persian, script. Very little interest was manifested in this matter at the present census, though some of the Oriya Muslims were insistent that their language should be shown as Urdu in the schedules, and a less vehement protest on the same lines was reported from Bhagalpur.

What is meant by tribal languages.

6. In this report those languages have been treated as " tribal " which are comprised in the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages and in the Intermediate group of the Dravidian languages. The following Dravidian languages, which fall within other groups of the same family, have not been so treated:—Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Malayalam. A list of the tribal languages tabulated at the present census is given below:—

Munda languages.		*Dravidian languages.*
Agaria.	Kharia.	Gondi.
Asuri.	Kora.	Kandhi (Kui).
Bhumij.	Korwa.	Malhar.
Birhor.	Mahili.	Malto.
Birjia.	Mundari.	Oraon (Kurukh).
Gadaba.	Santali.	
Ho.	Savara.	
Juang.	Turi.	
Karmali.		

It should be mentioned here that, according to Sir George Grierson, most of the Munda tongues specified above are not separate " languages ", but merely dialects of what he calls the *Kherwari* language. The only ones which are treated by him as distinct languages are Kharia, Juang, Savara and Gadaba. But, in accordance with precedent, separate figures have been compiled for each unit at the present census.

The anthropologist recognizes no fundamental difference between the speakers of the Munda and Dravidian languages; despite considerable variations of physical type, he would usually hold that they all come from much the same stock. To the philologist, however, the two main groups of languages are essentially dissimilar. In his Introduction to Volume IV of the Linguistic Survey, Sir G. A. Grierson discusses this question in some detail and comes to the conclusion that they " only agree in such points as are common to most agglutinative languages, and there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same original ". The explanation commonly given for this unity of race and diversity of language is that at some remote date an original Dravidian stock received an admixture of

blood from the ancestors of the peoples who are now found in further India, and of the mixed offspring some continued to speak the Dravidian tongue while others adopted a Munda language.

In addition to the Munda and Dravidian languages, there are a number of distinctive dialects spoken by various primitive tribes, which in one sense might be called "tribal languages". But they have not been included in the present list, because they are little else than corrupt forms of the main Aryan languages current in the locality. *Kurmali* and *Panch Pargania* are examples of this type, to which some reference has already been made. Both of these have been treated as Hindustani. So also has *Kharwari*, a form of Bhojpuri spoken by the Kharwar tribe in Palamau and southern Shahabad. (This dialect is not to be confused with the Munda language, *Kherwari*, mentioned above.) Another important example is *Mal Paharia*, the dialect of the Mal Paharias residing in the Santal Parganas. This is classified as "a form of the Western dialect of Bengali" and has been treated accordingly.

General summary of language returns.

7. The statement in the margin shows the proportion of the total population at each of the last two censuses speaking the principal languages. It will be seen that about 998 persons in every thousand are accounted for in this statement. During the last ten years there has been a slight decline in the proportion of persons speaking Hindustani and Oriya and a corresponding increase in the use of Bengali and the tribal languages. The localities in which these variations have chiefly occurred will be particularized in the following paragraphs. But first a brief reference may be made to the linguistic map, for which search should be made in the pocket of the front cover.

	No. per 10,000 of population.	
	1931.	1921.
Hindustani	6,595	6,644
Oriya	2,017	2,042
Bengali	458	437
Tribal languages ...	907	859
Total ...	**9,977**	**9,982**

The linguistic map.

8. This map illustrates by means of coloured rectangles the local distribution of the main languages spoken in the province. At least one rectangle is allotted to each district, and, where there is an appreciable variation in the languages spoken in different parts of the same district, a separate rectangle is allotted to each subdivision. The larger states are given a rectangle apiece, and the smaller ones are clubbed together in pairs or groups. A statistical key to the map will be found in Appendix II. Hindustani (green), Oriya (blue) and Bengali (sepia) each have their distinctive colour, and tribal languages (whether Munda or Dravidian) are shown in red. Mother-tongues other than those just mentioned are shown in white, but as the map deals only with languages which are spoken by at least 1 per cent of the local population, there are but two subdivisions in the whole province in which these "other" languages figure at all. They are Dhanbad (Manbhum) and Dhalbhum (Singhbhum). The prevalence of bi-lingualism in the different local units is indicated by means of coloured hatching super-imposed on the basic tints, but it is only in localities where bi-lingualism obtains on a fairly extensive scale that the map can portray it.

A cursory glance at the linguistic map will suffice to show that Bihar proper is a one-language tract; so, to an almost equal extent, is the natural division of Orissa. But in most of the Chota Nagpur districts and in many of the Feudatory States a great diversity of languages is found. The babel of tongues rises most loudly from the eastern half of Singhbhum district. In some degree this is due to the cosmopolitan character of the population of Jamshedpur city, but the chief explanation lies in the fact that the Dhalbhum subdivision of this district is the meeting place of many races and cultures. From north, east and south the Bihari, the Bengali and the Oriya overflow the borders of this district, which none the less is still essentially the home of the Ho tribe and other primitive races.

Hindustani.

9. Hindustani, used in the sense already explained, is the mother-tongue of 27,921,455 persons, or almost exactly two-thirds of the population of the province. The statement in the margin shows the proportion of persons speaking Hindustani in each of the natural divisions. In Bihar it has what virtually amounts to a monopoly. There are five Bihar districts in which 999 persons out of every thousand speak this language. In the south of Monghyr and Bhagalpur a little Santali is spoken—enough anyhow to secure representation in the linguistic map; but Purnea is the only district of Bihar in which other languages figure at all prominently. The Araria subdivision of that district knows nothing but Hindustani, but in the two remaining subdivisions some 12 per cent of the population speak either Bengali or some tribal language. There are two districts on the Chota Nagpur plateau (Hazaribagh and Palamau) where Hindustani is spoken by not less than 90 per cent of the inhabitants; in two other districts (Ranchi and the Santal Parganas) the proportion is somewhat below 50 per cent; but after that it drops right down to 18 per cent in Manbhum, and 9 per cent in Singhbhum. Of the coastal districts of Orissa, Balasore has a slightly higher proportion of Hindustani speakers (3.3 per cent) than either of the others. For the Feudatory States as a whole Hindustani is the mother-tongue of 4 per cent of the population, Gangpur being the only state in which it is spoken by not less than one person in ten.

No. per mille speaking Hindustani.

North Bihar	983
South Bihar	996
Orissa	30
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	305

It has been seen that, taking the province as a whole, the proportion of persons speaking Hindustani is slightly lower than it was in 1921. The loss is confined to North Bihar, and by far the greatest part of it has occurred in Purnea. In that district the number of Hindustani speakers has declined from 9,261 per 10,000 to 9,056. Bengali, Santali and Oraon have all gained at the expense of Hindustani. So far as Bengali is concerned, the explanation is probably to be found largely in the classification of the border-line dialect, *Kishanganjia*, to which reference has already been made. In South Bihar the proportion of Hindustani speakers has remained constant since the last census, and in the other two natural divisions there has been a very slight increase. It is on the Chota Nagpur plateau that the fluctuations are of particular interest, for it would be natural to suppose that in this area the tribal languages are gradually dying out and being replaced by the Aryan tongues. But this does not appear to be the case. The gains and losses recorded by the various tribal languages will be analysed later on, but here it may be noted that in those parts of the plateau where Hindustani is spoken more commonly than it was a decade ago, the corresponding decline occurs for the most part in Oriya and Bengali, and not in the languages of the primitive tribes. On the other hand, where Hindustani has lost ground, it is the tribal languages which are mainly responsible. Over the whole of the Chota Nagpur plateau the proportion of Hindustani speakers has risen from 3,025 per 10,000 to 3,051. The most important gains are in the Feudatory States, the Santal Parganas and Singhbhum, but these are negatived to a large extent by losses sustained in Palamau, Hazaribagh and Manbhum.

Oriya.

10. The Oriya language is confined almost entirely to the five districts of the Orissa (administrative) division, the Feudatory States and Singhbhum. Out of 8,535,805 persons returned as speaking Oriya at the present census, only about 10,500 were residing outside the above area, and almost all of these were in Ranchi or Manbhum. In the three coastal districts of Orissa 953 persons in every 1,000 are Oriya speakers. Sambalpur comes next with 883 per mille, while in Angul and the Feudatory States Oriya is the mother-tongue of 3 persons out of 4. As the linguistic map shows, there are a number of small states in which practically no language but Oriya is spoken, and in the large state of Patna the percentage is as high as 95. But the average for the states as a whole is brought down by such units as

Mayurbhanj and Gangpur, where less than half the population speak Oriya as their first language.

The decline in the proportion of Oriya speakers since 1921 (from 2,042 to 2,017 per 10,000 of the provincial population) is not marked, but it is common to all the Oriya-speaking tracts except Angul and Sambalpur. In Sambalpur the use of Oriya has been growing more and more widespread ever since 1905, when it replaced Hindi as the court language of the district. But during the last decade the rate of growth slowed down considerably. In view of the feeling aroused in Singhbhum over the language returns at the present census, it is interesting to find that the proportion of Oriya speakers in that district (1,849 per 10,000) is almost exactly the same as it was in 1921 (1,854 per 10,000).

Bengali.

11. Bengali is the mother-tongue of 1,937,587 persons in Bihar and Orissa. There are only five districts in which it is spoken by 1 per cent or more of the total population, and these are the five districts which lie on the Bengal border, *viz.* Purnea, the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Balasore. To these may be added the states of Mayurbhanj, Saraikela and Kharsawan. The stronghold of the Bengali language is the sadr subdivision of Manbhum, where 81 per cent of the inhabitants speak it. In the Dhalbhum subdivision of Singhbhum the percentage is 36. Next in order come the Jamtara and Pakaur subdivisions of the Santal Parganas, where the proportions are 30 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. Districts in which Bengali is found to a small extent are Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Cuttack, Patna, Puri, Bhagalpur and Monghyr. In these localities the number of Bengali speakers ranges from 9 per mille (in Ranchi) to 2 per mille (in Monghyr).

In Manbhum, Purnea and Balasore (as well as in most of the districts which do *not* border on Bengal) the Bengali language is spoken more commonly than it was a decade ago; in the Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and the Feudatory States it has experienced a set-back. On the balance the proportion of Bengali speakers in the whole province has risen since 1921 from 437 per 10,000 to 458.

Tribal languages.

12. Taking all the tribal languages together, and using the term in the sense explained in paragraph 6, the total number of speakers is approximately 3,838,000. Of these 2,975,000 speak Munda languages and 863,000 speak Dravidian. Subsidiary table III at the end of this chapter shows the actual strength of the more important tribes which possess languages of their own and the number of persons in each of these tribes who still speak their original language. In the following statement proportional figures are given, together with the corresponding proportions in 1921.

Tribe.	*Strength of tribe (1931).*	*Number per mille speaking tribal language.*		*Tribe.*	*Strength of tribe (1931).*	*Number per mille speaking tribal language.*	
		1931	1921			1931	1921
Asur ...	2,024	1,368	1,029	Korwa ...	13,021	955	*
Bhumij ...	274,058	428	461	Mahli ...	59,834	229	456
Birhor ...	2,350	311	171	Munda ...	549,764	949	942
Birjia ...	1,550	405	*	Santal ...	1,712,133	951	941
Ho ...	523,158	1,006	1,008	Turi ...	54,573	22	40
Juang ...	15,024	971	1,007	Gond ...	255,752	25	2
Karmali ...	8,632	1,164	*	Khond ...	315,709	423	391
Kharia ...	146,037	778	849	Oraon ...	637,111	1,030	955
Kora ...	49,036	199	71	Sauria Paharia.	59,891	1,126	1,106

* Not available.

It is noticeable that in certain cases the number of persons speaking a particular tribal language is actually greater than the number composing

the tribe in question. As far as possible, the explanations of this circumstance are given in the remarks column of Subsidiary Table III. In this connexion the difficulty of classifying ambiguous entries in the census schedules, to which reference has been made in paragraph 4 above, should also be borne in mind. It is quite possible, for instance, that a few entries which should have been treated as Mundari or Santali have been treated as Ho or Oraon. On the other hand, it is significant that nearly all the languages which show a surplus of speakers at the present census showed a similar surplus in 1921, and this suggests that the surplus is probably genuine.

One person in every four on the Chota Nagpur plateau speaks some tribal language. In the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi the proportion rises to just over 50 per cent. The statement in the margin shows the localities in which tribal languages are most prevalent. In the states of Mayurbhanj, Gangpur, Bonai, Saraikela and Kharsawan between 40 and 50 per cent of the population speak these primitive dialects. Outside the Chota Nagpur plateau they are seldom met with, the only areas in which they are sufficiently strong to justify their representation in the linguistic map being the Sadr and Kishanganj subdivisions of Purnea, the Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur, the Jamui subdivision of Monghyr, and the district of Balasore.

District.	*Subdivision.*	*Percentage speaking tribal languages.*
Singhbhum ...	Sadr ...	69
Ranchi ...	Khunti ...	62
	Gumla and Simdega	59
Angul ...	Khondmals ...	60
Santal Parganas ..	Pakaur ...	59
	Dumka ...	51
	Rajmahal ...	50

Language is an index not less valuable than religion of the extent to which a primitive race is preserving its separate identity and its tribal characteristics. The returns of religion suggest that the great races of the Santals, Oraons, Mundas and Hos have already been largely absorbed in the Hindu polity, and the fact that among all these races the use of their old, original languages survives practically *cent per cent* (although they may not infrequently have been compelled to acquire knowledge of a secondary language also) serves to correct an impression which is somewhat misleading. Again, among the smaller tribes the Asurs (including Birjias) and the Juangs are among the most truly primitive communities in the province, although more than half of them were returned as Hindus at the present census. The Korwas are a small tribe to whose unimpaired primitive character the returns of language and religion alike testify. On the other hand, the Khonds of Angul furnish an unusual example of an aboriginal race which is abandoning its tribal language more rapidly than its tribal gods.

Their continuing vitality.

13. Since 1921 there has been an increase of about 577,000 or 17.7 per cent, in the number of persons speaking these tribal languages. They have in fact more than kept pace with the general increase in population, with the result that the proportion of the total population accounted for by them has risen from 859 to 907 per 10,000. Two principal reasons may be advanced to explain this somewhat remarkable circumstance. The first is that the aboriginal peoples themselves have multiplied more quickly than most other communities—partly because their natural rate of growth is superior, and partly because many emigrants have returned during the last decade from the industrial centres of Bengal and the tea gardens of Assam. The second reason is that the procedure adopted at the present census of recording "mother-tongue" and "subsidiary language" separately, instead of the single language "ordinarily spoken", has undoubtedly led to a more complete return of tribal languages as the mother-tongue of persons who are bi-lingual. To this latter cause must clearly be attributed the fact that in the district of Champaran 5,511 persons are shown as speaking Oraon at the present census, out of whom 5,508 speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language. In 1921, although there were nearly

10,000 Oraons in that district, not a single one was returned as speaking his tribal tongue. Similarly, in Balasore the number of Santali speakers has gone up abruptly from 9,655 to 15,120, and more than 10,000 of the latter are now shown as speaking a second language (Oriya). Exceptionally heavy increases in Oraon and Santali in the district of Purnea should be ascribed mainly to the same cause.

The statement at the beginning of paragraph 12 suggests that very few of the tribal languages are falling into disuse. The only ones in which the proportion of speakers is appreciably lower than it was ten years ago are Bhumij, Juang, Kharia, Mahili and Turi. In the case of Mahili the decrease probably has not much significance, for this dialect (like Karmali) is little more than a variant of Santali, and it is probable that Santali was entered fairly often as the mother-tongue of persons speaking Mahili. The decline in Bhumij is most noticeable in the districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum, where the " Hinduization " of this tribe is proceeding apace; in Mayurbhanj state, although Hinduism is now returned as the religion of the great majority, the tribal feeling persists, with the result that the tribal language too is still vigorous in that area. Speakers of Juang have increased in number since 1921 from 10,531 to 14,583, but during the same period the strength of the Juang tribe has increased from 10,454 to 15,024. To all intents and purposes, this language is as full of vitality as ever it was. Nor is the loss sustained by the Kharia language material, though the proportion of speakers has fallen off slightly both in Ranchi and in the Orissa states, the two localities where this particular tribe is numerous. Turi, however, is definitely on the wane. In 1911 it was spoken by 2,701 persons, in 1921 by 1,808, and now it is spoken by only 1,215. Ranchi, Sambalpur and the States are the only areas in which the language survives. It differs very little from Mundari, and maybe some members of the Turi " tribe " now use the latter term to describe their language. But in these days there is little to distinguish Turis from an ordinary low Hindu caste, and the loss of their old tribal language is not a matter for surprise.

The particularly marked increase in the proportion of persons speaking Kora is due primarily to vagaries of classification. Allusion to the difficulties presented by this term has been made in an earlier paragraph. Still more abrupt is the increase from 383 to 6,270 in the number of persons speaking Gondi. This represents a swing back to (and beyond) the position in 1911, when there were 4,212 speakers of this language. The fact is that in this province nearly every Gond has acquired the knowledge of a secondary language, and at the last census the tendency to return this secondary language in preference to the tribal dialect was apparently carried to a much further length with the Gonds than with most of the other aboriginal races.

Taking together the 18 tribes shown in Subsidiary Table III, the proportion of their members speaking tribal languages is 820 per mille, as compared with 802 per mille in 1921.

Other Dravidian languages.

14. All other languages in Bihar and Orissa are relatively unimportant, and call for brief notice only. *Telugu* is spoken by 29,512 persons, mostly immigrants from northern Madras. Their number has risen since 1921 by 9,465, or nearly 50 per cent. They are being attracted more and more to the industrial centres of Singhbhum and Manbhum, but the majority of them are still to be found, as is only natural, in the territories immediately adjacent to Madras. Out of 3,269 speakers of *Tamil*, 2,111 were brought to account in Singhbhum district. Most of the remainder had made their way to the coalfields of Manbhum and Hazaribagh, so it seems clear that the industrial areas of the province provide the sole attraction to speakers of this language, who incidentally are more than twice as numerous now as they were ten years ago. *Malayalam* (403) and *Kanarese* (57) are two minor Dravidian languages, which again are confined largely to the district of Singhbhum.

Other Indo-Aryan languages.

15. Of the minor Indo-Aryan languages, *Marwari* is more frequently met with than any other, but the total number of speakers is only 17,883. This is 678 more than there were at the previous census. Marwari, which is classified as a dialect of the Rajasthani language, is not peculiar to any particular part of the province, but has representatives in every district. Another dialect of Rajasthani, spoken by only 4,401 persons, is *Banjari*. In this province it is not found at all outside Sambalpur and the Orissa States, but according to the Linguistic Survey it is spoken, under various names, all over India by a wandering tribe. There are 8,765 *Panjabi* speakers, as compared with only 2,893 in 1921, more than half the new-comers being immigrants into Jamshedpur city. Speakers of *Gujarati* number only 6,204, which is little more than they numbered a decade ago. Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Orissa States still absorb the majority of them. *Naipali*, or *Khas-Kura*, is found more commonly in Champaran and Purnea than in any of the other Bihar districts, but even this language has penetrated to the industrial centres of the province, and more than one-third of the total number of persons speaking Naipali (7,493) were enumerated in Singhbhum, Manbhum and Hazaribagh. It is this movement which mainly accounts for an increase of 3,000 over the total number recorded in 1921. The only other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the province are *Marathi* (1,712), *Sindhi* (339) and *Assamese* (31). *Pashto* (1,579) is a member of the Aryan sub-family of languages, but falls within the Eranian, and not the Indo-Aryan, branch of that sub-family.

Gipsy languages.

16. Four "gipsy" languages were returned at the present census, viz. *Domra*, *Gulgulia*, *Malar* and *Nati*. Only 687 persons in all speak these languages. Domra, which is the most important of the four, is found for the most part in Singhbhum, and, as its name implies, is spoken by a section of Doms who have not come much in contact with civilization. Similarly, Nati is the old dialect of the Nats, and Gulgulia is spoken by some members of a gipsy tribe bearing the same name.

Asiatic languages foreign to India.

17. Asiatic languages foreign to India figure very rarely in the census schedules. It may be that most of them are unintelligible to the copyist or to the sorter, and that they are consequently misclassified. Anyhow, only 425 persons are shown as speaking such languages, and this small company distributes its patronage between *Arabic*, *Armenian*, *Chinese*, *Hebrew* and *Persian*. With regard to the last-named language, mention has already been made of the special difficulties in the way of securing an accurate return of the genuine Persian speakers.

European languages.

18. *English* is the only European language of importance. At the present census it was returned as the mother-tongue of 13,020 persons, which corresponds roughly with the number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The number recorded in 1921 (9,161) must have been an under-statement. No less than 14 other European languages, with an average of about 35 speakers apiece, appear on the title-page of Imperial Table XV. *French*, *Italian*, *Portuguese* and *German* are the most common of these. *Gaelic* (Scottish), *Welsh* and *Irish* all assert their right to be tabulated as independent languages.

Bi-lingualism.

19. As already stated, in tabulating the returns of bi-lingualism, only those languages have been treated as "subsidiary languages" which are actually in common, everyday use in the localities to which the returns relate—*i.e.*, those which constitute the mother-tongue of a fairly large proportion of the resident population. The main object of the enquiry was to ascertain the extent to which, in what are known as the cultural zones or the areas of overlapping cultures, the members of one particular race or culture have found it necessary or expedient, without entirely abandoning the use of their own mother-tongue, to adopt as a secondary language the tongue of some other race or culture with which they are brought into close contact. In particular, it was desired to find out how far the aboriginal races of the Chota Nagpur plateau are acquiring the knowledge and use of the Aryan languages spoken all round them; also, how far the Oriyas in

Singhbhum and the Biharis in the Bengali-speaking tracts of Manbhum, the Santal Parganas, etc., have come under the influence of their immediate neighbours in this matter.

With this object in view the number of subsidiary languages shown in Part II of Imperial Table XV was reduced to a minimum. It was decided, for instance, that no useful purpose would be served by showing English as a second language in any part of the province. The cultural influence of the English language in this country is of course great, but it is not specially evident in any particular zone, nor is its effect confined to any particular community. There is, moreover, the practical difficulty of deciding what persons or classes of persons use English as a subsidiary language in everyday life. There is the clerk in a Government office, who is required to draft letters and notes in English, and whose speech (to some extent his thoughts also) during office hours may be couched in the same language; but outside the office, in ordinary contact with his fellow-men, he will seldom have recourse to English at all. There is the Indian who regularly reads an English newspaper in preference to a newspaper in the vernacular and can converse fluently in English if necessary, but may have no real occasion to use the language for the purpose of carrying on his daily business or profession. So far as interest centres in the mere *knowledge* of English, the statistics of English literacy given in the previous chapter furnish the requisite information; but as regards the common *use* of that language, the returns were so obviously capricious and based on widely-differing standards that the tabulation of them would in any case have been devoid of value. Again, entries of, say, Bengali as a subsidiary language in a district like Patna were ignored, because, although there are some 7,000 persons in that district whose mother-tongue is Bengali, and doubtless there are not a few Hindustani-speakers who can and do converse with them in their own language, it cannot be said that the Bengali tongue has had any direct influence on the speech in common use in that district. Hindustani, on the other hand, occupies a somewhat peculiar position. Even in localities where it is the mother-tongue of a comparatively small minority, it may be found in regular use as a secondary language. This is particularly the case in cosmopolitan centres, such as Jamshedpur city, where it acts as a sort of common denominator for persons speaking many diverse tongues. Even in places like Cuttack town, where the population is overwhelmingly Oriya, Hindustani has its uses for the stranger who would make himself understood, and sometimes also for the Oriya merchant who would carry on his daily business with foreigners. Hence it is that there are only two districts of the province (Balasore and Angul) and a number of states in which Hindustani does not figure as a subsidiary language.

It has been thought proper to include a few of the more important tribal dialects in the list of languages which are spoken in addition to the mother-tongue. The more usual experience of course is that an aboriginal has to familiarise himself with the language of his Aryan neighbours in order to get along in life; but the converse sometimes holds true. In areas where primitive races are most numerous a pleader, a zamindar or a village mahajan may find it absolutely necessary as a matter of business to acquaint himself with their manner of speech. Thus, in the Sadr subdivision of Singhbhum the supremacy of Ho as the *lingua franca* of the countryside is unchallenged. In Ranchi a considerable number of the Aryan inhabitants speak Mundari and (to a less extent) Oraon. Curiously enough, Santali in the Santal Parganas seems to be treated much more cavalierly, and as a subsidiary language it is spoken just as widely in Manbhum. This can hardly be in accordance with the actual facts, and it is probable that, both in the Santal Parganas and in other parts of the plateau, the returns fail to do justice to the extent to which the use of tribal languages is current among non-aboriginals. Some foolish notion of prestige may have restrained people from admitting that they were in the habit of speaking these dialects.

Distribution of bi-lingual population.

20. After weeding out all entries of bi-lingualism which did not conform to the general principles indicated above, there were found to be

2,155,973 persons in the province (or about one in twenty) speaking a secondary language. The statement below shows the distribution of these persons between the four natural divisions, and the languages which are spoken by them in addition to their mother tongue.

Subsidiary language.	*Actual number of persons using subsidiary language.*				
	Total.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.
TOTAL	**2,155,973**	**64,785**	**9,948**	**129,549**	**1,951,691**
Hindustani	**846,178**	62,318	9,948	2,657	771,255
Oriya	**943,402**	...	...	125,796	817,606
Bengali	**270,746**	2,467	...	1,096	267,183
Munda languages ...	**86,440**	...	...	...	86,440
Ho	*63,814*	...	...	...	*63,814*
Mundari ...	*15,931*	...	...	...	*15,931*
Santali	*6,695*	...	...	...	*6,695*
Dravidian languages ...	**9,207**	...	...	...	9,207
Kandhi	*5,282*	...	...	...	*5,282*
Oraon	*3,925*	...	...	...	*3,925*

In Bihar proper Hindustani is for all practical purposes the only supplementary language in everyday use. A knowledge of Bengali has been acquired by a few residents in the Sadr and Kishanganj subdivisions of Purnea district, but their number is very small. Similarly in the coastal districts of Orissa bi-lingualism is practically confined to the speaking of Oriya by other races, although in Cuttack and Puri Hindustani is occasionally used as a second language, while in Balasore the more favoured alternative is Bengali. But it is on the Chota Nagpur plateau that bi-lingualism is of real interest and importance. Of the total number of persons in the province who speak two different languages, more than 90 per cent are to be found on the plateau, and in this area nearly one person in seven is bi-lingual. In the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau the second language is usually Hindustani, and in Sambalpur, Angul and the states it is usually Oriya. But there is less uniformity in the Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum.

The Santal Parganas are the scene of a tug-of-war between Hindustani and Bengali. Although the number of persons speaking Hindustani as mother-tongue is nearly four times as great as the number speaking Bengali, the latter language is more current among the aboriginal peoples of the district. In the subdivision of Dumka, for instance, Hindustani is the mother-tongue of about 180,000 persons and Bengali of only 46,000; yet 14,864 Santals speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and only 1,898 speak Hindustani. Again, it is noteworthy that, taking the district as a whole, 4.2 per cent of the Hindustani speakers have acquired the use of Bengali also, whereas only 1.7 per cent of the Bengali speakers have acquired the use of Hindustani. The influence of Bengali is particularly strong in the subdivisions of Jamtara and Dumka; in Godda and Rajmahal Hindustani is the dominant language; and in Deoghur and Pakaur there is little to choose between the two.

In the Sadr subdivision of Manbhum Bengali has no serious rival as a subsidiary language. Some Bengalis in the locality speak Hindustani as well, but the other races (especially the Santals), when compelled to adopt a foreign tongue, turn with one accord to Bengali. Of the Hindustani speakers themselves, about 13 per cent have learned to use Bengali as a second language. In the Dhanbad subdivision, however, Hindustani more than holds its own.

From the racial and linguistic points of view the two subdivisions of Singhbhum are poles asunder, and Jamshedpur City is on an entirely different footing from the rest of the Dhalbhum subdivision. Outside Jamshedpur, Bengali is the dominant language in Dhalbhum; Oriya comes a very bad second, and Hindustani a poor third. Contrast with this the position in Jamshedpur itself, where Hindustani is the subsidiary language of over 18,000 persons and Bengali of less than 1,800. In the Sadr subdivision the influence of Bengali is hardly felt at all. Ho is the adopted language of some 63,000 persons, of whom no less than 53,000 speak Oriya as mother-tongue. Hindustani and Oriya come next in importance to Ho as subsidiary languages. Mundari also is in evidence in this area.

Bi-lingualism among the primitive tribes.

21. The statement below shows for each tribal language the proportion of persons who speak some subsidiary language. The actual figures will be found in Subsidiary Table III.

Tribal language.	No. of speakers.	No. per mille using some subsidiary language.	Tribal language.	No. of speakers.	No. per mille using some subsidiary language.
Total ...	**3,837,768**	**419**			
Asuri ...	2,769	842	Korwa ...	12,434	950
Bhumij ...	117,356	746	Mahili ...	13,704	254
Birhor ...	731	557	Mundari ...	521,891	486
Birjia ...	628	998	Santali ...	1,628,957	283
Ho ...	526,443	226	Turi ...	1,215	913
Juang ...	14,583	901	Gondi ...	6,270	769
Karmali ...	10,047	122	Kandhi ...	133,682	448
Kharia ...	113,680	871	Oraon ...	656,188	723
Kora ...	9,739	465	Malto ...	67,451	122

It will be noticed that among the smaller tribes, such as the Asurs (including Birjias), the Juangs and the Korwas, the acquisition of a second language has proved to be almost universally necessary. This is only natural, for with such limited numbers they obviously could not maintain themselves in water-tight compartments. It is interesting to find that bi-lingualism is so comparatively rare among the Santals and Hos; also that as between the Oraons and Mundas, who for the most part are found in close association, the former tribe is in this matter the more sophisticated of the two. In all, 1,607,250 speakers of these tribal languages are bi-lingual, and this means that three out of every four persons in the province who use a secondary language in everyday life belong to one or other of these tribes. One would naturally expect bi-lingualism to be a good deal more common among males than among females, but the returns do not bear out this expectation. So far as the aboriginal races are concerned, the ratio is 82 males to 79 females. It is not improbable that the returns are inaccurate in this respect, and that women were sometimes shown as speaking a second language simply because their husbands did so.

I.—Distribution of total population by mother tongues.

(Languages spoken by less than 500 persons have been omitted.)

Family and Sub-family.	Branch and Sub-branch.	Group.	Language and *Dialect*.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted). 1931.	1921.	1911.	Number per 100,000 of population in 1931.	Where chiefly spoken.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I. LANGUAGES OF INDIA—								
AUSTRIC FAMILY: **Austro-Asiatic sub-family** ...	MUNDA BRANCH	.....	Kharwari	2,846	2,431	2,440	6,723	Chota Nagpur plateau.
			Santali	*1,629*	*1,390*	*1,290*	*3,848*	Santal Parganas.
			Karmali	*10*	*12*	*7*	*24*	Santal Parganas.
			Mahili	*14*	*21*	*22*	*32*	Santal Parganas.
			Mundari	*522*	*434*	*425*	*1,233*	Chota Nagpur plateau.
			Bhumij	*117*	*111*	*106*	*277*	Singhbhum and Feudatory States.
			Birhor	*1*	...	*1*	*2*	Chota Nagpur plateau.
			Kora (Kuda)	*10*	*3*	*4*	*23*	Manbhum, Orissa States and Santal Parganas.
			Ho	*526*	*445*	*416*	*1,244*	Singhbhum and Feudatory States.
			Turi	*1*	*2*	*3*	*3*	Ranchi and Orissa States.
			Asuri	*3*	*2*	*3*	*7*	Ranchi and Palamau.
			Agaria	...	*1*	...	...	
			Birjia	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	Palamau.
			Korwa	*12*	*10*	*10*	*29*	Palamau.
			Kharia	114	106	107	269	Ranchi, Orissa States and Sambalpur.
			Juang	15	11	12	34	Orissa States.
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY	.....	DRAVIDA	Tamil	3	2	...	8	Singhbhum.
		INTERMEDIATE	Oraon (Kurukh)	656	541	559	1,550	Chota Nagpur plateau.
			Malto	67	61	63	159	Santal Parganas.
			Kandhi (Kui)	134	112	137	316	Orissa States and Angul.
			Gondi	6	...	4	15	Orissa States.
		ANDHRA LANGUAGE ...	Telugu	30	20	21	70	Orissa, Feudatory States and Singhbhum.
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY: **Aryan sub-family**	ERANIAN BRANCH	EASTERN	Pashto	2	1	1	4	Singhbhum, Purnea and Manbhum.
	INDO-ARYAN BRANCH—							
	Outer sub-branch ...	SOUTHERN	Marathi	2	1	1	4	Singhbhum, Orissa States and Cuttack.
		EASTERN	Oriya	8,536	7,751	7,820	20,165	Orissa, Feudatory States and Singhbhum.
			Hindustani*	27,921	25,223	24,932	65,952	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Division.
			Bengali	1,938	1,660	2,295	4,577	Manbhum, Santal Parganas, Purnea and Singhbhum.
	Inner sub-branch ...	CENTRAL	Panjabi	9	3	1	21	Singhbhum.
			Gujarati	6	6	3	15	Manbhum, Singhbhum and Orissa States.
			Rajasthani	22	21	24	52	
			Marwari	*18*	*17*	*18*	*42*	Whole province.
			Banjari	*4*	*4*	*6*	*10*	Orissa States and Sambalpur.
		PAHARI	Nalpali (Khas-kura) ...	7	4	3	18	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Division.
UNCLASSED LANGUAGES ...	.....	GIPSY LANGUAGES ...	Domra	1	...	...	1	Singhbhum and Orissa States
II. LANGUAGES FOREIGN TO INDIA—								
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY: ...	.....	TEUTONIC	English	13	9	9	31	Whole province.

* Mainly *Bihari*, and hence classified accordingly. But it includes also other forms of *Hindi*, as well as *Urdu*.

II.—Distribution by mother tongues and subsidiary languages of the population of each district.

(Mother tongues spoken by less than 1 per mille of the total population of any locality have not been shown in this table.)

Natural Division and District.	Mother tongue.	Number, per 10,000 of population, speaking mother tongue in column 2.	Number, per 10,000 persons in column 3, speaking— Mother tongue only.	Bengali as subsidiary language.	Hindustani as subsidiary language.	Oriya as subsidiary language.	Other subsidiary languages.	Remarks. (Particulars of the subsidiary languages in column 8.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NORTH BIHAR ...	***Bengali*** ...	**103**	9,134	...	866	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,833**	9,999	1	...	...	...	
	Oraon ...	**13**	3,563	11	6,426	...	...	
	Santali ...	**40**	5,472	124	4,404	...	...	
Saran	Hindustani ...	**9,993**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Champaran	Hindustani ...	**9,955**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
	Oraon ...	**26**	5	...	9,995	...	...	
Muzaffarpur ...	Hindustani ...	**9,987**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Darbhanga	Hindustani ...	**9,993**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Bhagalpur	Bengali ...	**20**	8,616	...	1,384	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,873**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
	Santali ...	**91**	2,499	...	7,501	...	...	
Purnea	Bengali ...	**674**	9,397	...	603	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,056**	9,991	9	...	...	...	
	Oraon ...	**64**	4,847	16	5,137	...	...	
	Santali ...	**184**	6,982	187	2,831	...	...	
SOUTH BIHAR ...	***Bengali*** ...	**14**	6,656	...	3,344	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,958**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
	Santali ...	**18**	8,122	...	1,878	...	...	
Patna	Bengali ...	**38**	6,867	...	3,133	...	...	
	English ...	**14**	7,133	...	2,867	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,940**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Gaya	Hindustani ...	**9,993**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Shahabad	Hindustani ...	**9,992**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
Monghyr	Bengali ...	**15**	5,702	...	4,298	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,905**	10,000	...	...	...	...	
	Santali ...	**66**	8,119	...	1,881	...	...	
ORISSA	***Bengali*** ...	**82**	3,384	...	143	6,473	...	
	Hindustani ...	**297**	3,387	8	...	6,605	...	
	Oriya ...	**9,530**	9,995	2	3	...	...	
	Santali ...	**36**	3,317	7	...	6,676	...	
	Telugu ...	**33**	4,669	4	324	5,003	...	
Cuttack	Bengali ...	**64**	2,103	...	318	7,579	...	
	Hindustani ...	**308**	1,904	...	...	8,096	...	
	Ho ...	**12**	7,542	...	...	2,458	...	
	Oriya ...	**9,585**	9,997	...	3	...	...	
	Telugu ...	**22**	5,878	...	211	3,911	...	
Balasore	Bengali ...	**171**	3,497	...	...	6,503	...	
	Bhumij ...	**10**	2,600	390	...	7,010	...	
	Hindustani ...	**332**	5,004	29	...	4,967	...	
	Oriya ...	**9,297**	9,990	10	...	...	...	
	Santali ...	**153**	3,221	7	...	6,772	...	
	Telugu ...	**14**	4,653	37	...	5,310	...	
Puri	Bengali ...	**36**	7,636	...	131	2,233	...	
	Hindustani ...	**241**	5,241	...	...	4,759	...	
	Oriya ...	**9,639**	9,995	...	5	...	...	
	Telugu ...	**75**	3,914	...	452	5,634	...	
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	***Bengali*** ...	**1,201**	9,593	...	192	197	18	Ho (3), Mundari (2), Santali (13).
	Bhumij ...	**81**	2,540	1,814	67	5,312	267	Ho (250), Mundari (17).
	Hindustani ...	**3,051**	9,556	126	...	275	43	Ho (7), Mundari (22), Oraon (7), Santali (7).
	Ho ...	**362**	7,747	26	146	2,081	...	
	Juang ...	**10**	989	...	...	9,011	...	
	Kandhi ...	**92**	5,514	...	1	4,485	...	
	Kharia ...	**79**	1,292	116	6,104	2,476	12	Ho (2), Santali (10).
	Malto ...	**46**	8,775	143	951	4	127	Santali (127).
	Mundari ...	**360**	5,134	82	3,894	862	28	Ho (14), Oraon (14).
	Oraon ...	**440**	2,736	18	5,184	1,984	78	Ho (5), Mundari (73).
	Oriya ...	**3,135**	9,769	45	54	...	132	Ho (118), Kandhi (12), Mundari (2).
	Santali ...	**1,064**	7,364	1,023	401	1,295	17	Ho (16), Mundari (1).
	Telugu ...	**11**	4,459	36	1,796	3,709	...	
Hazaribagh	Bengali ...	**74**	7,435	...	2,565	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	**9,046**	9,996	...	...	...	4	Santali (4).
	Oraon ...	**27**	7,841	...	2,157	...	2	Santali (2).
	Santali ...	**816**	6,318	...	3,682	...	...	

II.—Distribution by mother tongues and subsidiary languages of the population of each district—*concluded.*

(Mother tongues spoken by less than 1 per mille of the total population of any locality have not been shown in this table.)

Natural Division and District.	Mother tongue.	Number, per 10,000 of population, speaking mother tongue in column 2.	Number, per 10,000 persons in column 3, speaking— Mother tongue only.	Bengali as subsidiary language.	Hindustani as subsidiary language.	Oriya as subsidiary language.	Other subsidiary languages.	Remarks. (Particulars of the subsidiary languages in column 8.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU—concld.								
Ranchi	Asuri ...	4	1,864	...	8,136	...	...	
	Bengali ...	90	5,815	...	4,034	...	151	Mundari (151).
	Hindustani ...	4,556	9,832	12	...	...	156	Mundari (111), Oraon (45).
	Kharia ...	422	658	...	9,342	...	...	
	Mundari ...	2,444	4,967	1	5,013	...	19	Oraon (19).
	Oraon ...	2,395	3,017	...	6,859	...	124	Mundari (124).
	Oriya ...	50	872	15	9,074	...	39	Mundari (39).
Palamau	Hindustani ...	9,127	10,000	...	...	...	...	
	Korwa ...	137	141	...	9,859	...	...	
	Oraon ...	696	490	...	9,510	...	...	
Manbhum	Bengali ...	6,752	9,887	...	98	...	15	Santali (15).
	Bhumij ...	16	2,734	7,253	7	...	7	Santali (7).
	English ...	12	7,200	190	2,610	...	...	
	Gujarati ...	11	8,175	549	1,276	...	...	
	Hindustani ...	1,776	9,586	384	...	...	30	Santali (30).
	Kharia ...	11	5,535	3,764	120	...	591	Santali (591).
	Kora ...	26	7,385	1,616	999	...	...	
	Santali ...	1,337	7,081	2,706	213	...	...	
Singhbhum	Bengali ...	1,587	9,245	...	507	202	46	Ho (38), Mundari (8).
	Bhumij ...	325	2,036	6,074	231	628	1,031	Ho (965), Mundari (66).
	English ...	21	3,984	260	5,751	5	...	
	Gondi ...	11	6,483	10	70	1,477	1,960	Ho (1,960).
	Gujarati ...	16	3,435	111	6,401	14	49	Ho (49).
	Hindustani ...	872	8,636	353	...	462	549	Ho (378), Mundari (171).
	Ho ...	3,283	9,505	32	244	219	...	
	Kharia ...	16	3,853	3,840	362	1,774	171	Ho (171).
	Mahili ...	22	1,929	6,467	45	1,304	255	Ho (255).
	Mundari ...	585	8,302	705	678	177	138	Ho (138).
	Naipali ...	15	2,635	36	7,329	...	...	
	Oraon ...	109	6,882	345	2,202	238	333	Ho (308), Mundari (25).
	Oriya ...	1,849	5,034	1,099	705	...	3,162	Ho (3,112), Mundari (50).
	Punjabi ...	57	5,331	19	4,644	4	2	Ho (2).
	Santali ...	1,115	5,473	3,772	38	468	249	Ho (236), Mundari (13).
	Tamil ...	23	5,026	298	4,647	5	24	Mundari (24).
	Telugu ...	62	5,885	19	3,963	133	...	
Santal Parganas ...	Bengali ...	1,229	9,818	...	166	...	16	Santali (16).
	Hindustani ...	4,596	9,567	416	...	...	17	Santali (17).
	Karmali ...	40	8,791	265	924	...	20	Santali (20).
	Mahili ...	45	8,863	457	468	...	212	Santali (212).
	Malto ...	327	8,778	143	952	...	127	Santali (127).
	Oraon ...	28	8,693	161	1,144	...	2	Santali (2).
	Santali ...	3,713	9,201	667	132	...	...	
Angul	Hindustani ...	22	1,646	...	...	8,354	...	
	Kandhi ...	2,205	7,641	...	...	2,359	...	
	Mundari ...	22	493	...	...	9,507	...	
	Oraon ...	63	136	...	...	9,864	...	
	Oriya ...	7,653	9,754	...	...	...	246	Kandhi (246).
Sambalpur	Banjari ...	12	3,142	...	448	6,410	...	
	Hindustani ...	444	7,867	...	...	2,133	...	
	Kharia ...	69	1,741	...	...	8,259	...	
	Marwari ...	14	900	...	3,885	5,215	...	
	Mundari ...	126	1,861	...	24	8,115	...	
	Oraon ...	470	1,506	...	5	8,489	...	
	Oriya ...	8,832	9,986	...	14	...	...	
Orissa States ...	Bengali ...	91	3,311	...	60	6,629	...	
	Bhumij ...	173	2,419	...	8	7,573	...	
	Gondi ...	11	1,570	...	...	8,430	...	
	Hindustani ...	402	4,061	...	...	5,939	...	
	Ho ...	410	4,896	...	...	5,104	...	
	Juang ...	33	989	...	...	9,011	...	
	Kandhi ...	189	4,281	...	...	5,719	...	
	Kharia ...	85	2,003	...	1,970	6,027	...	
	Mundari ...	138	3,620	...	855	5,525	...	
	Oraon ...	309	2,558	...	1,002	6,440	...	
	Oriya ...	7,499	9,988	...	9	...	3	Kandhi (3).
	Santali ...	616	3,003	...	...	6,997	...	
	Telugu ...	16	2,796	...	158	7,046	...	
Chota Nagpur States ...	Bengali ...	2,431	9,052	...	43	905	...	
	Bhumij ...	324	6,506	1,086	26	2,382	...	
	Hindustani ...	548	7,682	375	...	1,943	...	
	Ho ...	1,844	7,379	112	33	2,476	...	
	Mahili ...	41	5,204	...	...	4,796	...	
	Mundari ...	336	9,257	80	253	411	...	
	Oraon ...	55	6,290	715	106	2,889	...	
	Oriya ...	2,744	9,658	236	106	...	...	
	Santali ...	1,649	8,800	631	3	566	...	

III.—Comparison of tribe and language tables.

Tribe.	Language.	Strength of tribe. Persons.	Strength of tribe. Males.	Strength of tribe. Females.	Total number speaking tribal language. Persons.	Total number speaking tribal language. Males.	Total number speaking tribal language. Females.	Number speaking tribal language only. Males.	Number speaking tribal language only. Females.	Number speaking tribal language and some subsidiary language. Males.	Number speaking tribal language and some subsidiary language. Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
I. MUNDA SUB-FAMILY—											
Asur	Asuri	**2,024**	1,159	865	**2,769**	1,388	1,381	222	216	1,166	1,165
Bhumij	Bhumij	**274,058**	136,255	137,803	**117,356**	58,078	59,278	14,759	15,053	43,319	44,225
Birhor	Birhor	**2,350**	1,217	1,133	**731**	391	340	184	140	207	200
Birjia	Birjia	**1,550**	796	754	**628**	295	333	1	...	294	333
Ho	Ho	**523,158**	253,713	269,445	**526,443**	256,088	270,355	197,765	209,487	58,323	60,868
Juang	Juang	**15,024**	7,332	7,692	**14,583**	7,066	7,517	798	649	6,268	6,868
Karmali	Karmali	**8,632**	4,852	3,780	**10,047**	4,662	5,385	3,989	4,833	673	552
Kharia	Kharia	**146,037**	72,376	73,661	**113,680**	57,812	55,868	5,222	9,456	52,590	46,402
Kora	Kora	**49,036**	24,726	24,310	**9,739**	5,033	4,706	2,550	2,639	2,483	2,067
Korwa	Korwa	**13,021**	6,519	6,502	**12,434**	6,258	6,176	329	298	5,929	5,878
Mahli	Mahili	**59,834**	30,292	29,542	**13,704**	6,611	7,093	4,750	5,480	1,861	1,613
Munda	Mundari	**549,764**	270,150	279,614	**521,891**	255,471	266,420	125,742	142,377	129,729	124,043
Santal	Santali	**1,712,133**	855,103	857,030	**1,628,957**	818,650	810,307	584,931	582,658	233,719	227,649
Turi	Turi	**54,573**	27,190	27,383	**1,215**	746	469	67	39	679	430
II. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY—											
Gond	Gondi	**255,752**	124,711	131,041	**6,270**	3,058	3,212	659	792	2,399	2,420
Khond	Kandhi (Kui)	**315,709**	152,528	163,181	**133,682**	64,850	68,832	31,643	42,096	33,208	26,736
Oraon	Oraon (Kurukh)	**637,111**	312,428	324,683	**656,188**	318,478	337,710	76,706	104,774	241,772	232,936
Sauria Paharia	Malto	**59,891**	30,555	29,336	**67,451**	33,505	33,946	29,478	29,727	4,027	4,219

Remarks.

In some cases it will be observed that the total number of persons speaking a tribal language exceeds the actual strength of the tribe in question. The probable explanations of this circumstance are as follows :—

Asuri.—The Birjias are very closely allied with the Asurs, and the language spoken by both of these tribes is commonly known as " Asuri ".

Ho.—(*i*) The strength of this tribe, as here recorded, is confined to Singhbhum District and the Feudatory States. But the Ho language is spoken by 3,844 persons in other parts of the province.

(*ii*) In Singhbhum and the Feudatory States the Ho language has been adopted by a certain number of persons (such as Tantis, Kamars, etc.) who are not members of the tribe itself but reside in predominantly Ho localities.

Karmali.—The Karmalis are closely allied to the Santals, and it is possible that some persons returned their tribe as " Santal " and their language as " Karmali ". It is also possible that *Kurmali* (the language of the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur) was in some instances misrecorded as *Karmali*.

Oraon.—This language has been adopted, in predominantly Oraon areas, by members of various other castes and tribes.

Malto.—Here again the excess is probably due to the fact that, in parts of the Santal Parganas where Sauria Paharias are numerous, their language is spoken by some of their neighbours also.

CHAPTER XI.—Religion.

Reference to statistics.

The distribution by religion of the people of Bihar and Orissa is shown in Imperial Table XVI, and similar information in respect of urban areas only is given in Imperial Table V. Provincial Table II shows the distribution between the main religious communities of the population of each revenue thana and police-station jurisdiction. The four subsidiary tables mentioned below, which will be found at the end of this chapter, exhibit for the most part *proportional* figures and indicate the variations that have occurred from decade to decade :—

I.—General distribution of the population by religion.

II.—Distribution by districts of the main religions.

III.—Christians : number and variation.

IV.—Religions of urban and rural population.

Religion as a basis of statistical classification.

2. In accordance with previous practice, the census did not confine itself to a simple record of the number of the followers of each religion; religion was also used as a basis of classification of other important statistics. For example, in Imperial Table VII separate details relating to age, sex and civil condition are tabulated for each of the main religions, and in Imperial Table XIII the statistics of literacy are set forth in the same manner. With regard to this procedure, the following observations were made in the all-India report of 1921—" The value of this basis of classification has been impugned on the grounds that whatever homogeneity of race, tradition and custom may have been connoted by the term Hindu, Muhammadan, Christian, etc., in the past has ceased to exist to a sufficient degree to influence the statistics. It is argued that, so far as customs of demological importance are concerned, e.g. early marriage, seclusion of women, treatment of children, etc. the divisions of real significance are now not vertical sections of society by difference of religion, but horizontal divisions into strata differentiated from one another by social and economic conditions." There is undoubtedly some force in this criticism. For instance, the origin, traditions and economic circumstances of the Muslims in Purnea district are entirely different from those of their co-religionists in South Bihar, while the Oriya Muslims have little in common with either. On the Chota Nagpur plateau any distinctions that may be drawn between the social customs of Hindus and adherents of the various tribal religions are apt to be misleading Again, there will obviously be wide divergencies of practice between an European Christian, a Christian convert from the higher ranks of Hinduism and a Christian aboriginal. The difficulty, as recognized in 1921, is to find a suitable basis of classification to take the place of the religious differentiation. In Burma it has been found possible to adopt a system of classification by race, but this could not be done in Bihar and Orissa. Differentiation by caste is already made to a limited extent, as Imperial Tables VIII, XI and XIV testify, but modern tendencies are all against the extension of this method. Diversity of occupation may at first sight appear to offer a more satisfactory solution, but on closer examination it will be found quite unpractical. Agriculture covers too wide a field, and does not admit of subdivision on any principle that would materially advance the purpose we have in view. Nor is there any real homogeneity in the traditions, practices and outlook of the various non-agricultural classes, such as the commercial, the industrial and the professional. While therefore it is true that the classification of statistics by religion is not altogether satisfactory and conclusions arrived at by this method must be accepted with reserve, there appears to be nothing at this stage which could be substituted for it. And it is after all still true that religious doctrines are largely influential in determining some of the social customs which are of the most essential demological importance.

What is meant by religion.

3. The process of dividing up the population of the province into so many water-tight religious compartments is attended with numerous difficulties, which have formed the subject of lengthy discussion in previous census reports. It is not proposed to traverse the same ground on the present occasion. Suffice it to say that the conception of *a* religion in contradistinction to *another* religion, where each has its own quite definite creed

and its own peculiar observances, is something foreign to the minds of the vast bulk of India's population. When therefore the census tables tell us that there are so many Hindus, so many Muslims, so many Christians in the province, they refer not so much to the personal beliefs, convictions or outlook of these people as to the particular communal or sectional labels to which they subscribe. While we need not go quite so far as does one correspondent, who writes that "with the spread of political knowledge almost all new or old religious movements have been shut out; but on the pretext of religious observation some communities protect their respective political rights", it is not without significance that such a devastating statement could have been made. Again, the problem of determining how far the various religions of India are mutually exclusive and how far they overlap one another—above all, of deciding where Hinduism begins and where it ends—has always been well-nigh insoluble; but fresh complications have undoubtedly been introduced into this tangled skein by what has just been termed "the spread of political knowledge". No attempt will be made here to propound a theoretical answer to the vexed question *what is a Hindu?*, but in order to make the census figures intelligible it is necessary to indicate briefly the nature of the claims advanced in certain quarters on behalf of that community and the extent to which the recorded statistics are in accord with those claims.

What is comprised in Hinduism.

4. In a pamphlet which sets forth the aims and activities of the *Hindu Mission*, an association which came into being in 1925 and has many branches (it is said) in Bengal, Bihar and Assam, the following definition is given :— "By Hindus we mean all persons following a religion or doctrine which had its origin in India or all who in good faith call themselves Hindus and generally follow or try to follow the fundamental principles, usages and customs of Hindus as enjoined in the Hindu scriptures. By this definition the Sanatanists, the Buddhists, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Arya Samajists, the Brahmos, the Vaishnavas are all comprehended in the term." This pamphlet makes short work of the old-time theory that a Hindu must be born of Hindu parents. It recognises no fine distinctions between the processes of reclamation, absorption and conversion. "There is no rule laid down by the Rishis or the Shastras that the Hindu religion must be confined to India and to men born in that faith.....From the Vedic days up to the Muhammadan invasion the Hindu religion has been a proselytising religion." Its aim is boldly announced : "To reclaim all those who or whose ancestors once wandered away from the parent fold of Hinduism, and to initiate into Hinduism those who from enquiry or study are convinced of the excellences of the fundamental principles of Hinduism and want to embrace the faith." And, finally : "For the peace and happiness of the world to unite the followers of all creeds and doctrines of Indian and non-Indian origin into one great religious brotherhood, spiritualising them with the soul-enfranchising ideals of Sanatan Dharma." These extracts have been quoted at some length because, although they would not yet find general acceptance among the Hindu community, they do appear to be representative of a school of thought which has made striking progress during the last decade. Even the more orthodox Hindus have not been wholly unaffected by it. Time was when the census enumerator, himself a caste Hindu, would look very much askance at the aspirations of the sophisticated aboriginal to be admitted into the Hindu fold, and would insist on recording him as a follower of his tribal religion. There is very little of that now. Not less significant, as a sign of the times, is the fact that Hindus holding advanced or heterodox views no longer consider it necessary to return themselves under special labels, such as *Brahmo* or *Arya Samajist*. Although reports from many quarters speak of the growth of the Arya Samaj movement and of other movements connected with *suddhi* and *sangathan*, the increase in the number of Aryas since 1921 is relatively very small, while there has been an actual fall in the number of persons recorded as Brahmos. The inference seems to be that the greater laxity which now prevails in the matter of caste restrictions, and in other matters too, operates to retain or to re-absorb in the ranks of Hinduism those who not long ago were showing distinctly separatist tendencies. In 1921 some doubt was felt whether Brahmos and Aryas should be regarded as Hindus at all, and this doubt was reflected in the treatment accorded to these sects in the census report itself. On this occasion they

have consistently been treated as Hindus for all purposes in the report, though separate figures have been tabulated of those who took the trouble to return themselves under these special designations. Another example of the same tendency is furnished by the *Kumbhipatias*, a sect found in the Feudatory States and their neighbourhood. It will be seen later on that the majority of those who returned themselves as Kumbhipatias in 1921 and were accordingly treated as non-Hindus have this time reverted to the Hindu label. It is understood that in some parts of India a contrary tendency—viz. towards a schism with Hinduism—has been observable on the part of the depressed and untouchable castes. Up to the time when the census was taken there was little evidence of any such movement in Bihar and Orissa. Some 525 persons elected to call themselves *Adi-Hindus*, thereby apparently signifying a wish to be distinguished from Hindus in general, but all these returns come from a single district—Saran.

For ordinary purposes Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists have been treated in this report as non-Hindus. Instructions were however issued to the effect that a special record should be kept of the number of Jains and Buddhists who expressed the desire to be recorded as Hindus also. Altogether 236 Jains and 19 Buddhists availed themselves of the opportunity thus given. Most of the Hindu-Jains came from Patna, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh, and most of the Hindu-Buddhists from Patna. The detailed distribution of these persons by locality and sex will be found on the title page of Imperial Table XVI.

The primitive tribes.

5. It remains to explain shortly the manner in which the religion of the primitive and semi-primitive tribes of the province was recorded. The instructions issued were that, when a person had no recognized religion such as Hinduism, Christianity, etc., the name of his tribe should be entered in the column provided for "religion". In previous reports it has been customary to use the term *Animism* to describe collectively the religious beliefs and outlook of all such persons; but on the present occasion the term *Tribal religions* has been substituted. The gradual absorption of the aboriginals into the Hindu community has been going on for a long time, but unfortunately the census returns give little indication of the real extent or pace of this movement from decade to decade. An aboriginal will adopt certain Hindu customs, he will join in certain Hindu processions, he may even make offerings to certain Hindu deities, and at the same time he may adhere in the main to his old tribal beliefs and practices. It is often quite impossible to say when he has crossed the line to Hinduism. Again, he will often call himself a Hindu for no better reason than that he believes he will thereby improve his social status. But the question whether he is actually returned as a Hindu or not will often be decided less by himself than by the whim or prejudice of the enumerator. On the whole the Hindus have at the present census increased their numbers substantially at the expense of the tribal religions, but, as will appear later, the local variations are entirely capricious and in several districts there has been a marked swing back in the opposite direction. Political or religious propaganda has a good deal to do with the results recorded in certain areas. The Hindu Mission referred to above makes no secret of this. It reports that "in 1930 a large number of our workers carried an intensive propaganda for several months before the census operations" in the aboriginal tracts, and as a result it claims that "in the province of Bihar our work is responsible for absorption of no less than three lakhs of animists."

General religious distribution.

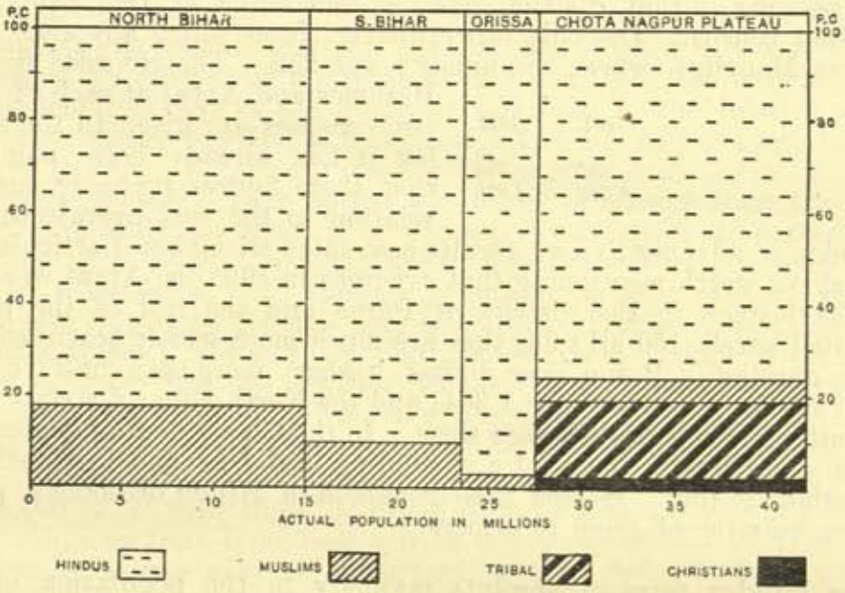
6. The first marginal statement below shows the distribution of 10,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa between the various religions at each of the last two censuses. The second statement shows the percentage of increase since 1921 in the numerical strength of each of these religions. Figures in greater detail will be found in Subsidiary Tables I and II at the end of this chapter. It will be noticed that, although there are material differences in the rate at which the various

		Number per 10,000 of population.	
		1931.	1921.
Hindus	...	8,318	8,326
Muslims	...	1,012	976
Tribal religions	...	569	616
Christians	...	98	80
Others	...	3	2

communities have expanded during the last ten years, the quota contributed by each towards the total population has altered little. It is still as true to-day as it was in 1921 that in a representative assembly of 100 persons of Bihar and Orissa there would be 83 Hindus, 10 Muslims, 6 adherents of the tribal religions and 1 Christian. All the remaining religions are so much out of the picture that the size of the assembly would have to be increased from 100 to about 3,000 before they would be entitled to contribute a single (joint) delegate to it.

	Increase per cent. 1921—31.
All religions	**11.5**
Hindus	11.4
Muslims	15.5
Tribal religions	3.1
Christians	37.4
Others	37.8

The following diagram shows the comparative strength of each main religion in the four natural divisions of the province. The width of the vertical sections is proportional to the total population of the respective divisions. Except on the Chota Nagpur plateau, Hindus and Muslims monopolize the field to such an extent that no other community can be visibly represented in the diagram at all.



The social map.

7. The pocket in the inner front cover of this volume contains, or should contain, two maps of the province, one of which is called the social map. This shows by means of coloured rectangles the proportional strength of Hindus, Muslims, primitive tribes and "others" in each district of the province. In districts where the proportions vary markedly from subdivision to subdivision, a separate rectangle is allotted to each subdivision. The larger states get a rectangle apiece, and the smaller ones are assembled together in groups. A complete statistical key to this map will be found in Appendix I. The purpose of the map is to illustrate the social, rather than the purely religious, distribution of the people, and from this point of view the fact that, e.g. a person residing in the district of Ranchi is a member of the Munda tribe is more important than the fact that he returns himself as a Hindu or a Christian by religion. Consequently, instead of being shown in blue or white, as he would be if the purely religious criterion were adopted, such a person is shown in the colour (red) allotted to tribal religions, but in a lighter shade of that colour. If, however, this same person were enumerated in the district of Patna, where he is cut off from intercourse with his tribe and may be supposed to have been absorbed in the social life of the Hindu or Christian community, the same considerations would not apply and the criterion of religion would prevail. In other words, special treatment of this kind is limited to those tribes which are more truly "primitive" than the rest and have retained in the largest measure their old social customs and tribal organization; and even in the case of these tribes such treatment is confined to the Chota Nagpur plateau,

where alone they are sufficiently numerous for their tribal organizations to function. Another feature of the social map is that Hindus belonging to the "depressed classes" are distinguished from other Hindus by a lighter shade of blue.

Hindus.

8. Of the total population of the province, 35,206,352 or 83.2 per cent are Hindus. As already explained, this term excludes Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, but includes such sects as Brahmos, Aryas, and Deo Samajists, as well as a large number of aboriginals and semi-aboriginals who returned their religion as Hinduism. In the census schedules no entry of the particular sect to which a Hindu might belong was *ordinarily* made unless he expressed a particular wish that it should be, and the number of persons who expressed such a wish was so small that no useful purpose would be served by setting forth the resultant figures. The word *ordinarily* has been inserted because an exception was provided in respect of the three sects specifically mentioned above, and instructions were issued that an entry should always be made in the case of persons who described themselves as Brahmos, Aryas or Deo Samajists. No statistics relating to the last-named sect were compiled in 1921, but it has assumed some prominence—particularly in Patna district—during the last decade, and as many as 16,372 persons in that district returned themselves as Deo Samajists at the present census. The only other district from which any such returns came was Monghyr, where the number was 252. The recorded figures of Brahmos and Aryas at each of the last two censuses are given in the margin, but it has already been pointed out that these figures probably bear little relation to the real prevalence of the unorthodox or advanced views usually associated with these particular sects. It is perhaps worth mentioning that, whereas in 1921 the Aryas were found almost exclusively in the district of Patna and the rest of the province contributed barely 100 all told, they are much more widely scattered on the present occasion. Patna now claims rather more than half the total number; in Monghyr there are 1,364; and the North Bihar districts account for something over 1,500 between them. In the Chota Nagpur plateau their numbers are still very few, but a sprinkling is to be found in Ranchi (144) and Singhbhum (86). Orissa, the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy, appears to shelter only ten of these reformers.

	1931.	1921.
Brahmo	445	794
Arya	6,763	4,578

The Hindus form an absolute majority in the population of every district of the province except Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas. In these two districts also they are more numerous than any other single community, but "tribal religions" run them close and in combination with Muslims, Christians, etc. claim just over 50 per cent of the whole. As the diagram on the previous page shows, the preponderance of Hindus is most overwhelming in the natural division of Orissa, where they number over 95 per cent of the population of each district. Other districts in which the proportion is above 90 per cent are Sambalpur (98.8) and Shahabad (92.2). In North Bihar as a whole the proportion is considerably reduced by the figure for Purnea district, where there is a strong concentration of Muslims. This is the only district outside the Chota Nagpur plateau where the percentage of Hindus falls below the provincial average of 83.2 per cent.

It has been seen that for the province as a whole the numerical increase in the Hindu community since 1921, amounting as it does to 11.4 per cent, corresponds very closely with the general increase in population (11.5 per cent). This would not be so but for the fact that the community has gained ground among the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. On the plateau the percentage of increase in the total population is 16.7, but among Hindus it is 18.8: there are now 760 Hindus out of every 1,000 persons in this natural division, whereas in 1921 there were only 746. The variations in the relative strength of the different communities in this part of the province will be considered in further detail when the statistics relating to tribal religions are under examination. In all the other natural divisions of the

province the Hindus have lost ground, as is clear from the marginal statement. This process has in fact been going on fairly steadily, though not at any great pace, for several decades, and there are various factors which might account for it. (1) Conversion is obviously one such factor. Christianity and Islam are essentially proselytising religions; Hinduism is not—or hitherto has not been. But outside the Chota Nagpur plateau Christianity has made comparatively few recent converts—probably not more than 2,000 at the outside in the last ten years; and a high percentage of these are taken from the aboriginals of Bhagalpur, Purnea and Monghyr. Except possibly in Champaran district, the effect of such conversions on the strength of the Hindu community would be imperceptible. Nor is there any indication of defections from Hinduism to Islam on an appreciable scale during the decade, and it is probable that Hinduism has not lost in this way much more than it has gained by the re-absorption of former converts. (2) Migration is another factor that must be taken into account. It is obvious, for instance, that, if all the emigrants from this province were Hindus and all the immigrants were followers of other religions, the proportion of Hindus in Bihar and Orissa would *caeteris paribus* grow gradually less and less. Statistics of the religion of migrants are not available, but it is improbable that any material part of the progressive decline in the relative strength of Hinduism can be ascribed to this cause. Indeed, we have seen elsewhere that, save in North Bihar, the number of emigrants who have returned to the province since the 1921 census was taken is greater than the number of fresh emigrants; so that, if a disproportionately high percentage of them were Hindus, that religion would have gained rather than lost by the recent movements. (3) Another possibility is that persons shown at the previous census as Hindus may have been classified this time under some different head, without any real change having taken place in their religious beliefs. But, as regards Brahmos and Aryas, the figures have been so adjusted that, in making the comparison with 1921, all persons returned under these designations at either census are included among Hindus. As regards Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, their number is so small (about 4,000 in all, excluding the Chota Nagpur plateau) that transferences to these religions from Hinduism may be safely neglected. (4) Again, local conditions sometimes play an important part in determining the relative gains or losses of a particular community. For, if conditions should be particularly unfavourable to rapid growth in those localities where Hindus are strongest, and much more favourable in other localities, the proportion of Hindus in the whole province will necessarily tend to decline. But (once more leaving the plateau out of account) the Hindu majority is so overwhelming in every part of Bihar and Orissa that this possible explanation must be ruled out. It is true that the Hindu community is strongest of all in Orissa, and Orissa has recorded a slower growth than any other natural division in the last decade; but the contrast is not sufficiently marked to have more than a very slight effect on the proportion of Hindus in the province as a whole. Still less, of course, does this circumstance explain why *within Orissa itself* their strength is relatively declining. (5) The only other explanation that appears to be possible is that the rate of natural increase is lower among Hindus than among other communities—or rather, lower than among Muslims, who are the only other community that need be considered in this connexion. And this seems to be the true solution, for it is largely confirmed by such statistics as are available in regard to the natural growth of these two communities. But, before these statistics are subjected to analysis, the strength and distribution of the Muslims in the province may be briefly discussed.

	Percentage of increase.	
	All religions.	Hindus.
North Bihar ...	8.3	7.5
South Bihar ...	12.4	11.7
Orissa ...	5.1	5.0

Muslims.

9. The number of Muslims in Bihar and Orissa is 4,284,306, or 10.1 per cent of the total population. They are at their maximum strength in the north of the province, and they grow steadily less and less as one travels from north to south. If the province were divided into two approximately equal parts by a line traversing the southern boundary of

Palamau, Hazaribagh and Manbhum, no less than 94.5 per cent of the Muslims in the province would be found on the northern side of the line and only 5.5 per cent to the south of it. The district of Purnea is on quite a different footing from any other part of the province in this matter. In this one district there are 886,368 Muslims, or rather more than one-fifth of the whole Muslim population of Bihar and Orissa. They comprise 40.5 per cent of the inhabitants of Purnea district, and in the Kishanganj subdivision where they muster most strongly they outnumber all other communities by 2 to 1. The Purnea Muslims are commonly reported to be descendants of some hill tribe who were converted to Islam at a date unknown. They are an enterprising and independent community, of fine physique and fair complexion, and the *purdah* system is not greatly in vogue among their womenfolk. In the other districts of North Bihar the proportion of Muslims varies from 16.5 per cent (Champaran) to 11.2 per cent (Bhagalpur). Outside North Bihar there are only five districts in which the proportion is as high as 10 per cent, namely, Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Hazaribagh and the Santal Parganas. In the coastal districts of Orissa the percentage drops right down to 2.9.

The statement in the margin shows that, if relatively speaking the Hindus have lost ground since 1921 in all parts of the province except the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Muslims have improved their position appreciably in each one of the four natural divisions. In the Feudatory States they have simply kept pace with the general rate of increase. But the only British districts in which the community is not represented more strongly now than it was ten years ago are Cuttack, Sambalpur and Angul, and in these localities Muslims were never numerous. The most striking advance is recorded in Singhbhum district, where their number has gone up by just over 70 per cent; but here again the community is so small that the percentage is violently disturbed by the accession of a few newcomers. Half the Muslims of Singhbhum are to be found in Jamshedpur city, and immigration from up-country has added considerably to their numbers since 1921. It is in the districts of Bihar proper that the growth of the Muslim community has been most substantial. In Purnea district, where they are so much more numerous than anywhere else, they had been losing ground at previous censuses, and this was attributed to the fact that the Kishanganj subdivision of that district, which is their especial stronghold, is more unhealthy than any other part. But on the present occasion their rate of increase, even in Purnea, has been more rapid than the general rate for that district—though they have not improved their position here to anything like the same extent as in the other Bihar districts. The circumstance that in the area where Muslims are strongest the local conditions (affecting all communities alike) should be specially unfavourable to a rapid growth of population makes it all the more remarkable that the proportion of Muslims in the province as a whole should have increased as much as it has.

	Percentage of increase.	
	All religions.	Muslims.
Bihar and Orissa ...	**11.5**	**15.5**
North Bihar ...	8.3	12.6
South Bihar ...	12.4	19.9
Orissa ...	5.1	5.6
Chota Nagpur Plateau	16.7	24.6

Natural increase of Hindus and Muslims compared.

10. It will be at once apparent from the statement in the margin that the growth in the proportion of Muslims in the population of the province (excluding the Chota Nagpur plateau) corresponds almost exactly with the decline in the proportion of Hindus, and that these two communities between them are so all-embracing that no appreciable part of their respective gains and losses can be attributed to factors connected in any way with the other religions of the province. We may now examine the statistics which appear to bear out our conclusion that the superior expansion of the Muslim community is due in the main not to such adventitious factors as migration, conversions, or differences in classification; still less to specially favourable conditions in those areas

	No. per 10,000 of the total population, excluding the Chota Nagpur plateau.		
	Hindus and Muslims combined.	*Hindus.*	*Muslims.*
1931 ...	9,978	8,691	1,287
1921 ...	9,974	8,744	1,230

where Muslims are chiefly found; but rather to the circumstance that the rate of natural increase is more rapid among Muslims than among Hindus. In the first place it may be noted that the mean age of the Muslim population of Bihar and Orissa is 22.8 years, as against 23.7 with the Hindus. That is to say, the proportion of young people among Muslims is greater; and, other things being equal, this will lead to quicker growth. In Chapter IV it has been said that a rough-and-ready guide to the progressive character of a population is furnished by the distribution of its numbers between the age-periods 0—15, 15—50 and 50-and-over. About half the population is ordinarily contained in the middle period, and the larger the share of the remainder claimed by the first period, the more progressive that population will be. In the margin the Hindus and Muslims have been distributed between these three age-periods, and the figures are at least suggestive. The rate of growth of any community will of course be governed in some measure by the proportion of married women at the reproductive ages; also by the size of the average family. Statistics of each community bearing on these two points are given next, and it will be noticed that in each case they are compatible with the theory that expansion is taking place more rapidly among the Muslim population. This is not necessarily the same thing as to say that the natural fecundity of Muslims is greater. In order to assert definitely that such was the case, it would be necessary to examine closely the respective birth-rates of the two communities in conjunction with other relevant factors; and the requisite data for this are unfortunately not available. We do know, for instance, that the percentage of young Muslim children is distinctly higher than that of young Hindu children, but we do not know what part infant mortality may have played in bringing about this result. It is, however, legitimate to draw some inference regarding this particular from the recorded death-rates in each community for persons of all ages combined, which is the only material to hand. In the province as a whole the mortality among Hindus is very distinctly higher than it is among Muslims, and the same would be equally true if the comparison were confined to those localities (other than Purnea district) in which the bulk of the Muslim population is comprehended. Remembering that the greatest number of deaths occur in the early years of life, we may deduce from this that infant mortality is less heavy among Muslims than among Hindus, and it seems probable that this circumstance (rather than the superior fecundity of Muslim women) is responsible for the higher proportion of live children in that community—and indirectly for its more rapid expansion. But it merits particular notice that these considerations do not apply in Purnea district, where the ratio of deaths per mille works out at much the same figure for both communities. Here we have striking confirmation of the statement made at the commencement of this chapter to the effect that the origin, social practices and general outlook of the Purnea Muslims are quite different from those of their co-religionists elsewhere, and that generalisations based on the classification of statistics by religion must be accepted with reserve. Leaving Purnea on one side, it is probably safe to say that the lower incidence of infant mortality among Muslims is mainly due to the

	Number per mille aged—		
	0—15.	15—50.	50-and-over.
Hindus ...	395	507	98
Muslims ...	421	488	91

	No. of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.	*No. of children under 10 per 100 married females aged 15—40.*
Hindus ...	35	159
Muslims ...	36	167

	No. of children under 10 per mille of each sex.	
	Males.	Females.
Hindu ...	284	278
Muslim ...	306	296

Year.	Bihar and Orissa.		Purnea district.	
	Hindu.	*Muslim.*	*Hindu.*	*Muslim.*
1921 ...	33.5	28.0	21.6	22.1
1922 ...	24.7	20.7	22.4	20.9
1923 ...	25.4	22.7	27.7	28.4
1924 ...	30.9	26.4	26.2	27.0
1925 ...	24.4	20.1	25.0	22.7
1926 ...	26.4	21.8	23.7	21.8
1927 ...	25.7	22.0	24.5	21.9
1928 ...	25.8	23.7	27.2	28.8
1929 ...	27.7	24.1	25.7	26.7
1930 ...	30.4	26.9	24.0	24.9

postponement of the age at which child-bearing commonly begins.* This in its turn would make child-birth less dangerous for the mother, and would account for the higher proportion among Muslims of married women at the reproductive ages. The absence of restrictions against the re-marriage of Muslim widows would be a contributory cause of the more rapid growth of that community.

Tribal religions.

11. The number of persons returned at the present census as following one or other of the tribal religions of the province is 2,409,409, which is equivalent to 5.7 per cent of the total population. Nearly all of these are to be found on the Chota Nagpur plateau; indeed, the other three natural divisions contain barely 36,500 all told, out of whom 35,500 were enumerated in Balasore, Purnea, Monghyr and Bhagalpur—all districts bordering on the plateau. Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas are the two districts in which tribal religions are most in evidence, their adherents in these areas numbering 45 and 42 per cent respectively of the total population. Then comes Angul with 26 per cent, followed by Ranchi with 23.5. In the rest of the plateau, barring a few individual states, the proportion is less than one in ten. As already explained, it is largely a matter of chance how the religion of these primitive and semi-primitive tribes is recorded in the census schedules, and little value can be attached to the statistics. Comparing them with the 1921 returns, we find that there has been an increase of 3.1 per cent in the province as a whole, and of 3.4 per cent on the plateau itself, in the number of those professing tribal religions. This increase is of course very much less than the general rate of growth, and the proportion of persons coming under this category in Chota Nagpur has fallen from 185 in every thousand to 164. Assuming, as we safely may, that the aboriginals have multiplied not less rapidly than other communities, there has been a defection of about 275,000 persons since 1921 from tribal to other religions. Some part of this is due to conversions to Christianity, but the greater portion is the result of absorption in Hinduism. How far this transference represents a genuine change in the beliefs or social practices of the persons concerned it is impossible to say, but the table below, which sets out some of the more striking variations in individual districts and states, suggests that in many cases the change of classification is purely arbitrary. It may be noted that the proportion of what used to be called "animists" stands higher to-day in certain districts, such as in Balasore, Hazaribagh and Palamau, than it has done at any time during the last forty years; whereas in others, such as Ranchi, it has decreased steadily at every census since 1891. In some of the states (where in actual fact the primitive tribes are probably less affected by contact with Hinduism than anywhere else) the term "tribal religions" appears to be altogether *taboo*. In Manbhum the 1911 census showed 209,956 animists; ten years later this number dropped incredibly to 29,805; now it has recovered to 99,160. In Sambalpur there has been a decrease from 34,925 to 3,184 in the course of the last twenty years. Fluctuations of this kind cannot be accounted for by any rational considerations.

District or State.	*Persons professing tribal religions.*			*Percentage of variation in—*	
	1931.	1921.	VARIATION.	TOTAL POPULATION.	TRIBAL RELIGIONS.
Hazaribagh district ...	133,156	65,869	+67,287	+18·8	+102·2
Palamau " ...	65,647	43,319	+22,328	+11·6	+ 51·5
Manbhum " ...	99,160	29,805	+69,355	+16·9	+232·7
Balasore " ...	12,796	7,611	+ 5,185	+ 1·0	+ 68·1
Patna state ...	25,164	301	+24,863	+14·7	+8,260·1
Gangpur " ...	78,703	22,053	+56,650	+15·3	+256·9
Bonai " ...	36,053	15,743	+20,310	+17·6	+129·0

* There is little doubt that this proposition still holds good, in spite of the remarkable evidence forthcoming in Chapter VI of the increasing prevalence of early marriages in the Muslim community.

District or State.	Persons professing tribal religions.			Percentage of variation in—	
	1931.	1921.	VARIATION.	TOTAL POPULATION.	TRIBAL RELIGIONS.
Purnea district ...	12,167	22,409	− 10,242	+8·2	− 45·7
Ranchi " ...	368,247	525,721	−157,474	+17·4	− 30·0
Mayurbhanj state ...	6,964	100,164	− 93,200	+17·9	− 93·0
Nilgiri " ...	...	4,169	− 4,169	+5·2	−100·0
Dhenkanal " ...	...	4,497	− 4,497	+21·7	−100·0
Nayagarh " ...	475	6,190	− 5,715	+15·9	− 92·3
Bamra " ...	1,229	26,931	− 25,702	+12·1	− 95·4
Kalahandi " ...	71,387	156,151	− 84,764	+23·5	− 54·3

In Imperial Table XVIII, which sets out in considerable detail the territorial distribution of selected tribes and the variations in their numbers at each successive census since 1891, separate figures are given as far as possible for the various religious categories under which the members of each tribe have from time to time been returned. The following statement summarizes these figures for the last three censuses in the case of six of the more important tribes of the province:—

TRIBE.	YEAR.	ACTUAL STRENGTH OF TRIBE.	NUMBER PER MILLE RETURNED AS—		
			Tribal.	*Hindu.*	*Christian.*
Ho	1911 ...	420,179	854	143	3
	1921 ...	441,424	885	112	3
	1931 ...	523,158	748	248	4
Kharia	1911 ...	133,657	505	283	212
	1921 ...	124,531	362	364	274
	1931 ...	146,037	211	353	436
Khond	1911 ...	302,829	552	448	...
	1921 ...	287,255	547	453	...
	1931 ...	315,709	469	531	...
Munda	1911 ...	490,948	655	181	164
	1921 ...	460,319	522	274	204
	1931 ...	549,764	459	298	243
Oraon	1911 ...	587,411	719	89	192
	1921 ...	566,383	619	170	211
	1931 ...	637,111	423	349	228
Santal	1911 ...	1,407,346	801	193	6
	1921 ...	1,477,471	617	377	6
	1931 ...	1,712,133	650	342	8

It will be seen that there is a fairly steady increase in the proportion of Christians in each tribe except the Khonds, among whom Christianity has not yet gained a foothold; but the fluctuations between Hindu and Tribal from decade to decade are more erratic. The tendency towards absorption in Hinduism during the last decade is very noticeable among the Oraons, who chiefly inhabit the western half of Ranchi district. It is true that this tribe is more sophisticated than its neighbours, the Mundas, in the eastern half of the same district; but the figures undoubtedly exaggerate the extent to which they have come under Hindu influence in recent years. Since 1921 the tribal deities of the Santals have more than held their own.

This is in accordance with the views expressed by the Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas, whose impression is that in the predominantly aboriginal tracts the recent movement is rather away from Hinduism than towards it. He takes note, however, of "two quite distinct and opposing tendencies among the Santals according as they are in the minority or in the majority. Where Santals are in the minority and likely to be merged in the surrounding Hinduism, they naturally seek to improve their status by claiming to be not merely members of the Hindu community but members of a caste which is higher than the lowest Hindu castes. On the other hand, where they are in the majority, they take an intense pride in their own customs and traditions and abhor Hinduism whether high or low." In view of these remarks it is interesting to find that, in the district which derives its name from this tribe and is their particular home, practically no Santals have returned themselves as Hindus for the last twenty years. There were signs of a movement in that direction in 1901, but it appears to have been scotched for the time being. The returns from the Santal Parganas at the last four censuses are as follows:—

		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
SANTALS	...	754,804	676,459	668,149	670,535
Hindu	...	423	498	265	73,881
Christian	...	9,963	7,120	7,037	7,064
Tribal	...	744,418	668,841	660,847	589,590

Christians.

12. The actual number of Christians in each district and the variations that have occurred in their numbers since the beginning of the present century are shown in Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter. There are now 416,726 Christians in the whole province, one person in every hundred being a follower of this religion. Included in the total are 6,380 Europeans or members of allied races (among whom Armenians have for this purpose been included) and 6,638 Anglo-Indians, *i.e.*, persons of mixed descent. The number of Indian Christians is therefore about 403,700. More than half the Europeans and Anglo-Indians are concentrated in the three districts of Patna, Manbhum and Singhbhum. In Patna the concentration is due to the location in this district of the headquarters of Government and the cantonment at Dinapur, while in Manbhum and Singhbhum industrial activity provides the attraction. Other districts in which non-Indian Christians are relatively numerous are Monghyr, Ranchi and the Santal Parganas. Of the Indian Christians no less than 261,776, or 65 per cent of the whole number, were enumerated in a single district—Ranchi. The Feudatory States account for about 74,600 more, and the bulk of the remainder is distributed between the aboriginal peoples of Singhbhum, the Santal Parganas, Palamau and Manbhum. Altogether 96 per cent of the Indian Christians in the province are to be found on the Chota Nagpur plateau; the other three natural divisions furnish only about 16,400 between them. In the three coastal districts of Orissa there are some 5,000; Champaran has 3,450 and Shahabad 2,150. The only other districts where they run into four figures are Purnea and Bhagalpur, and here again most of the converts are aboriginals.

Since 1921 there has been an increase of 37.4 per cent in the total number of Christians. Among Europeans and Anglo-Indians the increase amounts to 2,560—or 24.5 per cent. The development of the industrial centres of Manbhum and Singhbhum accounts for just about 50 per cent of this growth. Indian Christians are more numerous by 37.8 per cent than they were ten years ago, the actual addition to their numbers being nearly 110,800. It is clear that the greater part of this addition is due to conversions, and not to natural increase. In Ranchi the rate of growth (33 per cent) continues to be very rapid, and in this district alone the number of Indian Christians has risen by over 65,000. But it is in Singhbhum and the Feudatory States that the percentages of increase are most remarkable. Singhbhum has gone from 9,950 to 17,575, an increase of about 77 per cent; and the States from 46,000 to 74,600, an increase of over 60 per cent. The

spread of Christianity in the Feudatory States since the beginning of the century, when the total number of converts was under 3,000, is very striking, but it is worthy of note that Gangpur alone contains more than 80 per cent of the converts. Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Purnea and Champaran are other localities where there has been a perceptible movement towards Christianity during the last decade.

It is well known that the primitive tribes of the province furnish the most fruitful field for Christian missionaries. The extent to which this is so is amply evident from the statement in the margin, which gives the number of converts in four important tribes at each of the last two censuses. In 1931 these four communities provided as much as 88 per cent of the total number of Indian Christians in Bihar and Orissa; and in 1921 the percentage (87) was almost exactly the same.

	1931.	1921.
Total Indian Christians ...	**403,708**	**292,921**
Oraons	145,129	119,431
Mundas	133,506	93,814
Kharias	63,725	34,094
Santals	13,279	8,367
Total of these four tribes ...	**355,639**	**255,706**

It has been customary on previous occasions to tabulate separate figures for the various Christian sects, but in the interests of economy this was not done at the present census, and the only denomination for which details have been given separately is the Church of Rome. Imperial Table XVI shows that in the case of one Christian out of every 18 no return of sect was made at all, despite explicit instructions that this information should invariably be entered in the census schedules. Of the remainder, rather more than half were returned as Roman Catholics—owing chiefly to the great activity of this community in the Ranchi district. Other localities in which Roman Catholics are relatively numerous are the Feudatory States and the districts of Palamau, Champaran and Purnea; elsewhere in the province they are in a minority.

Sikhs.

13 In Bihar and Orissa all other religions, such as those followed by the Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews and so forth, are numerically insignificant; between them they claim only 3 adherents out of every 10,000 persons in the province. The Sikhs have, however, increased in number from 1,558 to 5,869 since the last census. This is due primarily to the attractions of Jamshedpur. In 1921 there were only 258 Sikhs in that city, and now there are 3,130. For the rest, it is possible that a few persons who were returned as Hindus ten years ago have been returned as Sikhs on this occasion—and *vice versa*. This may explain why 699 Sikhs were enumerated in Purnea district in 1931, as against 11 only in 1921. In the district of Patna (where the number has risen from 135 to 220) there is said to be a small community of non-immigrant Sikhs at the birth-place of Guru Gobind Singh. But of greater importance is the similar community at Sasaram in Shahabad, which traces back its history to the year 1666 A.D. when the town was visited by Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru and father of Guru Gobind Singh. The Sikhs of Sasaram are of two kinds, the Singhs and the Munrias or Munas. The latter are the less orthodox of the two, and generally return themselves as Hindus. It may be partly on this account that the number of Sikhs in Shahabad district has fallen from 558 to 397.

Jains.

14. The line which divides a Hindu from a Jain is apt to become blurred, and it is probable that there are more Jains in the province than the census returns indicate. The number actually recorded on this occasion was 4,052, which is less by 558 than the number recorded in 1921. At the time of the previous census, however, a pilgrimage was in progress on Parasnath hill, and in consequence over 2,000 Jains were enumerated in the district of Hazaribagh; the tally in this district has now fallen to just below 800. There have been noticeable increases in Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Ranchi and Singhbhum, and more or less pronounced reductions in Champaran, Purnea, the Santal Parganas and Manbhum.

Buddhists.

15. In Bihar, despite its close historical connection with the Buddhist religion to which the sacred shrine at Gaya bears testimony, Buddhism as

an indigenous religion has not survived. In the two natural divisions of Bihar proper there are but 51 adherents of that faith. Out of 2,295 persons returned as Buddhists at the present census, 1,768 were found in the Orissa states and the neighbouring district of Cuttack. These Orissa Buddhists are for the most part allied with the Tantis, and are said to derive their origin from a community of monks who abandoned celibacy and formed domestic ties. As the result of long isolation from their co-religionists, they have adopted certain Hindu customs and ceremonies, but the latest census returns suggest that they are maintaining their separate identity. Hazaribagh (221) and Singhbhum (232) are the only other localities in which the number of Buddhists is not entirely negligible. In the province as a whole there are 547 more Buddhists than there were in 1921.

Others, including Kumbhipatias.

16. Of the 264 Zoroastrians (or Parsis) enumerated at the present census, well over half are recent immigrants into Jamshedpur. The Jews in the province number 24, of whom 18 come from Ranchi district. Only 15 persons subscribed to " indefinite beliefs ", such as agnosticism or atheism—and this fact goes to confirm the truth of the general proposition advanced at the beginning of the chapter that a man's religion as recorded at the census is no very accurate index of his personal creed and convictions. The only other religion that finds place in the returns is that of the Kumbhipatias. At the last census 1,231 persons had adopted this designation, but their number has now declined to 271 only, all except 32 of whom are resident in the Patna state. It was observed in the last census report that the practice of intermarriage with Hindus left open the door for an easy relapse into Hinduism, and seemingly there are many who have passed through that door in the last decade. In Angul the recorded number of Kumbhipatias has fallen from 951 to *nil*. Enquiries made into this matter by the local authorities revealed that they were still there but had " voluntarily returned themselves as Hindus with their respective castes shown in column 8 of the schedule ". In Dhenkanal state 928 persons returned their religion as Hinduism and their sect as *Alekh dharma* or *Mahima dharma*, which are terms indicative of the beliefs of the Kumbhipatias. Mr. N. E. J. Anderson, an official of the Dhenkanal state, who has made a special study of this subject, affirms that the doctrines of the founders of this religion " are *mutatis mutandis* in conformity with the Hindu scriptures " and that the present-day leaders consider themselves to be " Hindus with the exception that they do not worship idols and forms ". Mr. Anderson says that the account of the Kumbhipatia religion given in the provincial census report of 1911 is not altogether consistent with that now in favour among its leading exponents. He gives the following interesting version of its origin in the middle of the nineteenth century :—

> " Bhima Bhoi was a blind boy, and Mahima Goswami turned up at his house at Gramadiha in Rairakhol state one night with his disciple Govind Das and called out to him. He enquired who was calling, and on hearing Bhima, Mahima Goswami said ' For your past deeds (*karma*) I have come down to you; you look sharp '. At this Bhima said ' If for my past deeds you have been good enough to come to me, I will know that my past deeds have borne fruits if I get back my eye-sight which I am already deprived of '. His Worship uttered ' Let it be so ', and Bhima could see everything with his eyes. Bhima felt the extraordinary power and, at once coming down to the door, saw two graceful images standing on the other side of the door like the blooming moon. Then Bhima lay prostrated before them and made his salutation. The Teacher of the World touched Bhima's head and said ' Oh Bhima, get up and rise '. Under the orders of His Worship Bhima stood up and with folded hands asked them many things in the humblest terms. He asked ' With what purpose Your Worship has been kind enough to come here '. His Worship said ' He had assumed human body to preach the knowledge of the soul and of love through the cult of Mahima religion in the *Ghor Kalijuga* '. Hearing these gracious words from His Worship and recapitulating the deeds of his past life, Bhima came to know that God himself had come down to earth to establish *dharma* ' Good laws '. So far it has been authoritatively ascertained that Mahima Goswami was conspicuously moving in Puri, Dhabalgiri and Khandagiri for twelve years from

1826 Sal and was living on fruits. He came to Kapilas in 1838 and there he sat entombed for a period of 24 years. After he came out from his Dhyana he moved about in the world for 14 years preaching his religion himself and through his disciples and finally returned to Joronda where he died on Monday, the 10th day of the month of Falguna in 1876, at 5-22 P.M."

Mr. Anderson further writes that "the followers of this cult are divided into three classes, viz., (1) Kumbhipatias, (2) Kamapatias and (3) Grihis. The first are those *sanyasis* who have attained that stage of development which entitles them to wear bark; the second are *sanyasis* who simply have *coupins;* and the third class are men living as householders but professing *Alekh dharma*". He considers that the doctrines taught by Mahima Goswami, excellent in themselves, would have gained much wider acceptance but for their unsystematic and distorted presentation by ignorant disciples.

I.—General distribution of the population by religion.

Religion and Locality.	Actual number in 1931.	Number per 10,000 of population in— 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Variation per cent: increase (+) or decrease (—). 1921—1931.	1911—1921.	1901—1911.	Percentage of net variation. 1901—1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindus.									
Bihar and Orissa ...	**35,296,352**	**8,318**	**8,326**	**8,261**	**8,359**	**+11·4**	**—0·5**	**+3·4**	**+14·6**
North Bihar	12,504,367	8,248	8,307	8,314	8,372	+7·5	—0·8	+1·3	+8·0
South Bihar	7,661,424	8,996	9,057	9,043	9,024	+11·7	—3·4	+0·9	+10·0
Orissa	4,062,590	9,668	9,682	9,694	9,719	+5·0	—4·7	+0·6	+0·7
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	10,978,071	7,597	7,460	7,224	7,367	+18·8	+3·3	+0·8	+34·9
Muslims.									
Bihar and Orissa ...	**4,284,306**	**1,012**	**976**	**958**	**964**	**+15·5**	**+0·6**	**+4·0**	**+21·0**
North Bihar	2,630,172	1,735	1,667	1,643	1,621	+12·6	+0·8	+3·3	+17·3
South Bihar	836,080	982	920	932	965	+19·9	—3·7	—2·8	+12·3
Orissa	120,357	283	285	272	248	+5·6	+0·2	+10·4	+16·9
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	697,697	483	452	428	409	+24·6	+5·7	+17·2	+54·4
Tribal.									
Bihar and Orissa ...	**2,409,409**	**569**	**616**	**708**	**629**	**+3·1**	**—14·1**	**+17·7**	**+4·2**
North Bihar	15,703	10	20	37	2	—43·9	—47·3	+1,443·2	+365·3
South Bihar	7,539	9	11	12	4	—6·3	—12·3	+240·6	+180·0
Orissa	13,234	31	20	21	20	+69·7	—11·1	+4·5	+57·7
Chota Nagpur Plateau ..	2,372,933	1,642	1,853	2,141	2,080	+3·4	—13·4	+15·4	+3·2
Christians.									
Bihar and Orissa ...	**416,726**	**98**	**80**	**70**	**47**	**+37·4**	**+13·1**	**+55·5**	**+141·6**
North Bihar	8,016	6	5	5	4	+28·7	+7·0	+20·5	+65·9
South Bihar	8,331	10	10	7	6	+12·4	+30·3	+17·7	+80·2
Orissa	5,784	14	12	12	12	+16·3	—3·3	+2·8	+15·6
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	393,095	272	230	203	142	+38·6	+13·1	+59·5	+150·0
Others.									
Bihar and Orissa ...	**12,790**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**+37·8**	**—3·4**	**+161·1**	**+247·4**
North Bihar	1,291	1	1	1	1	+55·8	—56·5	+159·1	+75·6
South Bihar	2,205	3	2	3	1	+57·1	—47·0	+172·4	+126·9
Orissa	493	1	1	1	1	—9·2	—1·1	+303·6	+262·0
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	8,698	6	5	4	2	+35·1	+47·6	+144·9	+388·4

II.—Distribution by districts of the main religions.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of the population who are— Hindus. 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Muslims. 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Tribal. 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Others. 1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BIHAR AND ORISSA	**8,318**	**8,326**	**8,261**	**8,359**	**1,012**	**976**	**958**	**964**	**569**	**616**	**708**	**629**	**101**	**82**	**73**	**48**
North Bihar	**8,248**	**8,307**	**8,314**	**8,372**	**1,735**	**1,667**	**1,643**	**1,621**	**10**	**20**	**37**	**2**	**7**	**6**	**6**	**5**
Saran	8,755	8,817	8,846	8,818	1,243	1,181	1,152	1,181	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	1
Champaran	8,330	8,425	8,486	8,511	1,651	1,550	1,499	1,475	2	...	...	...	17	15	15	14
Muzaffarpur	8,667	8,741	8,764	8,772	1,330	1,256	1,233	1,236	...	...	...	...	3	3	3	2
Darbhanga	8,608	8,688	8,739	8,786	1,390	1,310	1,258	1,311	...	...	...	...	2	2	3	3
Bhagalpur	8,862	8,916	8,880	8,977	1,116	1,053	1,008	1,002	14	25	104	15	8	6	8	6
Purnea	5,878	5,858	5,663	5,761	4,054	4,022	4,178	4,233	56	111	151	2	12	9	8	4
South Bihar	**8,996**	**9,057**	**9,046**	**9,024**	**982**	**920**	**932**	**965**	**9**	**11**	**12**	**4**	**13**	**12**	**10**	**7**
Patna	8,881	8,971	8,922	8,835	1,097	1,006	1,059	1,147	...	...	...	...	22	23	19	18
Gaya	8,933	8,979	8,969	8,934	1,031	1,018	1,028	1,064	...	...	...	...	6	3	3	2
Shahabad	9,224	9,267	9,276	9,271	759	718	703	725	...	...	9	...	17	15	12	4
Monghyr	8,960	9,021	9,016	9,029	999	931	939	951	33	40	35	13	8	8	10	7
Orissa	**9,668**	**9,682**	**9,694**	**9,719**	**286**	**285**	**272**	**248**	**31**	**20**	**21**	**20**	**15**	**13**	**13**	**13**
Cuttack	9,679	9,674	9,687	9,708	304	312	301	278	2	...	...	...	15	14	13	14
Balasore	9,537	9,606	9,610	9,645	320	304	293	264	129	78	83	79	14	12	14	12
Puri	9,767	9,773	9,796	9,819	218	208	189	170	...	1	...	...	15	15	15	11
Chota Nagpur Plateau	**7,597**	**7,460**	**7,224**	**7,367**	**483**	**452**	**428**	**409**	**1,642**	**1,853**	**2,141**	**2,080**	**278**	**235**	**207**	**144**
Hazaribagh	7,962	8,385	8,273	8,100	1,131	1,065	1,035	1,016	878	516	673	867	29	34	19	17
Ranchi	5,548	4,188	3,969	3,995	421	392	369	353	2,350	3,940	4,381	4,600	1,681	1,480	1,381	1,052
Palamau	8,183	8,422	8,540	8,606	910	886	839	845	802	591	508	421	105	101	113	128
Manbhum	8,794	9,184	8,077	8,703	615	585	535	483	548	192	1,356	792	43	39	32	22
Singhbhum	4,948	5,267	4,197	4,321	288	206	111	88	4,510	4,373	5,573	5,477	254	154	119	114
Santal Parganas ...	4,627	4,578	5,122	5,612	1,090	1,003	938	840	4,217	4,357	3,884	3,493	66	62	56	55
Angul	7,348	7,242	7,078	7,754	13	17	17	19	2,635	2,682	2,897	2,225	14	59	8	2
Sambalpur	9,878	9,811	9,440	9,101	43	44	48	53	36	105	469	837	43	40	43	9
Orissa States ...	9,108	8,777	8,702	8,744	38	38	39	36	682	1,059	1,153	1,208	172	126	106	12
Chota Nagpur States ...	6,843	6,358	5,716	5,020	129	112	108	93	3,006	3,521	4,175	3,986	22	9	1	1

III.—Christians : Number and Variation.

District and Natural Division.	Actual number of Christians in—				Variation per cent.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921—1931.	1911—1921.	1901—1911.	1901—1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***416,726***	***303,358***	***268,265***	***172,506***	***+37·4***	***+13·1***	***+55·5***	***+141·6***
North Bihar	***8,916***	***6,927***	***6,473***	***5,374***	***+28·7***	***+7·0***	***+20·5***	***+65·9***
Saran	460	373	437	314	+23·3	−14·6	+39·2	+46·5
Champaran ..	3,655	2,782	2,775	2,417	+31·4	+0·3	+14·8	+51·2
Muzaffarpur	887	819	893	719	+8·3	−8·3	+24·2	+23·4
Darbhanga	531	521	766	710	+1·9	−32·0	+7·9	−25·2
Bhagalpur	1,560	1,082	1,102	775	+44·2	−1·8	+42·2	+101·3
Purnea	1,823	1,350	500	439	+35·0	+170·0	+13·9	+315·3
South Bihar	***8,331***	***7,414***	***5,440***	***4,623***	***+12·4***	***+36·3***	***+17·7***	***+80·2***
Patna	3,503	3,175	2,585	2,562	+10·3	+22·8	+0·9	+36·7
Gaya	576	428	349	253	+34·5	+22·6	+37·9	+127·7
Shahabad	2,335	2,162	700	375	+8·0	+208·9	+86·7	+522·7
Monghyr	1,917	1,649	1,806	1,433	+16·3	−8·7	+26·0	+33·8
Orissa	***5,784***	***4,974***	***5,145***	***5,004***	***+16·3***	***−3·3***	***+2·8***	***+15·6***
Cuttack	2,873	2,496	2,406	2,552	+15·1	+3·7	−9·3	+8·3
Balasore	1,375	1,192	1,458	1,274	+15·4	−18·2	+14·4	+7·9
Puri	1,536	1,286	1,281	1,078	+19·4	+0·4	+18·8	+42·5
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	***393,695***	***284,043***	***251,207***	***157,505***	***+38·6***	***+13·1***	***+59·5***	***+150·0***
Hazaribagh	3,169	2,123	1,786	1,163	+49·3	+18·9	+53·6	+172·5
Ranchi	262,608	197,216	177,473	124,958	+33·2	+11·1	+42·0	+110·2
Palamau	8,607	7,283	7,783	7,008	+18·2	−6·4	−1·6	+8·8
Manbhum	7,656	5,647	4,500	2,910	+35·6	+25·5	+54·6	+163·1
Singhbhum	19,552	11,309	8,200	6,961	+72·9	+37·9	+17·8	+180·9
Santal Parganas ...	13,343	11,001	10,163	9,875	+21·3	+8·2	+2·9	+35·1
Angul	307	123	69	33	+149·6	+78·3	+109·1	+830·3
Sambalpur	3,618	3,112	2,793	722	+16·3	+11·4	+286·8	+401·1
Orissa States	74,468	46,084	38,422	2,963	+61·6	+19·9	+1,197·2	+2,414·1
Chota Nagpur States ...	364	145	18	13	+151·0	+705·6	+38·5	+2,700·0

IV.—Religions of Urban and Rural Population.

Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of urban population who are—					Number per 10,000 of rural population who are—				
	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal.	Others.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Tribal.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	***7,527***	***2,211***	***176***	***49***	***37***	***8,350***	***962***	***95***	***591***	***2***
North Bihar	7,190	2,712	89	3	6	8,279	1,706	3	11	1
South Bihar	7,466	2,433	77	...	24	9,126	860	4	9	1
Orissa	8,265	1,530	193	8	4	9,724	230	7	33	1
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	7,583	1,624	408	186	99	7,594	447	268	1,688	3

CHAPTER XII.—Race, Tribe and Caste.

Reference to statistics.

The main statistics of caste are contained in Imperial Table XVII. Imperial Table XVIII shows the territorial distribution of selected tribes and the fluctuations in their numbers during the last forty years. For certain castes and tribes statistics relating to civil condition, occupation and literacy have been separately extracted, and these are given in Imperial Tables VIII, XI and XIV respectively. The number of Europeans, etc., and of Anglo-Indians and their distribution between the districts and cities of the province are shown in Imperial Table XIX. At the end of this chapter there is a subsidiary table setting forth the percentage of variation in the numbers of the principal castes, etc., in the last four decades and the proportion which each represents of the total provincial population.

Scope of the caste returns.

2. For reasons of economy the tabulation of the statistics of caste at the present census was to some extent curtailed. In general, no attempt was made to extract figures relating to any community which numbered less than 1 per cent of the population of the province in 1921. Again, if in certain localities a particular caste was believed to be more or less unknown, no statistics were compiled for it in those localities, even though it satisfied the numerical test just mentioned. Consequently, the totals shown against some of the castes, etc., in Imperial Table XVII cannot be regarded as absolutely complete. On the other hand, certain exceptions were made to the general rule. There are a number of castes which, although they do not comprise 1 per cent of the total population, are yet of considerable importance in limited areas of the province; and in those areas statistics have been compiled for them. With regard to the "depressed classes" a special effort was made to obtain figures for the whole province which should be as complete as possible. Special attention, too, was paid to the primitive and semi-primitive tribes; and, while it is not claimed that the statistics relating to them are absolutely exhaustive, it is hoped that the omissions are inconsiderable.

Apart from European and allied races (in which term Americans and Armenians are comprehended) no information has been tabulated in regard to the nationality of foreigners. Their number in this province is very small, and some indication of their origin may be gathered from the language table. The title-page of Imperial Table XV gives particulars of the non-Indian mother-tongues spoken in Bihar and Orissa and the localities in which they are encountered.

Christian converts from Hinduism and Islam do not ordinarily make any return of caste other than a simple return of "Indian Christian". A Christianized Brahman, it may with reason be contended, is no longer a Brahman. But the same does not apply equally to the primitive tribes. A Munda continues to be a Munda, whether he worships the tribal deities of his ancestors or has embraced Hinduism or Christianity. Consequently, the statistics of the primitive tribes in tables XVII, XVIII and elsewhere include Christians as well as followers of other religions; and in this respect they differ from the statistics given in previous reports.

The only purely Muslim "caste" for which statistics have been compiled on the present occasion is that of the Jolahas. But in the case of Doms, Halalkhors and Lalbegis, some of whom were returned as Hindus and some as Muslims, separate totals have been given for each religion. For Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists no caste figures have been tabulated. Persons belonging to the Brahmo, Arya and Dev Samajist sects of Hinduism sometimes returned their caste and sometimes did not; where they did so, they were included under the appropriate heads. Leaving these sects on one side, there were 6,743 Hindus against whose names the caste column

was found to be blank. The number of these persons is placed on record in view of the statements that have from time to time been made to the effect that there is an increasing tendency among the Hindu population to resent questions concerning their caste and to show reluctance in answering such questions. Accordingly the enumerators were instructed that, if any person expressed a definite desire that his caste should *not* be recorded, no entry at all should be made in this column. The result suggests that one person in something over 5,000 gave expression to such a desire, but actually it is probable that the figure has little significance. It always happens that a column here or a column there is left blank through the negligence of an enumerator or through his inability to decide what the correct entry should be; and most of the blanks in the caste column are quite likely to be due to this cause. On the other hand, it is not improbable that in the original schedules there were more blank entries in this particular column, and that these were filled in during the process of slip-copying with reference to the clues afforded by the other entries to the caste of the person concerned. In any case, it may be quite definitely asserted that the number of persons who showed any diffidence about disclosing their caste was extremely small, and the general experience was exactly the reverse.

Altogether the caste returns which have been exhibited in Table XVII account for more than 80 per cent of the total population of the province and for more than 85 per cent of the Hindu population.

Is tabulation of castes justified?

3. The practice of classifying the people of the province by caste and tribe has been assailed on two main grounds. The first is that the caste system is in process of disintegration; barriers between caste and caste are breaking down, and it is wrong in principle that this process should be impeded by the action of Government, which by insisting on (or inviting) a declaration of caste at every census may be said to recognize and encourage these invidious distinctions. The second criticism is that the caste returns are in any case inaccurate and more or less worthless, since members of the lower castes take the opportunity of returning themselves as belonging to communities of higher status. The latter of these two objections may be examined first.

New names for old castes.

4. It may be freely conceded that the anxiety of various castes to improve their status in the social hierarchy by assuming names other than those by which they are commonly known is not conducive to accuracy in the caste tables. The marginal statement shows some of the claims which were pertinaciously advanced in the course of the present census. The list is not exhaustive. It makes no mention, for instance, of the Pasis, whose unrivalled proficiency in tree-climbing is said to have encouraged them to claim a title meaning "the Brahmans who go up in the air". It will be seen that, so far as the Hindu castes are concerned, the general desire is to be recognized as Brahmans or Rajputs in some form or other. Now the validity of these claims is not a matter upon which the census authorities, or indeed the Government, can properly adjudicate. Nevertheless, they were perforce faced with the problem of deciding in the first place what

Caste or sub-caste.	*Designation claimed.*
Babhan	Bhumihar Brahman.
Barhi	Vishvakarma Brahman.
Kamar (Lohar) ...	
Bhat	Brahma Bhat, Brahman.
Hajjam (Napit, Nai) ...	Nai Brahman, Kulin Brahman.
Khati	Jangida Brahman.
Sutar	
*Baraik	Jadubansi Kshatriya.
Dosadh	Gahlot Rajput.
Goala (Ahir, Gope) ...	Yadava, Jadubansi Kshatriya.
Kalwar (Kalal, Kalar) ...	Haihaya Kshatriya.
Koiri	Dangi, Kushwaha Kshatriya.
Kurmi	Kurmi Kshatriya.
Rawani Kahar ...	Chandrabansi Kshatriya.
Sunri	Shaundik Kshatriya.
Jolaha	Sheikh, Sheikh Momin.

* This is not a true caste-name, but is (*i*) a term often applied to Pans and Chiks, and (*ii*) a title not infrequently adopted by the more sophisticated Binjhias, Rautias, Khandaits, etc., of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. The designation *Jadubansi Kshatriya* is claimed by the latter class.

entry should be made in the caste column of the schedule against, e.g., a person who declared that he was a "Vishvakarma Brahman" by caste; and in the second place how such a person should be classified in the final census tables. On the first point it was decided that as much latitude as possible should be given to each individual in describing the community to which he belonged, and that he should not be required to return himself by a caste-name which he regarded as derogatory. But the stipulation was made that he must not employ a term which would be either ambiguous or definitely misleading. Thus the term *Vishvakarma Brahman* is ambiguous, for it is claimed both by Barhis and by Kamars as well as by certain other artisan castes; and it is necessary for the purposes of Government that a separate record should be available of the number of persons commonly known as Barhis and as Kamars respectively. Instructions were therefore issued that an entry of *Vishvakarma Brahman* by itself should not be permitted, but that there was no objection to one of *Vishvakarma Brahman—Barhi* or the like. Again, exception had to be taken to the return of a Hajjam under the designation of *Kulin Brahman*, because this term has hitherto been used to denote a particular community to which the Hajjams quite definitely do not belong, and the use of it by them would therefore have been misleading; but the same objection did not apply to their use of the term *Nai Brahman*. Subject to such reservations as these, the enumerators were told that they should ordinarily accept the answers actually given, and that in cases of doubt they should take the precaution of entering *both* the terms, *viz.*, that by which the caste of the person concerned is ordinarily described and that by which he wished it to be described. It cannot be claimed that these instructions were always scrupulously observed. Complaints were not infrequent that enumerators resolutely declined to record well-known castes under titles which they regarded as new-fangled and preposterous. Nothing, it seems, would induce some of these autocrats to believe that a Dosadh was not a Dosadh but a Gahlot Rajput. The blame for this, however, cannot with justice be laid at the door of Government. And in any case it did not make any difference in the end, except that the caste tables are possibly a little more accurate than they would otherwise have been. For, although one man may call himself a Koiri, and another a Dangi, and a third a Kushwaha Kshatriya, they all three belong to the same community, and the census tables show only the total number of persons in that community. It might indeed have been of some interest to ascertain how many members of it described themselves in one way and how many in another, but considerations of economy made it impossible to extract and compile separate figures for every alternative designation and variant used to denote each individual caste. The sorting staff were therefore provided with a list of these variants, which was made as exhaustive as possible, and all those relating to a single caste were consigned to a single pigeon-hole. Those which were unrecognizable were relegated to the limbo of unsorted entries which do not appear in the caste tables at all. And there is little doubt that, by the time a puzzled but conscientious enumerator had reduced to writing his impression of *Kushwaha Kshatriya*, and thereafter a well-meaning slip-copyist had dealt faithfully with the same, an appreciable number of slips containing this entry were diverted from their rightful destination, and the real strength of the great Koiri community is to that extent under-stated in the tables

The question then arose under what names these various castes should be shown in the census tables. As already observed, Government is not the final authority to pronounce on the validity of claims to Brahmanic or Kshatriya origin and so forth. That is the function of Hindu society. If and when the Dosadhs are accepted as Gahlot Rajputs in Hindu society and commonly alluded to as such, they will doubtless be referred to under that designation in Government reports and publications. But one may at least suspect that certain castes desired to make use of the census report as a means of establishing claims which society in general has not hitherto been prepared to endorse. And it is relevant to bear in mind that, among

the members of these communities themselves, opinion on this matter is not unanimous. So far as this province is concerned, although for the reasons stated precise figures are not generally available, it may confidently be asserted that the number of persons who took advantage of the permission to describe themselves by the new names was relatively small. There were some, on the other hand, who were definitely opposed to this procedure. More than one protest was lodged by associations claiming to represent the lower castes against the manner in which their fellows were being " misled into returning themselves in the census papers under strange, imaginary names instead of their old, real and familiar names." This they attributed to " the big propaganda that is on foot from the side of the high-caste Hindus ..... to add to their numerical strength by spreading such strange ideas among the lower castes as to get themselves returned under new names of ' higher meanings ' instead of the old most familiar names of castes that are generally looked down." Not only is the whole question raised by these claims one which admits of a good deal of controversy and debate, but from the point of view of practical convenience it would be extremely confusing if new names were adopted for the different castes at every census, and the difficulty of finding one's way about the tables (in which the castes are arranged in alphabetical order) would be much increased. The local Government accordingly decided that on the present occasion each caste should be described in the tables first by its old name and that the new name should thereafter be added in brackets.

In view of the fact that statistics are not separately tabulated for sub-castes, the above procedure could not be followed in the case of the Rawani Kahars, a sub-caste of the Kahar community, whose claim to be of Kshatriya origin was stoutly championed by the " All-India Chandrabansiya Kshatriya Mahasabha ", an association which claims to have five lakhs of members in this province alone. But, as a special case, a record was kept of all persons who returned their caste either as Rawani Kahar or as Chandrabansiya Kshatriya, and their total number was found to be 20,923. Incidentally, the misapprehensions under which certain members of this and other communities laboured with regard to the questions really at issue and the effect of the entries made in the census schedules are well illustrated in some of the petitions submitted to me in the course of the census operations. The following is typical of many:—" The undersigned and his family were formerly Rawani Kahar by caste and lately they have been converted to Chandrabansiya Kshatriya under the Chandrabansiya Kshatriya Sabha, and the name of the undersigned has been changed by solemn affidavit from ————————Ram to————————Singh according to the custom of the aforesaid Sabha ". Another petitioner, complaining that the local enumerator had refused to take cognizance of a change similarly effected, represented that " by this anomaly of names and caste there will be serious inconvenience in law courts and in the present documents." Few people, it seems, were able to realize that the information recorded in the schedules about individuals was kept strictly confidential, and that a man's personal status was not in the least affected by success or failure in his attempt to get himself recorded as a Brahman, a Rajput, or anything else. If this fact had been appreciated, I am convinced that more than half the anxiety and agitation to which this matter gave rise would have been allayed at once.

Effect on the accuracy of the returns.

5. It is not possible to estimate the extent to which the accuracy of the caste tables has suffered as a result of these complications. Certain specific instances will be noticed in the subsequent paragraphs, where there has clearly been a transference from one head to another; but on the whole the subsidiary table at the end of this chapter shows surprisingly little change since 1921 in the proportional strength of the main castes, and the relative constancy of these figures from census to census appears to give meagre support to the criticism that the caste returns are so inaccurate as to be practically worthless. At the same time the system of allowing so great a latitude to individuals in describing their caste may well lead at no

distant date, as increasing advantage is taken of it, to something approaching chaos in the census figures. Already the communities which have begun to aspire to names of " higher meanings " comprise well over ten millions of the Hindu population of the province, and it is to be expected that other communities will follow their example ere long. The task of sorting and classifying the entries at future censuses promises to be an unenviable one.

Fundamental strength of the caste system.

6. There is the further criticism against the tabulation of castes at the census, that it serves to bolster up a system which is in process of disintegration and to perpetuate barriers between caste and caste which of themselves show signs of breaking down. On this point the following observations were made in the all-India report for 1921 :—" Whatever view may be taken of the advantages or disadvantages of caste as a social institution, it is impossible to conceive of any useful discussion of the population questions in India in which caste would not be an important element. Caste is still ' the foundation of the Indian social fabric ', and the record of caste is still ' the best guide to the changes in the various social strata of the Indian society.' Every Hindu (using the term in its most elastic sense) is born into a caste, and his caste determines his religious, social, economic and domestic life from the cradle to the grave." In the main this view of the matter is still essentially true. Developments there have undoubtedly been in the last decade, which has indeed been a period of flux and has seen the emergence of tendencies which frequently appear to be contradictory. In some respects there would seem to have been a genuine relaxation of caste distinctions, while in others there are indications of a caste consciousness more acute and aggressive than ever before. But these manifestations are really nothing more than ripples on the surface. They may portend greater and more far-reaching changes to come, but hitherto they have but touched the fringe of the problem. And so long as caste counts for as much as it does at the present time, so long as it continues to exert a vital influence on the growth and distribution of the population, on the occupation of the individual, the age at which he marries, the position of his womenfolk, his educational prospects and so on, it would be wrong as well as futile for the census to ignore its existence.

Modern tendencies.

7. The march of progress has inevitably led to some modification of caste rules which at one time were more strictly enforced. Rules about personal contact were bound to be relaxed as soon as railway travel became an every-day affair, and the more recent development of motor-lorry passenger services has carried this process a step further. The purification ceremony which a journey overseas formerly entailed is now seldom more than a formality—if indeed it is not dispensed with altogether. Conditions of life in modern industrial centres are incompatible with a strict observance of caste distinctions, and in this connexion the subdivisional officer of Dhalbhum, writing of the present state of affairs in Jamshedpur and its neighbourhood, states: " Inter-marriage between castes has not yet been increased, but there has been a distinct weakening of caste government and a development in toleration. Many of the castes have abandoned traditional occupations* and all classes are found working together in an industrial process, and I am informed that in many cases castes who in their own village would avoid each other drink out of the same receptacle and eat in the other's presence." It may, however, be argued that these are not signs and portents heralding the ultimate collapse of the caste system, but merely indications of the way in which it is adjusting itself to modern conditions.

In the last census report relating to this province it was observed that, while marriages between persons belonging to different castes were still unheard of, there were signs of greater laxity in this matter as between sub-castes of the same caste. Instances were cited from the Ahir community of Bihar, the Kayasths (particularly the domiciled Bengali Kayasths), and

* This aspect of the subject is dealt with more fully in Chapter VIII.

the Brahmans of Orissa. On this subject an Oriya correspondent writes: "Money works in these cases as a mighty leveller of sub-castes. If a member of a lower sub-caste acquires money, power or authority, he marries into the immediately higher sub-caste and gradually becomes amalgamated into it. Thus most of the sub-castes of the Brahman caste are gradually being amalgamated into the common genus. The Chasas of the Puri district are thus trying to inter-marry into, and pass themselves off as members of, the Khandait caste, while the Khandaits in their turn are trying to inter-marry into, and pass themselves off as members of, the Karan caste. This is not due to any relaxing of the rules of inter-marriage or commensality. These rules are as hard and inexorable as ever; but, as social rules have lost their sanction and their binding force, people never fear or scruple to violate them whenever it suits them to do so. The man of power and pelf can shut the mouth of the caste people with gold and break the social rules with impunity." Further testimony to the power of the purse in these matters is furnished by a Deputy Collector serving in the same part of the province:—"*Sagarpesa* or the class of men and women born from parents not bound by wedlock are trying to be absorbed into the caste of their father, and their success or failure depends on their individual prosperity. While in settlement I tried to record their caste correctly, but this led to such a social antagonism and created such a row that I had to leave the question altogether to the sweet will of the parties concerned." The adoption by two or more castes of a common designation—e.g., *Vishvakarma Brahman* by the Barhis, Lohars, etc.—would seem to point towards an obliteration of caste barriers, but no case of inter-marriage between the communities concerned in such cases has yet come to notice. On the other hand, the movement for "social uplift" is not infrequently accompanied by a hardening of the caste rules or by the introduction of new restrictions. In their desire to assert the dignity of their origin and to demonstrate their kinship with orthodox Brahmans and Rajputs, some of the lower castes have resolved to enforce more strictly the ban against re-marriage of widows—and this at a time when the general tendency among the higher castes themselves is to show greater liberality in this matter. Again, there are localities in which a Dosadh who has vowed to abstain from taking meat or intoxicating liquor can marry none but a Dosadh of the same sub-caste who is bound by the same vows. Among the Tana Bhagats of the Oraon tribe a similar rule is frequently enforced.

Caste sabhas.

8. The formation of caste *sabhas* to advance the social status of the lower castes is not a new phenomenon, but it has become very much more common during the last decade. In most cases the procedure is more or less uniform. A new name is selected for the caste, its members are adjured to adopt the sacred thread, and various resolutions are passed dealing with such questions as food and drink, the abandonment of "degrading" occupations, postponement of the age of marriage, etc., etc. The attitude of the higher castes towards these movements was at first definitely hostile. The wearing of the sacred thread, for example, aroused no little resentment. But later on this attitude appears to have been considerably modified. By some accounts the former hostility has given place to indifference. Others hold that these activities are still viewed with a "lachrymose" eye, even though they no longer provoke active opposition. One correspondent roundly declares that "the Brahmans who get fees are rather encouraging them, though they refuse to consider their social status improved in any way". The principal item in the programme which is still liable to give rise to trouble is that which relates to the abandonment of *begari* and other menial work. The following account refers particularly to the Gauras of Cuttack and Balasore, who are striving to get themselves recognized as Yadubansi Kshatriyas, but *mutatis mutandis* it describes what has been going on in several other districts of the province:—"They have not only assumed the sacred threads but also refused to work as palanquin-bearers. Their attempt to discard this traditional occupation, resulting in much inconvenience to other communities in the *mufassils* of Orissa where communication by road is very rare, has been resisted by these other communities. The Khandaits and Karans, who are generally the most influential and well-to-do

amongst the local inhabitants and whose idea of false prestige combined with an exaggerated notion of *purdah* system has made them the worst sufferers in this respect, have led the opposition and the rivalry has ripened into actual riotry at several places in this (Cuttack) district."

A Sub-Deputy Collector with considerable experience of conditions in Palamau district, himself a Muslim, has contributed an account of recent social developments among various Hindu communities in that locality, which derives special interest from the circumstance that Palamau is one of the more backward areas of the province. He writes as follows :—

"Among other old castes and sects of the district, there is indication of marked revival in Dusadhs, Telis, Kahars, Kurmis, Koiris, Ahirs, Dabgars, Kharwars, Rochbandhias, Gonrs and Chamars, who are all heart and soul trying for the uplift of their respective castes and sects, most of them by accepting the sacred thread of the Hindus in 3 *prabars* or knots instead of 5 *prabars* of the higher class of the Hindus. They are all returning to the Sanatan Dharam under the influence of the Brahman priests, or imbibing the ideas of the Aryas under their leaders residing in Gaya, Monghyr, Shahabad, Sasaram, Benares and elsewhere. The leaders occasionally are invited in their *sabhas*. A detailed account of these will be interesting :—

Dusadhs, having assumed the sacred thread, call themselves offsprings of Durshashan of Hindu mythology. From last four years their number is increasing. In one village alone there are about 20 houses of these Dusadhs, who have constructed a temple of Seoji for their caste, which is only at present 10 to 12 feet high of masonry construction. It was told to me that they abstain from drink, meat and *murghi*, and have gone so far as to disallow *sagai* marriage or widow marriage in imitation of their Brahman zamindars (the Shukuls of the village) who are poor and cannot do anything except murmur at their influence and evolution.

The Telis have accepted the sacred thread and inaugurated local *sabhas*. They attend their caste *sabha* in the neighbouring northern districts of the province, subscribe regularly towards their 'fund' and get their monthly magazine 'the Sahu Mitra'. Most of them, being wealthy mahajans, have got themselves being returned as *Kamalapuri Vaishya* or *Jaunpuri Vaishya* in the last census. They are about 200, and the number is increasing.

Kahars have largely accepted the sacred thread, and call themselves Chattris by changing their usual old epithet of Ram to Singh. They also get their caste monthly magazine called 'Chattriaon' from Shahabad. At present there are about 15 such 'Janeodhari' Kahars in Garhwa and Hussainabad, but there is a great unrest in them and their number would increase rapidly in the near future. They say they are of 'Kuru Bans'.

Kurmis.—The same remarks as of Kahar apply to the Kurmis of the Hussainabad police-station, who are at present about 10 in number. They say they are of 'Karo Bans'.

Koiris.—Since 1925-26 their movement, under their influential leaders from Gaya and Shahabad, has exhibited a marked revival in the police-stations of Manatu, Panki and Patan. They had then a broad-cast distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, describing the Koiris as a sect of Chattris under the old names 'Dangi' or 'Dani' Chattri. They have largely accepted the sacred thread, and have been wearing *churi* bracelets instead of the *battisi* or bell-metal bracelets of the lowest castes. Some of their pamphlets were very interesting.

Ahirs in police-stations Hariharganj and Chhatarpur have undergone a little change under the influence of those Ahirs of the district who visited Benares, and came in contact with the 'Janeodhari' Ahirs, who call themselves the offsprings of the cowherds of Kristnas fame, as sons of Nandmohar and Jasoda. No *sabha* of the Ahirs is ever held in this district, but about a dozen of the young Ahirs of North Palamau have been under the influence of the Brahman priests and rigidly observing the orthodox system of 'Sanatan Dharam'. They are thinking to accept *janeo* ere long.

Dabgars are originally cobblers, residing mostly in Nagarutari, Garhwa and Hussainabad police-stations. Since they are dealers in hide, skin and bones, and manufacture glue and leather containers of ghee and oil, they are well off in many respects. There is a marked revival in them owing to their contact with ' Kasarwani Nanakshahis ' in Sasaram and Garhwa, and from last five or six years they are becoming ' Nanakshahis '. They deal also in a very valuable commodity indigenous in this district called *Goulochan* or *Gaorohan* (a bright yellow substance found from the spleen of old cows, that subsist mainly on the wild leaves and grasses of the forest and jungle). It was formerly purchased at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per tola, and sold to the wandering dealers of Bombay, Poona and Lahore at Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per tola, mostly Sikhs. These wandering Sikhs and Nanakshahis have also been instrumental in providing an impetus to their thoughts. There is an unrest for amelioration which may take active turn later on.

Kharwars, originally aboriginals, had their sacred threads from last twenty-five years, but at present they are very active (with the Tana Bhagats in South Palamau) for cow-worship, under the two leaders of the Tanas and Bengali Brahman priests of Kuru in Ranchi. They are about 100, out of a large number of the old type.

Rochbandhias, mostly in Panki and Manatu police-stations, who manufacture *roch*, a part of the weaving apparatus or hand-loom of the Jolahas, under the leadership of Muhammadan *pirjis* have embraced Islam. But they are still untouchable; although there is no untouchability in Islam, the Jolahas still dislike eating with them, which will shortly disappear.

Gonrs.—An untouchable caste in police-station Manatu, cattle-dealers, who generally take their wives from among the Rochbandhias by exchange of cattle and she-buffaloes, have embraced Islam. They are distinct from Hindu Gonrs that come in the category of Kandus.

Chamars.—Those of the village agricultural labourers, who have left work and have returned from Calcutta, and happened to come in contact with the Sahebganj Chamar *sabha* in the district of the Santal Parganas, are instrumental in making some effort in the present day, inducing their castes to attend the usual Sahebganj *sabha* for the amelioration of their castes. They desire to be called " Randas " instead of Chamar, and relate various anecdotes in explanation of the Randas epithet, one outcasted Brahman of the ' Rama Avatar ' period.

Barhais, Lohars and Sonars.—Sonars had their sacred thread in the district from last twenty years. But the Barhais and Lohars have accepted only from last three years, and they call themselves offsprings of Viskarma, the great architect and painter of the Mahabharath period. They have made a temple of their own in villages Nunia and Singra, police-station Daltonganj, where they worship the great Viskarma on Basant Panchmi Day every year.

Bhuiyas in this district are numerous and they predominate all other castes. Most of the old intelligent Bhuiya labourers and Kamias, who are close in touch with their zamindars and money-lenders of higher Hindu castes, during the course of my *kamiauti* enquiries expressed their earnest desire that they will have their *sabhas* like Oraons, Mundas, Kahars and Koiris ere long, and also accept the sacred thread like their neighbour brothers the ' Bhuinhars ' of Ranchi. They said, it was their poverty that came in the way so long from progressing on the same line with Dusadhs and Kahars. This gives a vivid proof that they are alive to the causes that in future would lead them onwards in all the walk of life. They prefer to be called Rikhiasans in place of Bhuiyas, or the sons of the old saints and ' Rishis '.

All the movements and *sabhas* in this district, mostly from 1924 up to now, had been for social evolution mainly, on the basis of religious ideas, for adoption of the customs and rituals of the higher class of the Hindus by accepting sacred thread and adding ' Singh ' or ' Sarmaji ' to their names, and abolishing the habits of drink, eating fowls and meat, and so on. They are only more anxious for the change of the names of their castes and sects than the formation of a new sect altogether."

The position of women.

9. The last ten years have seen a marked change in the position occupied by women. The spread of female education is inimical to the perpetuation of the *purdah* system, and there is no doubt that the increasing participation of women in political controversy has accelerated the process of emancipation. There are other influences at work, too. Indians who have been abroad for educational or other purposes and have mingled in a society where both sexes stand on an equal footing return to this country with a new outlook on such matters. On their part and on the part of many of their countrymen who have never left India there is a growing demand for social accomplishments in their brides and a growing impatience with the conventions that stand in the way of their acquisition. One can, however, detect a certain hesitation or lack of enthusiasm—a grudging acquiescence, as it were—in the attitude of the more orthodox towards these modern tendencies. A Muslim correspondent from Orissa writes: " A girl of average family tries to live in a more up-to-date way than her antiquarian comrade. The imitation of false show of fashion, though not a healthy sign, is still an advancement nowadays ". And again: " A record of the names of females as voters in the voters' list, *although they never go to record their votes*, is another healthy sign ". The italics are mine, but one feels that the author would not have it otherwise.

Depressed classes and primitive tribes.

10. The " depressed classes " form the subject of Appendix III of this report, and an attempt has been made there to explain the principles on which the castes included in this category have been determined and to estimate their numbers. The figure arrived at is just over 6½ millions. In Appendix IV the same course has been followed in respect of the " primitive tribes ", and the grand total in their case comes to approximately 7 millions, or, if we include the Kurmi Mahtos of Chota Nagpur (whose origin and racial affinities are discussed in Appendix V), to 7½ millions. The figures quoted for the primitive tribes cover not only those persons who still follow their old tribal religions but also those who have become converts to Hinduism and Christianity; and there is some overlapping between the totals for the depressed classes and the aboriginal communities, inasmuch as nearly two million Hinduized aboriginals have been included in both categories.

Classification of Hindus.

11. In Provincial Table II, which will be found at the end of the Tables Volume, the Hindu population has been classified as (1) Brahmans, (2) depressed classes, and (3) other Hindus; and separate statistics of each class have been given for every district and revenue thana in the province. " Other Hindus " in that table include aboriginals who returned their religion as Hinduism, except those treated as depressed. In the margin these statistics have been summarized for the whole province, and the non-depressed aboriginals, returned as Hindus by religion, have also been distinguished. It will be seen that what may be roughly termed the " caste Hindus ", other than Brahmans, comprise about two-thirds of the total Hindu population of the province.

Brahmans	2,100,000
Depressed Hindus	6,500,000
Non-depressed Hinduized aboriginals	2,900,000
Other Hindus	23,700,000
Total	**35,200,000**

Ten outstanding castes.

12. There are in Bihar and Orissa ten castes (or, more correctly, nine castes and one tribe) which number over a million persons each. They are shown in the margin in descending order of numerical strength. Between them, these ten communities account for some 16¼ million persons, or about 38.5 per cent of the provincial population. The *Jolahas*, who are the only Muslim group for which statistics have been tabulated at the present census, fall just short of the million mark (983,843); but nearly one-quarter

Goala	3,455,141
Brahman	2,101,287
Santal	1,712,133
Kurmi	1,452,724
Rajput	1,412,440
Koiri	1,301,988
Chamar	1,296,001
Dosadh	1,290,936
Teli	1,210,496
Khandait	1,010,146

of the whole Muslim population of Bihar and Orissa is included in this group.

In point of numbers, the *Goalas* are in a class by themselves. They are most numerous in Bihar proper, and attain their maximum strength in the district of Darbhanga, where there are no less than 400,000 of them. Over three million Goalas reside in the natural divisions of North and South Bihar, from which it may be inferred that in Chota Nagpur they are relatively few. In the five districts of the Orissa (administrative) division and the Feudatory States, their place is taken by the *Gauras*—the Oriya equivalent of the Goala caste—who are over 890,000 in number. Some idea of the numerical preponderance of these two great castes may be gathered from the fact that, in the province as a whole, one person out of every ten is either a Goala or a Gaura.

The *Brahmans*, as one would expect, are distributed throughout the length and breadth of the province, but are less numerous in Chota Nagpur than elsewhere. Like the Goalas, they are at their strongest in Darbhanga (321,382); and in that district, as well as in Shahabad and Balasore, they represent more than 10 per cent of the total population. But it will presently be seen that the Brahmans of Darbhanga (and to a less extent the same is true of Shahabad) include a fair proportion of persons who were formerly known as Babhans; and it is in the three coastal districts of Orissa that the proportion of old-time Brahmans is really highest. The proportion is lowest of all in Ranchi, where only 0.7 per cent of the district population are Brahmans.

The distribution of the *Santals* is discussed in Appendix VI, which also contains some account of their habits of migration and of their tribal customs.

As explained in Appendix V, the statistics for *Kurmis* include not only the Aryan caste of cultivators and domestic servants found mainly in Bihar proper, but also the Kurmi Mahtos of Chota Nagpur. In so far as it is possible to disentangle these two communities, it may be said that the former numbers roughly 800,000 persons (of whom 500,000 are contained in the four districts of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Saran and Champaran), and the latter something over 600,000 (half of whom are concentrated in the single district of Manbhum).

More than 83 per cent of the *Rajputs* in the province were enumerated in the natural divisions of North and South Bihar. Their strongholds *par excellence* are Saran and Shahabad; in both these districts they claim just above 10 per cent of the total population, and in the two combined there are over 450,000 persons belonging to this caste. In the Oriya-speaking tracts they are few and far between, their place being taken to some extent by the *Khandaits* of that locality. The Khandaits, however, are a rather more catholic community than the Rajputs—although, if present tendencies develop, the reputation of the Rajputs for catholicity will not lag behind for long. Among the distinctive Oriya castes the Khandaits are nowadays the most numerous of all. They embrace more than 10 per cent of the total population south of Singhbhum, and in Cuttack district one person out of every four is a member of the Khandait caste.

The *Koiris*, *Chamars* and *Dosadhs* all flourish mainly in Bihar proper, though they are present in relatively small numbers in Chota Nagpur also. Orissa has no Koiris or Dosadhs, and the small community of Chamars resident in that part of the province are distinct from the Chamars of Bihar and follow other occupations.

The *Teli* caste is fairly numerous in all parts of Bihar and Orissa. Numerically it is strongest in Muzaffarpur district (100,280), but in Hazaribagh it represents a higher proportion of the district population

(4.3 per cent) than anywhere else. There are more than 20,000 Telis in every district of the province except Singhbhum (12,188) and Angul (3,790).

Castes of Singhbhum district.

13. In view of the question whether the Oriya-speaking tracts should be constituted into a separate province of Orissa, and, if so, whether the district of Singhbhum or any part thereof should be included in the new province, the return of castes in Singhbhum received special attention at the present census. This matter is dealt with in Appendix VII.

Castes which have gained ground since 1921.

14. A list is given in the margin of the main castes and tribes which have increased their numbers by more than 15 per cent during the last decade. The general rate of increase for the population of the province as a whole being 11.5 per cent, it follows that these particular communities (fifteen in number) have gained ground in comparison with the rest of the population. It should be pointed out that the percentages of increase are not in every case calculated on the *total* strength of the caste or tribe concerned, but on its strength in those localities for which comparative figures are available for the last three censuses. The subsidiary table at the end of the chapter shows which those localities are. In general, however, the variation in the total strength of any given community will approximate very closely to the variation here shown.

Caste or tribe.	*Percentage of increase.*
Rajwar	25.2
Baniya	23.6
Dom	22.8
Khandait	22.4
Kolta	20.6
Kewat	19.8
Munda	19.6
Pan	19.1
Savar	18.7
Hajjam	18.7
Ho	18.6
Jolaha	17.0
Kharia	16.8
Santal	15.9
Bauri	15.2

The primitive tribes figure conspicuously in the list of communities which have recorded a big increase in numbers. There are two main reasons for this. In the first place, the aboriginals are generally supposed to be more prolific than the Aryan races, or at any rate more hardy. (The vital statistics for the Chota Nagpur plateau suggest that the rapid growth of population in that locality since 1921 is due more to a specially low death-rate than to an exceptionally high rate of births.) Secondly, the strength of these tribes has been materially increased by the return to their homes of a large number of persons who emigrated to Assam and Bengal during the dark days before the previous census. These two factors would probably account for the whole of the increases achieved by the *Mundas*, *Savars*, *Hos*, *Kharias* and *Santals*. Table XVIII shows that, in the case of each of these five tribes, the growth of numbers in the Feudatory States has been particularly striking, and it seems possible that there is something in the nature of a definite movement in that direction from the British districts. Among the tribes which may still most justly be termed "primitive", the only two major communities which have not gained ground appreciably are the *Oraons* and the *Khonds*. The percentage of increase for the former is 12.5, and for the latter 10.1. With regard to the Oraons, the explanation is that in the Orissa States it is difficult to distinguish between them and the *Kisans* or *Nagesias*, another Dravidian tribe found principally in the states of Bamra, Gangpur and Bonai. It is said that, in this locality at least, the two tribes are really one and the same. Anyhow, the marginal statement shows clearly that for the last twenty years the Kisans in the Orissa States have been rapidly forging ahead at the expense of the Oraons; and, whereas since the last census the Oraons might normally have expected an addition of about 12,000 to their numbers in this locality, they have actually suffered a loss of over 3,000. This circumstance substantially affects their rate of progress in the province as a whole. So far as the Khonds are concerned, their relatively slow progress is due to a set-back in

ORISSA STATES.	*1931.*	*1921.*	*1911.*
Oraon ...	73,020	76,236	87,064
Kisan ...	63,219	38,086	11,666

the district of Sambalpur, where their number has decreased by 4,616 since 1921. The reason for this is not obvious, but it may be mentioned that in the decade 1911—21 there was a surprising rise of over 6,000 (or nearly 50 per cent) in the number of Khonds in this particular district, and it seems possible that there was some misclassification at the previous census.

There is no doubt that the remarkable increase of over 25 per cent recorded by the *Rajwars* is due largely to vagaries of classification. The Rajwars are a semi-aboriginal community, now completely Hinduized. It is said that many *Bhuiyas* prefer nowadays to call themselves Rajwars, and it is significant that the districts which are primarily responsible for the boom in Rajwars (namely, Gaya and Manbhum) contain Bhuiyas in plenty. There are other designations under which the Bhuiya sometimes elects to conceal his identity. The more prosperous and advanced among them aspire to Rajput status. Others have taken to returning themselves as Ghatwars. When the slips of Bhagalpur district were originally sorted at the present census, only 5,000 and odd Bhuiyas were discovered, although for the past fifty years their number in that district had always been between 20,000 and 30,000. At the same time the Ghatwars, who in 1921 had numbered less than 5,000, were found to have jumped to over 23,000. In this particular instance the latter were re-classified under their old name, as there was no doubt what had really happened; but as a rule such re-classification cannot be carried out. Thus, in the Santal Parganas there has been a decrease since 1921 of 11,241 in the number of Bhuiyas, coming on top of a decrease of 35,624 in the previous decade; but it cannot be said with confidence what has happened to them. In the province as a whole Bhuiyas are more numerous by 8.1 per cent than they were at the previous census, the rate of growth being distinctly below the average. And they are only 1.1 per cent more numerous than they were at the beginning of the century.

Baniya is more a generic name of various trading castes than a true caste name, and its use in the census schedules is discouraged as much as possible. There is therefore little significance in the fact that the number of so-called Baniyas has risen by 23.6 per cent. In 1911—21 there was a gain of 26.2 per cent in the same category, while in 1901—11 there was a loss of 26.9 per cent. In individual districts the fluctuations are even more violent. Six districts have shown increases of over 100 per cent in the last decade. On the other hand Cuttack, which in 1921 returned more Baniyas than any other district in the province, has recorded a fall from 21,000 to 8,000, and there have been similar abrupt falls in other localities. It need hardly be said that the total number of Baniyas shown in the caste table (220,000) gives no idea of the real strength of the Hindu trading castes of the province.

There has been an abnormally large increase (22.8 per cent) in the number of *Doms*, but against this must be set the fact that with the *Haris* the increase (6.7 per cent) is much below the average. There is always some difficulty in classifying the scavenging castes owing to the tendency of the enumerators to use the indeterminate word " mehtar ". But ever since the beginning of the century Haris are becoming proportionally fewer and Doms more numerous. *Halalkhors* and *Lalbegis* are also tabulated as separate castes, but hardly any returns were obtained under the latter designation. Halalkhors are confined to Bihar proper.

Mention has been made in an earlier paragraph of the desire of the *Chasas* to improve their social status by converting themselves into *Khandaits*, and the census returns indicate that they have met with no little success in this ambition. While Khandaits have increased by 22.4 per cent, Chasas have remained almost stationary. This transfer from the one caste to the other is not a new development. In the previous decade, when there was a slight loss in the general population, the Khandaits added substantially to their numbers (+7.2 per cent), and the Chasas declined

by as much as 10.5 per cent. The result is that the latter, who in 1911 were the largest of the distinctive Oriya castes, have now dropped to the third place, and the Khandaits are far more numerous than any other community in that part of the world. Comparative figures for the three outstanding Oriya castes are given in the margin. It is in Puri district that the last decade has seen the most startling turn-over. Chasas in that locality have fallen from 269,000 to 231,000 and Khandaits have increased from 34,000 to 112,500.

	1931.	1911.
Khandait	1,006,000	767,000
Gaura	831,000	710,000
Chasa	778,000	846,000

No special reason can be assigned for the rapid expansion of the *Koltas*, an Oriya caste of cultivators whose habitat is Sambalpur district and the Orissa states. In the previous decade also they had distinguished themselves by adding more than 10 per cent to their numbers at a time when the majority of castes were losing ground.

The *Kewats* and *Mallahs* are the two principal fishing castes, but there are other minor ones, such as the Surahiyas, Gonrhis, Malos, Chains, Binds, and Tiyars. There is usually a tendency to use the term "Mallah" in describing persons who really belong to one of the other cognate castes, and this was held responsible in 1921 for the exceptionally high increase in the number of Mallahs (14.7 per cent) and the substantial drop (6.7 per cent) in the number of Kewats. At the present census it would appear that the latter caste has recouped the loss thus sustained—which circumstance, coupled with a normal rate of natural growth, would account for the increase of 19.8 per cent achieved by them. In Cuttack district the fluctuations in the number of Kewats have been specially marked, as the marginal figures show.

1911	62,000
1921	48,500
1931	78,500

The *Pans* record an increase of 19.1 per cent, but this does not fully compensate them for the loss of 23.4 per cent suffered at the previous census. Gandas, Chiks and Sawasis are apt to be confused with Pans, and sometimes Pans endeavour to pass themselves off as Tantis. It is worthy of note that the *Gandas*, who in 1921 showed an unexpected increase, have on the present occasion failed to keep pace with the general rate of growth; probably some of the 1921 Gandas appear as Pans in 1931.

There has been an astonishing jump from 2,670 to 24,936 in the number of *Hajjams* in Manbhum district. Elsewhere the increase in this caste is only slightly above normal, but is of some interest as indicating that their claim to Brahmanic origin has had no appreciable effect on the returns.

Castes which have lost ground.

15. Among the major castes there are only eight which have failed to record an increase of at least 8 per cent during the last ten years. These are shown in the margin. The general rate of increase for the province as a whole being 11.5 per cent, these castes have relatively lost ground since the last census was taken. In discussing the probable explanations of the abnormally rapid growth of certain other castes, we have incidentally discovered why the *Chasas* and *Haris* have fallen behind the race. Some attempt may now be made to account for the failure of the other six communities to keep pace with the rest of the population.

Caste.	*Percentage of variation.*
Babhan	—8.5
Dhanuk	+1.5
Chasa	+2.8
Kahar	+4.6
Karan	+5.1
Kandu	+5.2
Koiri	+5.4
Hari	+6.7

The *Babhans* are the only numerous caste in the province to record an actual decrease in their numbers. This in itself is a remarkable fact, for which it would be probably difficult to find a precedent; and the loss sustained

by the Babhans themselves is unreal, being caused by a wholesale transference to the Brahman community. For many years now the claim of this caste to the alternative designation of "Bhumihar Brahman" has been recognized, and at each successive census determined (and increasingly successful) attempts have been made by them to shed the qualifying epithet. The localities in which the Babhans are most numerous are five out of the six districts of North Bihar (Purnea being excluded) and the four South Bihar districts. The following statement shows the actual number of Babhans and Brahmans enumerated in these nine districts in 1931, and compares the present position with that found a generation ago:—

District.	*Babhans.*		*Brahmans.*		*Variation per cent* (1901—31) *in*—		
	1931.	1901.	1931.	1901.	Total population.	Babhans.	Brahmans.
Patna ...	106,743	113,655	58,566	38,849	+13·68	− 6·08	+50·75
Gaya ...	164,731	163,108	74,297	64,350	+15·84	+ 1·00	+15·46
Shahabad ...	61,176	82,334	199,544	207,071	+ 1·71	−25·61	− 3·63
Saran ...	95,422	106,098	176,875	184,322	+ 3·21	−10·06	− 4·04
Champaran ...	53,161	52,453	91,941	84,949	+19·84	+ 1·35	+ 8·23
Muzaffarpur ...	165,446	200,085	130,927	99,179	+ 6·71	−17·31	+32·01
Darbhanga ...	49,065	154,345	321,382	197,967	+ 8·70	−68·21	+62·34
Monghyr ...	138,742	188,959	113,285	60,353	+10·48	−26·58	+87·70
Bhagalpur ...	16,857	37,973	109,722	76,532	+ 6·97	−55·61	+43·37

In 1901 the Babhans in all these districts taken together outnumbered the Brahmans by some 85,500; to-day the Brahmans have a numerical superiority of 425,000. Assuming an equal rate of natural growth by both these communities, there has been a transfer of more than 225,000 persons from Babhan to Brahman in the course of the last thirty years, and one person out of every four who was returned as a Babhan in 1901 is now shown as Brahman. The process has been carried to an extreme length in the district of Darbhanga, where over a lakh of Babhans (or two out of every three in the district) have achieved this transformation. Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Shahabad come next in order, but to a greater or less degree the same process has been going on in every district. During this last decade there has been no slackening in the tide of transfer. Of the nine districts mentioned above Saran is the only one that does not show an actual decrease in the number of Babhans since 1921, and in Saran their rate of growth (4 per cent) is well below the general rate. In Bhagalpur there has been a decrease of 10,500, or *nearly 40 per cent*, in the Babhan community. In Darbhanga the decrease is over 22,000, or one of 30 per cent; in Monghyr 37,000, or over 20 per cent; while Muzaffarpur and Shahabad record decreases of about 13 per cent each. There has, however, been a substantial increase in the number of Babhans in localities where they are less plentiful, such as Hazaribagh, the Santal Parganas, Purnea, Manbhum and Palamau.

The *Dhanuks* have remained almost stationary. This is reported to be due mainly to the fact that they covet the name and status of "Jaiswar Kurmis," and some of them succeeded in getting themselves returned accordingly. This particular movement appears to be strongest in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea, all of which show an actual decrease, albeit not very pronounced, in the number of Dhanuks.

The *Kahars* are another caste whose real strength is obscured by their social ambitions. Reference has already been made to the insistent claim of the Rawani Kahars to recognition as "Chandrabansiya Kshatriyas". It seems that other sub-castes, more modest in their aspirations, join with the Dhanuks in electing to call themselves "Jaiswar Kurmis". The net result of all this is that, despite every effort to keep the caste returns intelligible and free from ambiguity, a substantial number of Kahars must have been misclassified. In Saran particularly their number has dropped

abruptly from about 30,500 to about 11,000, and in Champaran too the decline is substantial. Incidentally, we may take note here of the probability that the ranks of the *Kurmi* caste, which aspires to Rajput status, would have been depleted more seriously than they have been, but for the accretion of these Kahars and Dhanuks. What the Kurmis have lost on the swings they have gained on the roundabouts.

The *Karans* have increased their numbers by 5.1 per cent, which, though less than half the rate of increase for the province as a whole, is exactly the same as the general rate for the coastal districts of Orissa, where they are chiefly found. There are, however, a few Karans in the Orissa states, and half the total increase has occurred in this locality. For some reason that is not clear, the number of Karans in Cuttack district (57,000) has remained stationary. If the correspondent who relates that Khandaits are in the habit of " trying to pass themselves off as Karans " is correctly informed, their efforts do not appear to have been rewarded with a great deal of success.

It is not altogether easy to account for the relatively small progress made by the *Kandus*. It is however relevant to bear in mind that they are strongest in North Bihar, where the general rate of increase is distinctly below the provincial average. No information has been received that the *Kandus* are dissatisfied with their present nomenclature, but it is quite possible that they are not immune from the prevailing fashion, and this possibility derives support from the fact their numbers have decreased in Saran, the district in which the agitation for bigger and better caste-names has caused more dislocation of the census returns than anywhere else. There have also been slight decreases in Darbhanga, Purnea and the Santal Parganas.

In the case of the *Koiris*, or *Kushwaha Kshatriyas*, there is little doubt that misclassification is responsible for the lost ground. Patna is the only district in which they actually number less than they did in 1921, but over the greater part of Bihar the increases recorded are disproportionately low.

Variations in Brahmans and Rajputs.

16. It will be clear from the foregoing analysis that the most common explanation of the different rates of progress recorded by the various castes is to be found in divergencies of classification from census to census. A secondary cause can often be distinguished, namely, that certain castes reside for the most part in areas where the general conditions are particularly favourable (or unfavourable, as the case may be) to a rapid growth of population. Other factors are undoubtedly at work, such as the social customs prevailing in the different communities with regard to such matters as child-marriage, the re-marriage of widows, and so forth. But the complications introduced by transfers from one caste to another are so great that it is exceedingly difficult to arrive at any reliable conclusions about the effect of these other factors. In one respect, however, there appears to be scope for legitimate inference. Considering the large number of castes that have been striving for some time past, and not altogether without success, to identify themselves with either the Brahmans or the Rajputs, one would expect to find that these two communities are increasing in number much more rapidly than the average rate. But this is not the case. During the last decade the percentage of increase among the Brahmans was 11.8, and among the Rajputs 12.3—neither of which is materially in excess of the provincial average of 11.5 per cent. To go further back, at the beginning of the century 48 persons in every thousand were Brahmans, and to-day the number has risen to 50 only. In the case of the Rajputs the proportion during the same period has actually fallen from 35 to 33. Now it has already been seen that in the course of these 30 years no less than 225,000 Babhans—not to mention any other caste—have turned themselves into Brahmans. If we exclude these, the number of Brahmans is greater by some 124,000 than it was a generation ago, and this represents an increase of only 7.1 per cent, whereas the population of the province as a whole has increased by 17 per cent. The inference seems to be justified

that the natural rate of growth amongst Brahmans is exceptionally low. The same applies to the Rajputs. Even with the extraneous assistance of the *parvenus* they have lost ground in the last thirty years. It is doubtless true that the *whole* of the loss suffered by the lower castes is not appropriated by the higher ones, because (as mentioned earlier in this chapter) the rendering of the newly-adopted name in the census schedules is sometimes quite unintelligible to the slip-copyist or the sorter, with the result that it remains entirely unclassified. But there can be no doubt that the numbers of the Rajputs have actually been swelled by this means to a considerable extent. There is no other reasonable explanation for the variations shown in the margin, which represent increases of from 25 to 300 per cent. Similar increases are not found in localities where orthodox Rajputs are strongly entrenched and look with disfavour on the aspirations of the other castes. In Shahabad, Saran, Muzaffarpur and Gaya the rate of increase varies from 0.6 to 8 per cent, and one may suspect that in these districts there was a fair proportion of Rajput enumerators who exercised a strict censorship over the entries in the caste column.

Rajputs.		*1931.*	*1921.*
Orissa states	...	39,254	12,488
Singhbhum	...	12,977	5,196
Purnea	...	55,106	32,039
Santal Parganas	...	21,200	16,302
Monghyr	...	71,915	56,840
Patna	...	81,077	63,724

Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

17. It is not easy to distinguish Europeans and the like from Anglo-Indians in the census returns. At the present census 6,389 persons were classed as belonging to European or allied races, this number being almost exactly the same as those recorded in 1921 and 1911. Anglo-Indians on the other hand have increased during the last ten years from 4,134 to 6,638, and are now slightly more numerous than the Europeans. Table XIX distinguishes between Europeans who are British subjects and those who are not, and 714 persons in all were returned in the latter category. The birthplace table suggests that something over 300 of these are natives of continental Europe, and about 200 are Americans. 91 persons gave Armenian as their mother-tongue. The following table gives some idea of the distribution of the European and allied races (excluding Anglo-Indians) between the various districts of the province—

Below 50	*50—100.*	*100—300.*	*300 and over.*
Shahabad.	Gaya.	Saran.	Patna.
Balasore.	Bhagalpur.	Champaran.	Monghyr.
Angul.	Purnea.	Muzaffarpur.	Santal Parganas.
Puri.	Cuttack.	Darbhanga.	Ranchi.
Sambalpur.		Hazaribagh.	Manbhum.
Palamau.		Feudatory States.	Singhbhum.

In Patna and Singhbhum their number is a little over a thousand, and in Manbhum it is a little under. The regiment of British infantry at Dinapur, coupled with the relatively large number of European officials and their families at the headquarters of the Government, accounts for the concentration of Europeans in Patna district. In Manbhum and Singhbhum it is due to industrial interests. The railway workshops and tobacco factory at Monghyr employ a good many Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the latter will also be found in fair numbers in the various railway settlements throughout the province.

VARIATION IN ACTUAL AND PROPORTIONATE STRENGTH OF CERTAIN CASTES, ETC., SINCE 1901.

Caste, Tribe or Race.	Locality.*	Persons (000's omitted).				Percentage of variation.				Number per mille of total provincial population.			
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1901-1931.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Bahman	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**896**	979	1,130	1,142	**−8·5**	−13·4	−1·1	−21·5	**21**	26	29	31
Baniya	Whole province ...	**220**	178	141	193	**+23·6**	+26·2	−26·9	+14·0	**5**	5	4	5
Barhi	Whole province	**364**	319	324	304	**+14·1**	−1·5	+6·6	+19·7	**9**	8	8	8
Baupi	Santal Parganas, Cuttack, Puri and Manbhum.	**311**	270	287	279	**+15·2**	−5·9	+3·9	+11·5	**7**	7	7	8
Bhandari ...	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**120**	111	117	102	**+8·1**	−5·1	+14·7	+17·6	**3**	3	3	3
Bhuiya	Whole province	**626**	579	664	619	**+8·1**	−12·8	+7·3	+1·1	**15**	15	17	17
Bhumij	Cuttack, Balasore, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Feudatory States.	**272**	240	272	244	**+13·3**	−11·8	+11·5	+11·5	**6**	6	7	7
Brahman	Whole province	**2,101**	1,879	1,755	1,752	**+11·8**	+7·1	+0·2	+19·9	**50**	49	46	48
Chamar	Whole province	**1,296**	1,147	1,114	1,069	**+13·0**	+3·0	+4·2	+21·2	**31**	30	29	29
Chasa	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**778**	757	846	763	**+2·8**	−10·5	+10·9	+2·0	**18**	20	22	21
Dhanuk	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**547**	539	572	579	**+1·5**	−5·8	−1·2	−5·5	**13**	14	15	16
Dhobi	Whole province	**414**	378	377	357	**+9·5**	+0·3	+5·6	+16·0	**10**	10	10	10
Dom	Whole province	**269**	219	242	171	**+22·8**	−9·5	+41·5	+57·3	**6**	6	6	5
Dosadh	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**1,291**	1,168	1,189	1,145	**+10·5**	−1·8	+3·8	+12·8	**30**	31	31	31
Ganda	Sambalpur and Orissa States ...	**246**	235	212	190	**+9·3**	+6·1	+11·6	+29·5	**6**	6	6	5
Gaura	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**831**	747	710	677	**+11·2**	+5·2	+4·9	+22·7	**20**	20	18	19
Goala	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**3,455**	3,181	3,233	3,130	**+8·6**	−1·6	+3·3	+10·4	**82**	84	84	86
Gond	Sambalpur, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Orissa States.	**256**	234	234	212	**+9·4**	...	+10·4	+20·8	**6**	6	6	6
Hajjam	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**457**	385	387	376	**+18·7**	−0·5	+2·9	+21·5	**11**	10	10	10
Hari	Bhagalpur Division, Cuttack, Balasore, Angul, Puri, Manbhum and Orissa States.	**111**	104	116	117	**+6·7**	−10·3	−0·9	−5·1	**3**	3	3	3
Ho	Singhbhum and Feudatory States ...	**523**	441	420	383	**+18·6**	+5·0	+9·7	+36·6	**12**	12	11	10
Jolaha	Whole province	**984**	841	826	794	**+17·0**	+1·8	+4·0	+23·9	**23**	22	21	22
Kahar	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**524**	501	534	514	**+4·6**	−4·4	+1·9	+1·9	**12**	13	14	14
Kamar	Whole province	**533**	476	480	465	**+12·0**	−0·8	+3·2	+14·6	**13**	13	12	13
Kandra	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**155**	142	155	231	**+9·2**	−8·4	−32·9	−32·9	**4**	4	4	6
Kandu	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**506**	481	503	495	**+5·2**	−4·4	+1·6	+2·2	**12**	13	13	14
Karan	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**145**	138	146	142	**+5·1**	−5·5	+2·8	+2·1	**3**	4	4	4
Kayasth	Whole province	**383**	344	348	363	**+11·3**	−1·1	−4·1	+5·5	**9**	9	9	10
Kewat	Whole province	**471**	393	421	408	**+19·8**	−6·7	+3·2	+15·4	**11**	10	11	11
Khandait ...	Orissa Division and Orissa States ...	**1,006**	822	767	692	**+22·4**	+7·2	+10·8	+45·4	**24**	22	20	19
Kharia	Sambalpur, Ranchi, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Orissa States.	**146**	125	134	102	**+16·8**	−6·7	+31·4	+43·1	**3**	3	3	3
Khond	Angul, Puri, Sambalpur and Orissa States.	**316**	287	303	248	**+10·1**	−5·3	+23·2	+27·4	**7**	8	8	7
Koiri	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**1,302**	1,235	1,280	1,245	**+5·4**	−3·5	+2·7	+4·5	**31**	33	33	34
Kolta	Sambalpur and Orissa States ...	**164**	136	123	113	**+20·6**	+10·6	+8·8	+45·1	**4**	4	3	3
Kumhar	Whole province	**599**	529	513	483	**+13·2**	+3·1	+6·2	+24·0	**14**	14	13	13
Kurmi	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division.	**1,453**	1,315	1,312	1,228	**+10·5**	+0·2	+6·8	+18·3	**34**	35	34	34
Mali	Whole province	**167**	148	140	141	**+12·8**	+5·7	−0·7	+18·4	**4**	4	4	4
Mallah	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division and Feudatory States.	**460**	413	360	365	**+11·4**	+14·7	−1·4	+26·0	**11**	11	9	10
Munda	Whole province	**550**	460	491	368	**+19·6**	−6·3	+33·4	+49·5	**13**	12	13	10
Musahar	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division, Singhbhum and Feudatory States.	**720**	635	627	597	**+13·4**	+1·3	+5·0	+20·6	**17**	17	16	16
Oraon	Whole province	**637**	566	587	449	**+12·5**	−3·6	+30·7	+41·9	**15**	15	15	12
Pan	Orissa Division, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Orissa States.	**418**	351	458	413	**+19·1**	−23·4	+10·9	+1·2	**10**	9	12	11
Pasi	Whole province, *except* Orissa Division, Ranchi and Feudatory States.	**172**	150	150	141	**+14·7**	...	+6·4	+22·0	**4**	4	4	4
Rajput	Whole province	**1,412**	1,257	1,240	1,292	**+12·3**	+1·4	−4·0	+9·3	**33**	33	32	35
Rajwar	Patna Division, Chota Nagpur Division and Santal Parganas.	**134**	107	130	124	**+25·2**	−17·7	+4·8	+8·1	**3**	3	3	3
Santal	Whole province	**1,712**	1,477	1,407	1,298	**+15·9**	+5·0	+8·4	+31·9	**40**	39	37	36
Savar	Cuttack, Puri, Sambalpur and Orissa States.	**241**	203	214	207	**+18·7**	−5·1	+3·4	+16·4	**6**	5	6	6
Tanti	Whole province	**690**	602	613	629	**+14·6**	−1·8	−2·5	+9·7	**16**	16	16	17
Teli	Whole province	**1,210**	1,077	1,072	1,039	**+12·3**	+0·5	+3·2	+16·5	**29**	28	28	28
Europeans, etc. ...	Whole province	**6·4**	6·3	6·3	5·5	**+1·6**	...	+14·5	+16·4	**0·15**	0·17	0·16	0·15
British subjects ...	.....	*5·7*	*5·7*	*5·6*	*4·9*	...	*+1·8*	*+14·3*	*+16·3*	*0·13*	*0·15*	*0·15*	*0·13*
Others ...	.....	*0·7*	*0·6*	*0·7*	*0·6*	*+16·7*	*−14·3*	*+16·7*	*+16·7*	*0·02*	*0·02*	*0·02*	*0·02*
Anglo-Indians ...	Whole province	**6·6**	4·1	3·4	2·9	**+61·0**	+20·6	+17·2	+127·6	**0·16**	0·11	0·09	0·08

*In order to exhibit comparative figures which would not be misleading, the figures throughout this table have necessarily been confined to those localities (mentioned in column 2) in which the various castes were tabulated both in 1931 and in three previous censuses.

APPENDIX I.

STATISTICAL KEY TO SOCIAL MAP OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

(in pocket of front cover).

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Community.	Number of persons (000's omitted).	Percentage of total population.
1	2	3	4
PATNA ... ... (1,846,474)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	303	16
	Other Hindus	1,337	72
	Muslims	203	11
GAYA ... ... (2,388,462)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	592	25
	Other Hindus	1,541	65
	Muslims	254	11
SHAHABAD ... ... (1,993,489)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	303	15
	Other Hindus	1,536	77
	Muslims	151	8
SARAN ... ... (2,486,468)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	271	11
	Other Hindus	1,906	77
	Muslims	309	12
CHAMPARAN ... ... (2,145,687)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	334	16
	Other Hindus	1,453	68
	Muslims	354	17
MUZAFFARPUR ... ... (2,941,025)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	458	16
	Other Hindus	2,091	71
	Muslims	391	13
DARBHANGA ... ... (3,166,094)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	494	16
	Other Hindus	2,231	70
	Muslims	440	14
MONGHYR ... ... (2,287,154)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	403	18
	Other Hindus	1,646	72
	Muslims	228	10
BHAGALPUR ... ... (2,234,632)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	334	15
	Other Hindus	1,646	74
	Muslims	249	11
PURNEA— Sadr and Araria (1,625,966)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	226	14
	Other Hindus	884	54
	Muslims	504	31
Kishanganj ... ... (560,577)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	23	4
	Other Hindus	153	27
	Muslims	383	68
SANTAL PARGANAS— Deoghar ... ... (346,946)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	55	16
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	63	18
	Other Hindus	188	54
	Muslims	41	12
Dumka ... ... (466,157)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	245	53
	Recently converted ...	4	1
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	60	13
	Other Hindus	139	30
	Muslims	18	4
Godda ... ... (387,801)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	136	35
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	44	11
	Other Hindus	160	41
	Muslims	48	12
Jamtara ... ... (243,858)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	99	41
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	33	14
	Other Hindus	87	36
	Muslims	22	9
Rajmahal ... ... (331,136)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	162	49
	Recently converted ...	3	1
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	29	9
	Other Hindus	89	27
	Muslims	47	14
Pakaur ... ... (275,574)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	168	61
	Recently converted ...	2	1
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	13	5
	Other Hindus	45	16
	Muslims	48	17
CUTTACK ... ... (2,176,707)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	392	18
	Other Hindus	1,715	79
	Muslims	66	3
BALASORE ... ... (990,600)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	13	1
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	105	11
	Other Hindus	839	85
	Muslims	32	3
ANGUL— Sadr ... ... (140,458)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted ...	8	6
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	22	16
	Other Hindus ...	110	78
Khondmals ... ... (82,278)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	58	71
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	10	12
	Other Hindus ...	14	17
PURI ... ... (1,035,154)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	128	12
	Other Hindus	883	85
	Muslims	23	2
SAMBALPUR— Sadr ... ... (343,539)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions ...	3	1
	Recently converted ...	27	8
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes ...	22	6
	Other Hindus	288	84

APPENDIX I—*concluded.*

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Community.	Number of persons (000's omitted).	Percentage of total population.
1	2	3	4
Bargarh (537,406)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	8	1
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	17	3
	Other Hindus	510	95
HAZARIBAGH—			
Sadr and Giridih (1,278,483)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	133	10
	Recently converted	22	2
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	195	15
	Other Hindus	776	61
	Muslims	150	12
Chatra (238,874)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	91	38
	Other Hindus	124	52
	Muslims	22	9
RANCHI—			
Sadr (581,639)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	109	19
	Recently converted	180	31
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	28	5
	Other Hindus	206	35
	Muslims	55	9
Khunti (373,800)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	120	32
	Recently converted	118	32
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	23	6
	Other Hindus	108	29
Gumla and Simdega (611,710)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	139	23
	Recently converted	245	40
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	29	5
	Other Hindus	189	31
	Muslims	8	1
PALAMAU—			
Sadr (641,122)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	27	4
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	178	28
	Other Hindus	371	58
	Muslims	64	10
Latehar (177,614)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	39	22
	Recently converted	9	5
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	36	20
	Other Hindus	84	47
	Muslims	10	6
MANBHUM—			
Sadr (1,289,798)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	44	3
	Recently converted	163	13
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	298	23
	Other Hindus	725	56
	Muslims	56	4
Dhanbad (521,093)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	55	11
	Recently converted	31	6
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	111	21
	Other Hindus	267	51
	Muslims	55	11
SINGHBHUM—			
Sadr (535,207)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	325	61
	Recently converted	32	6
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	26	5
	Other Hindus	143	27
	Muslims	7	1
Dhalbhum (394,595)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	94	24
	Recently converted	35	9
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	67	17
	Other Hindus	170	43
	Muslims	20	5
	Others	7	2
ORISSA STATES—			
Mayurbhanj (889,603)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	377	42
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	149	17
	Other Hindus	350	39
Nilgiri (68,594)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	9	13
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	13	19
	Other Hindus	47	68
Keonjhar (460,606)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	81	18
	Recently converted	8	2
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	104	23
	Other Hindus	266	58
Pal Lahara, Athmallik, Baura and Rairakhol. (279,003)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	4	1
	Recently converted	22	8
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	49	18
	Other Hindus	203	73
Daspalla and Baud (178,650)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	28	16
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	12	6
	Other Hindus	139	78
Sonpur (237,920)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	7	3
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	7	3
	Other Hindus	223	94
Patna (566,924)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	25	4
	Recently converted	33	6
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	13	2
	Other Hindus	487	86
	Others	8	1
Kalahandi (513,716)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	71	14
	Recently converted	49	10
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	101	20
	Other Hindus	291	57
Gangpur and Bonai (436,860)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	115	26
	Recently converted	85	20
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	61	14
	Other Hindus	168	38
Athgarh, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria, Khandpara, Nayagarh and Ranpur. (833,506)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Recently converted	28	3
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	113	14
	Other Hindus	687	83
CHOTA NAGPUR STATES—			
Saraikela and Kharsawan (186,622)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	56	30
	Recently converted	21	11
	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	27	15
	Other Hindus	80	43
	Muslims	2	1

APPENDIX II.

STATISTICAL KEY TO LINGUISTIC MAP OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

(in pocket of front cover).

N.B.—The percentages in column 4 are calculated, in the case of mother-tongues, on the total population of the locality. In the case of subsidiary languages, they are calculated on the number of persons speaking the relevant mother-tongue. Thus, in the Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district 4 per cent. of the total population of the subdivision speak some tribal language as their mother-tongue; and, out of that number, 83 per cent. speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language.

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and *subsidiary language.*	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.
1	2	3	4
PATNA ... ... (1,846,474)	Hindustani	1,835	99
GAYA ... ... (2,388,463)	Hindustani	2,387	100
SHAHABAD ... ... (1,993,489)	Hindustani	1,992	100
SARAN ... ... (2,486,468)	Hindustani	2,485	100
CHAMPARAN ... .. (2,145,687)	Hindustani	2,136	100
MUZAFFARPUR ... ... (2,941,025)	Hindustani	2,937	100
DARBHANGA ... ... (3,166,094)	Hindustani	3,164	100
MONGHYR—			
Sadr and Begusarai (1,849,358)	Hindustani	1,842	100
Jamui .. ... (437,796)	Tribal languages	13	3
	Hindustani	424	97
BHAGALPUR—			
Supaul, Madhipura and Sadr. (1,762,074)	Hindustani	1,752	99
Banka ... .. (472,558)	Tribal languages	17	4
	Hindustani	*14*	*83*
	Hindustani	454	96
PURNEA—			
Araria .. ... (514,167)	Hindustani	512	100
Sadr and Kishanganj ... (1,672,376)	Tribal languages	55	3
	Hindustani	*18*	*34*
	Bengali	146	9
	Hindustani	*9*	*6*
	Hindustani	1,468	88
SANTAL PARGANAS—			
Deoghar ... ... (346,946)	Tribal languages	52	15
	Bengali	14	4
	Hindustani	281	81
Dumka ... ... (406,157)	Tribal languages	240	51
	Bengali	*16*	*7*
	Bengali	46	10
	Hindustani	179	38
Godda ... ... (387,801)	Tribal languages	135	35
	Bengali	8	2
	Hindustani	245	63
Jamtara .. ... (243,858)	Tribal languages	100	41
	Bengali	*32*	*32*
	Bengali	73	30
	Hindustani	70	29
	Bengali	*18*	*26*
Rajmahal ... ... (331,136)	Tribal languages	165	50
	Hindustani	*9*	*5*
	Bengali	43	13
	Hindustani	123	37
Pakaur ... ... (275,574)	Tribal languages	162	59
	Bengali	69	25
	Hindustani	44	16
CUTTACK ... .. (2,176,707)	Oriya	2,086	96
	Hindustani	67	3
	Oriya	*54*	*81*
BALASORE ... ... (990,600)	Tribal languages	18	2
	Oriya	*13*	*70*
	Oriya	921	93
	Bengali	17	2
	Oriya	*11*	*65*
	Hindustani	33	3
	Oriya	*16*	*50*
ANGUL—			
Sadr ... ... (140,458)	Tribal languages	2	1
	Oriya	138	98
Khondmals ... ... (82,278)	Tribal languages	49	60
	Oriya	*12*	*24*
	Oriya	33	40
PURI ... ... (1,035,154)	Oriya	998	96
	Hindustani	25	2
	Oriya	*12*	*48*
SAMBALPUR—			
Sadr ... ... (343,539)	Tribal languages	53	15
	Oriya	*45*	*85*
	Oriya	273	79
	Hindustani	16	5

APPENDIX II—*concluded.*

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and *subsidiary language.*	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.
1	2	3	4
Bargarh (537,406)	Tribal languages	6	1
	Oriya	506	94
	Hindustani	24	4
HAZARIBAGH— Chatra (238,874)	Hindustani	238	100
Sadr and Giridih (1,278,483)	Tribal languages	128	10
	Hindustani	*47*	*36*
	Hindustani	1,135	89
RANCHI— Sadr (581,639)	Tribal languages	231	40
	Hindustani	*145*	*63*
	Bengali	8	1
	Hindustani	341	59
Khunti (373,800)	Tribal languages	233	62
	Hindustani	*60*	*26*
	Bengali	6	2
	Hindustani	131	35
Gumla and Simdega (611,710)	Tribal languages	364	59
	Hindustani	*310*	*85*
	Hindustani	242	40
PALAMAU— Sadr (641,122)	Tribal languages	26	4
	Hindustani	*26*	*95*
	Hindustani	614	96
Latehar (177,614)	Tribal languages	44	25
	Hindustani	*42*	*96*
	Hindustani	133	75
MANBHUM— Sadr (1,289,798)	Tribal languages	176	14
	Bengali	*67*	*38*
	Bengali	1,047	81
	Hindustani	63	5
Dhanbad (521,092)	Tribal languages	79	15
	Bengali	176	34
	Hindustani	259	50
	Other languages	6	1
SINGHBHUM— Sadr (535,207)	Tribal languages	367	69
	Hindustani	*12*	*3*
	Oriya	127	24
	Tribal languages	*53*	*42*
	Bengali	5	1
	Hindustani	31	6
Dhalbhum (394,595)	Tribal languages	141	36
	Bengali	*64*	*46*
	Oriya	45	11
	Bengali	*18*	*40*
	Bengali	141	36
	Hindustani	50	13
	Other languages	18	5
ORISSA STATES— Mayurbhanj (889,603)	Tribal languages	439	49
	Oriya	*288*	*65*
	Oriya	378	42
	Bengali	33	4
	Oriya	*23*	*68*
	Hindustani	39	4
	Oriya	*25*	*64*
Nilgiri (68,594)	Tribal languages	14	21
	Oriya	*11*	*76*
	Oriya	54	79
Keonjhar (460,609)	Tribal languages	90	20
	Oriya	*55*	*61*
	Oriya	327	71
	Hindustani	41	9
	Oriya	*19*	*50*
Talcher, Pal Lahara, Dhenkanal and Hindol (430,898)	Tribal languages	13	3
	Oriya	*11*	*87*
	Oriya	417	97
Bairakhol, Athmallik, Sonpur, Baud, Daspalla and Nayagarh (658,958)	Tribal languages	25	4
	Oriya	*22*	*88*
	Oriya	628	95
Athgarh, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria and Khandpara (240,465)	Oriya	238	99
Ranpur (47,711)	Oriya	47	99
Bamra (151,047)	Tribal languages	30	20
	Oriya	*28*	*92*
	Oriya	113	75
	Hindustani	7	5
Patna (566,924)	Oriya	540	95
	Hindustani	22	4
	Oriya	*19*	*86*
Kalahandi (513,716)	Tribal languages	72	14
	Oriya	*36*	*51*
	Oriya	428	83
	Hindustani	8	1
	Other languages	7	1
Gangpur (356,674)	Tribal languages	164	46
	Oriya	*87*	*53*
	Hindustani	*27*	*16*
	Oriya	139	39
	Hindustani	51	14
	Oriya	*31*	*60*
Bonai (80,186)	Tribal languages	33	41
	Oriya	*21*	*64*
	Oriya	43	53
	Hindustani	3	4
CHOTA NAGPUR STATES— Saraikela and Kharsawan (186,622)	Tribal languages	79	42
	Oriya	*12*	*16*
	Oriya	51	27
	Bengali	45	24
	Hindustani	10	5

APPENDIX III.—The Depressed Classes.

In the present report the following castes, etc., 31 in number, have been treated as falling within the category of the depressed classes :—

Name of caste, etc.	*No. of persons.*
Bauri	314,979
Bhogta	66,054
Bhuiya	621,062
Bhumij	266,464
Chamar	1,296,001
Chaupal	2,737
Dhobi	414,221
Dom	269,340
Dosadh	1,290,936
Ghasi	75,579
Ghusuria	1,846
Godra	1,553
Gokha	48,622
Halalkhor	20,742
Hari	115,613
Irika	332
Kandra	155,113
Kanjar	2,566
Kela	9,493
Kurariar	631
Lalbegi	105
Mahuria	2,389
Mangan	184
Mochi	22,863
Musahar	720,051
Nat	9,628
Pan	411,770
Pasi	172,061
Rajwar	133,935
Siyal	9,281
Turi	54,041
Total ...	**6,510,192**

2. The above figures include only persons who were returned as Hindus by religion. In the same castes, etc., there were a few persons (21,864 in all) returned under other denominations. The details are as follows :—

Name of caste, etc.	*Muslim.*	*Christian.*	*Tribal religions.*
Bauri	...	59	...
Bhogta	...	12	143
Bhuiya	...	36	4,726
Bhumij	...	151	7,443
Dom	6	...	...
Ghasi	...	33	708
Halalkhor	1,547	...	...
Lalbegi	52	...	...
Pan	...	105	6,294
Rajwar	...	17	...
Turi	...	9	523
Total ...	**1,605**	**422**	**19,837**

3. The territorial distribution of each of the castes treated as depressed is shown in Imperial Tables XVII and XVIII. Provincial Table II, which

will be found at the end of the Tables Volume, gives the total number of depressed Hindus in each district and revenue thana (also in each individual state) of the province. The social map in the front cover of this volume illustrates the relative strength of the depressed Hindus in the various parts of the province, the unit of locality adopted in this map being either the district or (where the district is not homogeneous) the subdivision. A statistical key to this map is furnished in Appendix I.

4. Inasmuch as the term "depressed classes", although freely used nowadays in political parlance, has never yet been clearly defined, the selection of the castes which should be included in this category was attended with much difficulty. The objective adopted was to confine the term to those castes which, by reason of their traditional position in society (and more particularly in Hindu society), suffer from certain social disabilities—as for instance that they are not permitted to penetrate beyond the outer precincts of the village temple, they may not draw water from the common well, they are not suffered to sit with other children in the village school. Judged by this standard, the distinction between the depressed classes and what are commonly known as the "untouchable castes" may appear to be a fine one. But, so far as Bihar and Orissa is concerned, the term *untouchable*, though possibly easier to define in the abstract, gives rise to still greater difficulties and complexities when an attempt is made to distinguish the castes which in actual practice are comprehended in that category. In this province conditions are very different from those which, it is believed, obtain in Southern India, where the line of cleavage between the caste Hindus and the untouchable castes is much more distinctly marked. There are certain castes which, on account of their traditional occupation, are technically unclean, and which in other parts of India are possibly subject to real social disabilities for this reason; but in Bihar and Orissa, although here and there a high-caste Hindu may still seek to avoid personal contact with them, they do not really labour under any special handicap. For example, the Telis in this province cannot be described as depressed. Educationally, it has been seen in Chapter IX that they are above the average for all communities taken together. In point of material prosperity, they are as a rule far better off than the great cultivating castes. It may be that in an orthodox assembly they would be denied access to the interior of a Hindu temple, but this does not afford sufficient ground for including them in the list of depressed classes. Much the same remarks apply to the Sunris and Kalwars. A Chamar, on the other hand, is genuinely depressed. Not only is he almost always ill-educated and poverty-stricken, but the stigma attaching to his caste operates to deprive him every day of his life—in a greater or less degree—of what may be regarded as the ordinary rights of a citizen. But here again conditions vary from district to district, and even from village to village within the same district. In a village which contains a number of orthodox Brahmans or conservative Rajputs the disabilities to which a Chamar or a Dom is subject are likely to be more severe than elsewhere; indeed, there are undoubtedly places where their use of the village well, etc., is not challenged at all, and, so long as they "keep their place", they may participate in the daily life of the village without let or hindrance. But even in such places the "inferiority complex" is still there, and a Musahar who aspired to climb the social ladder on his own merits (as distinct, let us say, from one who might be propelled up it by friendly, if not wholly disinterested, hands to a position of uncomfortable eminence) would always and everywhere find the dice heavily loaded against him.

5. To the question, which of these castes—or how many members of any particular caste—would themselves elect to be numbered among the depressed classes, a direct answer cannot be returned. For one thing the implications of the question would seldom be understood. A Dosadh, intercepted on his way home from a meeting of his caste *sabha* at which it has been firmly impressed on his mind that he is a *Gahlot Rajput* and must live up to it, would doubtless repudiate with scorn any suggestion that seemed to reflect on his social status. But, were it a question of securing special educational

facilities or of the reservation of a specified quota of Government appointments, not only the average Dosadh but an overwhelming majority of other castes which do not figure in the present list at all would clamour for inclusion.

6. It will be seen from Imperial Table XIV, where statistics of literacy are given for each of the castes treated as depressed (except Musahars*), that they are all very backward educationally. Taking them all together, out of every thousand males aged 7 and over only 15 are literate, and out of every thousand females aged 7 and over less than one is literate. The corresponding proportions for the provincial population as a whole are 52 literate males per mille and 8 literate females. Proportional figures for some of the more important individual castes are shown in Subsidiary Table VII appended to Chapter IX of this volume. But while it may be assumed that every depressed caste is educationally backward, it does not follow that every backward caste is depressed. The proportion of literate persons among the Goalas, for instance, is very small—not much larger than among the Dhobis and Pasis—but the Goalas are emphatically a "clean" caste, which nobody looks down on, and no social disability attaches to membership of this caste.

7. Take again the aboriginals, or primitive tribes. Excepting those of them who have been converted to Christianity, the standard of education among these tribes is extremely low, and in many cases lower than what is found in castes treated as depressed. But they stand on a different footing. In the first place, they are (or originally were) entirely outside Hindu society, and were thus unaffected by its laws and inhibitions. Food touched by a Munda might be anathema to a caste Hindu, but so also would be food touched by an European or a Muslim. A Santal formerly was conscious of no inferiority complex; nor is the unspoiled Santal to-day. He is sturdy, independent and intensely proud. In areas where these aboriginal tribes are concentrated in large numbers—where, in fact, they still feel that they are "at home" and that the Hindus and everybody else except themselves are interlopers—they do not as a rule suffer from any disabilities. But even in these areas they are being gradually "Hinduized", and the further this process is carried the more are they in danger of becoming identified with the depressed classes. With some tribes the process has already gone so far that they are practically indistinguishable, and for this reason it has been thought proper to include in the "depressed" list the eight castes or tribes mentioned in the margin, although they are without doubt non-Aryans and have much the same origin as the Chota Nagpur aboriginals who have been more successful in maintaining their identity. The total strength of these eight tribes is about two million persons, but only 20,000 of this number were returned as following their old tribal religions. Ninety-nine per cent of them are now Hindus, and a large proportion of these have probably adopted much the same outlook on life, and are exposed to much the same disadvantages, as the depressed Hindu castes. At least, this would be so in localities where the aboriginal element is otherwise comparatively weak. At the same time, it should be stated that the Indian Franchise Committee of 1932 (in agreement with the provincial committee) excluded these tribes altogether from the category of the depressed classes by reason of their aboriginal origin. Their view apparently was that, in any scheme which might be devised for the electoral representation of special communities, the interests of the Bhuiyas, etc., would be more closely akin to those of the primitive tribes proper than to those of the depressed Hindus. And there is much to be said in support of this view. Indeed, there is some overlapping between the lists of primitive tribes and depressed classes which appear in the present report and which, be it noted, were not compiled solely with a view to the particular problem confronting the Franchise Committee.

Bauri.	Ghasi.
Bhogta.	Pan.
Bhuiya.	Rajwar.
Bhumij.	Turi.

* Actually Musahars are more backward than any other caste. In 1921 there were only 3 literate males per mille in this community.

8. It will be of interest to compare the present list of depressed classes with a somewhat similar list which was compiled in connexion with the census of 1911. On that occasion the term *depressed classes* was not used, and the object of the enquiry was to ascertain the castes and tribes, contributing more than 1 per mille to the total population, which did not conform to certain *religious* standards or were subject to certain *religious* disabilities. viz., those which—

(1) denied the supremacy of the Brahmans;
(2) did not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu *guru*;
(3) denied the authority of the Vedas;
(4) did not worship the great Hindu gods;
(5) were not served by good Brahmans as family priests;
(6) had no Brahman priests at all;
(7) were denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples;
(8) caused pollution by touch or within a certain distance;
(9) buried their dead;
(10) ate beef and did not reverence the cow.

In the result, it was felt that no caste or tribe in Bihar and Orissa could with confidence be said to fall within the third or fourth category. Altogether 37 castes, etc., were placed in one or more of the eight remaining categories, and the total number of persons thus included was about 13½ millions. The 14 castes shown in the margin are common to both the lists, and these 14 castes account for 6,200,000 (or no less than 95 per cent) of the persons who have been treated as depressed on the present occasion. With the exception of the Bhumij and Rajwars, who were included in 1911 on the sole ground that they "were not served by good Brahmans as family priests", all these particular castes were definitely classed as *untouchable*, *i.e.*, they were included in categories (7) and (8) as well as in certain of the other categories. Of the 17 castes which have been listed at the present census but do not figure in the 1911 list, all except 3 (Bhogta, Ghasi and Turi) numbered less than 1 per mille of the total population and were consequently excluded from the scope of the previous enquiry.

Bauri.	Hari.
Bhuiya.	Kandra.
Bhumij.	Mochi.
Chamar.	Musahar.
Dhobi.	Pan.
Dom.	Pasi.
Dosadh.	Rajwar.

9. Twenty-three castes and tribes, included in the former list, have been omitted from the present one. Of these, eight (see margin) were omitted because they are aboriginal tribes which were regarded as being on a different footing from the depressed Hindu castes. Four other castes, namely, Ganda, Kalwar, Sunri and Tiyar, were classed in 1911 as "causing pollution by touch or within a certain distance." Reasons have already been given for holding that nowadays the Kalwars and Sunris cannot be considered to be depressed. The other two castes are very much on the border line. Reports received from the districts where they are chiefly found* indicated that, although they are very backward and poor and are held in low estimation, the same stigma did not attach to them as to the other castes which have been included in the present list. The other eleven castes which figured in the list of 1911 are those mentioned in the margin. In most cases the only disability alleged on behalf of these communities was that they were not served by good Brahmans as family priests, though a few (Mallah, Tanti and Teli) were also said to be denied access to the interior of Hindu temples. The Baishnabs were included because of their habit of burying their dead. For present purposes, it is doubtful whether any of these eleven castes should be treated as depressed classes.

Ho.	Munda.
Khond.	Oraon.
Kharia.	Santal.
Kora.	Savar.

Baishnab.	Kharwar.
Beldar.	Kumhar.
Bind.	Mallah.
Gareri.	Nuniya.
Kewat.	Tanti.
Teli.	

* *Gandas* are found chiefly in Sambalpur district and the Orissa states; Tiyars in the administrative divisions of Bhagalpur and Orissa.

10. The total strength of the depressed classes, as set forth at the beginning of this appendix, is just over 6½ million persons. They therefore represent about 15.5 per cent of the total population of the province, and about 18.5 per cent of the Hindu population. If we exclude the eight castes or tribes of aboriginal origin, which were excluded by the Indian Franchise Committee, the total strength is reduced to something over 4½ millions, which is equivalent to about 10.5 and 13 per cent respectively of the provincial and Hindu populations. The following statement shows the relative strength of the depressed classes (including the eight doubtful castes) in the various districts of the province:—

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION REPRESENTED BY THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Over 20 per cent.	*15—20 per cent.*	*10—15 per cent.*	*Under 10 per cent.*
Gaya.	Patna.	Saran.	Sambalpur.
Palamau.	Shahabad.	Bhagalpur.	Ranchi.
Manbhum.	Champaran.	Purnea.	Singhbhum.
	Muzaffarpur.	Santal Parganas.	
	Darbhanga.	Balasore.	
	Monghyr.	Angul.	
	Cuttack.	Puri.	
	Hazaribagh.	Feudatory States.	

11. As already explained, the distribution can be studied in greater detail by referring to the social map of the province and the relevant tables in Part II of this report. It may, however, be noted here that the specially high proportion of the depressed classes in Gaya (25 per cent) and Palamau (26 per cent) is due mainly to the presence of Bhuiyas in large numbers in these two districts. Similarly, in Manbhum (23 per cent) it is accounted for by a strong contingent of Bauris and Bhumij. In Singhbhum the proportion is only a fraction below 10 per cent, the great majority of the depressed castes being concentrated in the Dhalbhum subdivision of that district. Ranchi and Sambalpur are in a class by themselves, for in the former locality the proportion barely exceeds 5 per cent, while in the latter it is under 5.

12. Three outstanding castes—the Chamars, Dosadhs and Musahars—comprise between them as many as 3,307,000 persons. In other words, these three castes account for more than half of the depressed Hindus in the province—or, if the eight doubtful tribes be left on one side, for nearly three-quarters. They reside for the most part in the districts of Bihar proper, though some are to be found in parts of the Chota Nagpur plateau. There is a small community of Chamars in the coastal districts of Orissa, but their traditional occupations are basket-making and toddy-drawing, not tanning. The scavenging castes (Doms, Haris, Halalkhors and Lalbegis) claim altogether about 406,000 members, and under one designation or another they are naturally distributed over the whole length and breadth of the province. Several of the less numerous depressed castes are confined almost entirely to Orissa—or at least to the Oriya-speaking tracts, including Angul, Sambalpur and the Feudatory States. A list of these is given in the margin. The most important are the Kandras (155,113) and the Gokhas (48,622); the other seven castes between them comprise only about 25,000 persons. The Kanjars, Chaupals and Kurariars—all of them very small communities—are believed to be more or less peculiar to the district of Purnea.

Ghusuria.
Godra.
Gokha.
Irika.
Kandra.
Kela.
Mahuria.
Mangan.
Siyal.

APPENDIX IV.—The Primitive Tribes.

The task of arriving at an accurate estimate of the number of primitive tribes, or aboriginals, in Bihar and Orissa is replete with difficulties no less formidable than those presented by the depressed classes. If we go back far enough, the Chamars, Musahars, etc., will probably be found to be pre-Aryan " aboriginals ", but with these we are not here concerned. The present survey is confined to the two great families of indigenous tribes known respectively as the " Munda " and " Dravidian " families. But even among these tribes there are some which have been Hinduized to such an extent that they are practically indistinguishable from the low Hindu castes. Among these, mention may be made of the Bauris, Bhogtas, Ghasis, Pans and Turis. And there are others which, although they have not yet lost their identity in quite the same degree, are almost invariably returned as Hindus at the census and retain little trace of their old tribal organizations. These include the Bhuiyas, Bhumij, Kharwars, Koras, Rajwars and others.

2. Imperial Table XVIII gives detailed statistics relating to the 24 tribes mentioned below, which should undoubtedly be regarded as aboriginals, even though in some cases the process of absorption into Hinduism has already gone a long way. The table shows the territorial distribution of these particular tribes between the various districts, revenue thanas and individual states of the province. It exhibits the variations in their numbers in each local unit as recorded at each of the last five censuses, and it shows how many members of each tribe were returned from time to time as adhering to their old tribal religions and how many have been converted to Hinduism or Christianity.

Asur.	Chero.	Kharia.	Munda.
Bathudi.	Gadaba.	Kharwar.	Oraon.
Bhuiya.	Gond.	Khetauri.	Santal.
Bhumij.	Ho.	Khond.	Sauria Paharia.
Birhor.	Juang.	Korwa.	Savar.
Birjia.	Karmali.	Mal Paharia.	Tharu.

Between them, the above tribes comprised at the present census something over 5½ million persons, and the statement in the margin shows their distribution between the three religious denominations in 1931 and in 1921. It will be seen that just over 50 per cent are now classed as Hindus, the proportion being very slightly higher than it was ten years ago. In addition to these 24 tribes, the following are of Munda or Dravidian origin. Statistics relating to them will be found in the main caste table (XVII), but in much less detail than for the former group :—

	1931.	*1921.*
Tribal religions ...	2,335,310	2,235,916
Hindu ...	2,949,334	2,400,778
Christian ...	358,777	258,049
Total ...	**5,643,421**	**4,894,743**

Banjara.	Chik Baraik.	Kisan.	Pan.
Bauri.	Ghasi.	Koli.	Parhaiya.
Bentkar.	Ghatwar.	Kora.	Rajwar.
Bhogta.	Gorait.	Mahli.	Turi.
Binjhia.			

In most cases these communities have, as the result of a more complete

absorption in Hinduism, lost their aboriginal characteristics to a greater extent, and it will be seen from the marginal statement that comparatively few of them have remained faithful to the gods of their fathers. Taking the two groups together, it may be said that roughly seven million persons are comprehended in the primitive or semi-primitive tribes of the province, which thus represent about one-sixth of the provincial population. This number includes nearly two million Hindus who in Appendix III have been shown among the "depressed classes" because they belong to tribes which have largely assimilated the outlook, and incurred the disabilities, of the lowest Hindu castes.

Tribal religions	59,197
Hindu	1,410,127
Christian	4,343
Total	**1,473,667**

3. Among the larger tribes those which have so far been most successful in maintaining their separate identity and to some extent (on the Chota Nagpur plateau at least) their old tribal organizations are the six great aboriginal communities shown in the margin. To these may be added seven of the smaller tribes, *viz.*, Asur, Birhor, Birjia, Juang, Korwa, Mal Paharia and Sauria Paharia—which between them contain something over 131,000 persons; so that in all rather more than 4 million persons are numbered among the purest aboriginal communities of the province.

Ho	523,158
Kharia	146,037
Khond	315,709
Munda	549,764
Oraon	637,111
Santal	1,712,133
Total	**3,883,912**

4. The figures quoted in the preceding paragraphs should not be regarded as absolutely complete. Although the enumeration of the primitive and semi-primitive tribes was the object of special attention at the present census, considerations of economy precluded an exhaustive classification of the returns. Particular tribes were only sorted for in those localities where they were believed to be present in appreciable numbers. As a result some 10,000 persons whose religion was returned as "tribal" do not appear in the caste table at all, and it is probable that a somewhat larger number of Hinduized aboriginals remained unclassified for the same reason. Again, some few may have escaped classification because they were returned under unfamiliar or mutilated names. Nor do the figures so far given take any account of the Kamars (Lohars) of Chota Nagpur, who are believed by some eminent authorities to have a Munda origin. This theory is to some extent supported by the fact that even at the present census nearly 5,000 Kamars (mostly in Ranchi district) returned their religion as "tribal". It is also relevant to note that in Chota Nagpur, unlike other localities, this caste is—or was—regarded generally as "impure", and water might not be taken from their hands by the higher caste Hindus. On the other hand it is of course possible to maintain that these and other characteristics of the Chota Nagpur Kamars are derived from their long and close association with primitive tribes in predominantly aboriginal tracts. The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur are another community which in course of time has come to occupy a peculiar position, and some account is given in Appendix V of the views that have from time to time been advanced in regard to their origin, and of the more recent developments in the situation. If they be included among the primitive and semi-primitive tribes of the province, the total strength of those tribes will be increased to at least 7½ million persons.

5. The territorial distribution of the various aboriginal tribes is given in Imperial Tables XVII and XVIII. Their combined strength in the different localities of the province is illustrated in the social map in the front cover of this volume, the key to which will be found in Appendix I. The principles on which this map has been prepared are explained in paragraph 7 of Chapter XI, and it will be observed that, so far as the primitive tribes are concerned, these principles involve a compromise between the overlapping criteria of race and religion. All persons who were returned as following some tribal religion are shown in red in the map. On the Chota Nagpur

plateau members of the purest aboriginal communities (*i.e.*, the thirteen tribes specified in paragraph 3 of this appendix) who have been converted to Hinduism or Christianity are shown in pink. In all other cases the religious criterion has been adopted. Thus the map does not exhibit the full strength of the primitive tribes from the racial standpoint. On the Chota Nagpur plateau all Bhuiyas, Bhumij, Kisans, Mahlis, Savars, etc., who were returned as Hindus (and the bulk of these tribes are included in that category) appear in blue along with other Hindus; while, outside the plateau, the same thing applies even to such persons as Hos, Santals, Mundas and Oraons. Yet, despite this limitation there are extensive tracts on the plateau in which the portions of the rectangles coloured red and pink account for 50 per cent and upwards of the whole. Particulars of these localities are given in the margin. In the Feudatory States the highest percentages are recorded in Gangpur-cum-Bonai (46), Mayurbhanj (42) and Saraikela-cum-Kharsawan (41). The percentages in the states would be a good deal higher but for the fact, noticed in Chapter XI, that at the present census there was a wholesale boycott of "tribal religions" in many of these units (due possibly more to the attitude of the census authorities than to the persons enumerated), with the result that the map exhibits only those tribes which are treated as primitive irrespective of their religion. No community is shown in this map unless its members comprise at least 1 per cent of the total population represented by each rectangle. The result is that, outside Chota Nagpur, there is but one locality in the whole province where the primitive tribes (*i.e.*, those of them who still adhere to their tribal religions) are sufficiently numerous to secure representation. This locality is the district of Balasore, in which the requisite percentage is just forthcoming.

Locality.	*Percentage.*
RANCHI DISTRICT—	
Sadr subdivision	50
Khunti subdivision ...	64
Gumla and Simdega subdivisions	63
SANTAL PARGANAS—	
Dumka subdivision ...	54
Rajmahal subdivision ...	50
Pakaur subdivision ...	62
SINGHBHUM DISTRICT—	
Sadr subdivision ...	67
ANGUL DISTRICT—	
Khondmals subdivision ...	71

6. Important variations in the strength of individual tribes are the subject of comment in Chapter XII. Appendix VI contains an account of the migrations of the Santal tribe and notes on some of their customs and beliefs.

APPENDIX V.—The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur.

Mention has been made in Chapter XII of the claim to Kshatriya status advanced by the Kurmi caste. It was at first supposed that this claim was confined to those Kurmis who reside mainly in Bihar proper and in the United Provinces and whose traditional pursuits are cultivation and domestic service. For census purposes it has always proved impossible to distinguish this community from the *Kurmi Mahtos* of the Chota Nagpur plateau, as their habitat is not in all cases a reliable guide; in the census tables therefore they all appear together simply as "Kurmis". It has, however, generally been assumed in previous census reports that the Kurmi Mahtos are a semi-aboriginal people, whose ancestors were allied to the Santal and Bhumij tribes. Instructions were accordingly issued on the present occasion that a return of Kurmi-Kshatriya might be accepted in the case only of the Bihar community. These instructions gave rise to a flood of protest. The "All-India Kurmi-Kshatriya Association" took up the cudgels on behalf of the Kurmi Mahtos, and stoutly affirmed that "they and the Kurmi-Kshatriyas of the western provinces are the same, proofs of which, if necessary, can be produced before the Government." It must be confessed that, when invited to produce these proofs, the Association showed no great eagerness to respond and eventually took refuge in the following generalities which, besides being unsupported by evidence or illustration, would undoubtedly be contested by many persons who have considerable experience of the Kurmi Mahtos:—"(1) The sections and sub-sections are similar. (2) The occupations are the same. (3) The habits and customs are similar." But the favourite authority of those who maintain the kinship of the two communities is Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), in which the following passages occur:—

> "In the Province of Chota Nagpur the ancestors of the people now called Kurmis appear to have obtained a footing among the aboriginal tribes at a very remote period, and in more than one part of Manbhum have supplanted them. There are traditions of struggle between them and Kolarian aborigines of these regions, and, though the latter generally managed to hold their own, we find in some places Kurmi villages established on sites which, we know from the groups of rude stone pillars or cenotaphs still conspicuous, were once occupied by Bhumij or Mannas, and in others vestiges of ruined temples appertaining to Hindu or Jaina settlements, both most likely belonging to successive generations of Kurmis, amidst villages that have for ages been occupied by Bhumij..... .
>
> "Though the Kurmis include so many noble families, their social position in Bengal is not high. They are not even *jalacharaniva* or a tribe from whose hands a Hindu of the higher castes would drink water, but in Bihar this honour is accorded to them. The social customs and religious observances vary much in different districts. Where they are found in common tenancy with non-Aryan tribes, they conform to many usages which they must have acquired from the latter, and, following their examples, swerve considerably from orthodox Hindu practices. The Kurmis employ Brahmans as priests in all ceremonies except marriages."

Finally he describes them as "unquestionably Aryan in looks" and thinks it probable that they are the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal.

2. An entirely different view was taken twelve years later by Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. In his opinion Dalton's remarks about their physical appearance "referred only to the Kurmis of Bihar, and the caste bearing the same name in Chota Nagpur and Orissa belonged to an entirely different type." He found them to be "short, sturdy and of very dark complexion.....closely resembling in feature the Dravidian tribes around them..... In Manbhum and north of Orissa it is difficult

to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhumij or a Santhal, and the latter tribe, who are more particular about food than is commonly supposed, will eat boiled rice prepared by Kurmi; and according to one tradition they regard them as half brethren of their own sprung from the same father, who begot the Kurmis on the elder and the Santhals on the younger of two sisters. The distinct and well-preserved totemism of the caste is noticed at length below." After finding that "the sections in use among the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur are purely totemistic and that a large portion of the totems are capable of being identified", he comes to the conclusion that "the Chota Nagpur Kurmis are derived from the Dravidian stock and are perhaps a Hinduised branch of the Santhals."

3. In Volume V (*ii*) of his *Linguistic Survey of India* Sir George Grierson writes that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur "are an aboriginal tribe of Dravidian stock and should be distinguished from the Kurmis of Bihar who spell their name differently with a smooth instead of a hard *r*. These two quite distinct tribes have been mixed up in the census." Many of these people speak a language of their own, commonly known as *Kurmali*, although, as Sir George Grierson points out, in Manbhum this language is not confined to the Kurmis alone but is spoken by people of other tribes also. In Bamra state, where it is spoken by undoubted aborigines, it is known as *Sadri Kol*. This language is a corrupted form of *Magahi*, but, to quote again from Sir George Grierson, "in this belt Magahi is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language"—just as *Mal Paharia*, a corrupted form of Bengali, is the language of the aboriginal tribe bearing that name. With regard to the spelling of Kurmi with a hard *r*, it has been verified from the local officials that this differentiation is observed still. It may possess real significance, but the general tendency in Chota Nagpur to make the *r* hard is a circumstance that should be borne in mind.

4. In the District Gazetteer of Manbhum (1910) Mr. Coupland writes that the distinction between the Kurmis of Bihar and those of Chota Nagpur, "which is now generally accepted, is exemplified in this district by the fact that marked traces of the characteristic Kolarian village system remain, the *Mahto* or village headman of the Kurmis corresponding exactly with the *Manjhi* of the Santhals, the *Sardar* of the Bhumij and the *Munda* of the Ho races." The Kurmi Mahtos are included among the tribes exempted from the Indian Succession Act. By a printing error the name appeared in the original notification (issued about 20 years ago) as "Kurmi, Mahto" and in the revised notification which was issued very recently the word "Kurmi" only is retained. There is no doubt that, until quite recent years, the two communities were agreed in repudiating any connection with one another. The Bihar contingent would commonly allude to their namesakes of Chota Nagpur as the "Kol-Kurmis" and the latter were no less spirited in asserting their independent identity. Not only inter-marriage, but inter-dining was entirely out of the question. Even to-day, although it will presently be seen that these restrictions have been formally abolished by resolutions passed in solemn conclave, and although it is probably true that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur no longer take the same pride in their ancestry that they used to do, no authentic case has come to notice of inter-marriage between the two peoples. The Superintendent of the Leper Hospital at Purulia writes that "a Kurmi constable from North Bihar at present resident in this hospital was very scornful when I suggested his eating with our local Kurmi patients." The same correspondent states that, in spite of Risley's observations about the (then) prevalent totemism of the caste, he himself had for years been unable to find a Kurmi with a totem name. "Within the last few months, however, at a village 21 miles from here I was assured by a fairly educated villager, very proud of being a Kurmi, that his name was *Bok* (paddy bird)—obviously a totem name."

5. The question at issue has in late years been agitated in courts of law. In the case of *Ganesh Mahto* v. *Shib Charan Mahato*, which was taken to the High Court (A. I. R. 1931 Patna, 305), both parties were

Chota Nagpur Kurmis and they both admitted that they were aboriginal by race, the dispute being in regard to the succession law by which they were governed. It was eventually held that, where parties to a suit admitted that originally they were aboriginals but their families had subsequently become Hindus and had adopted the Hindu religion, it was upon the party alleging that they were not governed by the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance and succession to prove any special custom or rule of custom prevailing among, e.g., the Kurmi Mahtos of Chota Nagpur. This ruling, while of considerable interest in itself, clearly does not help to establish the kinship between the two Kurmi castes. More pertinent to this question is the decision in *Kritibash Mahton* v. *Budhan Mahtani* (6 P. L. T., 604, 1925) that the term *aboriginal* in Chota Nagpur denotes race only and implies nothing as to religion; on the other hand, the term *Hindu* has in Chota Nagpur reference only to religion. There can be no question but that the Kurmi Mahtos are completely Hinduized and have been for many years. They are in general much better educated, much more prosperous and enterprising, than the other aboriginal tribes or the low-caste Hindus, and they have succeeded in retaining their self-respect in a degree which is uncommon among primitive tribes converted to Hinduism. It is doubtless this circumstance which is now leading them not only to identify themselves with the Hindu caste which happens to bear the same name but also to join with that caste in affirming their Kshatriya origin.

6. Whatever the motives may be, there has certainly been a great deal of agitation in this behalf during the last decade. In the year 1923 caste *sabhas* were held in more than one centre of Manbhum district and various resolutions were passed. It was decreed that Kurmis should no longer eat chickens or drink wine; Kurmi women should not work as casual labourers for persons belonging to other castes; they (the women) should wear a second garment and should not go to the *bazar* by themselves but should always be accompanied by menfolk of their own caste; when a Kurmi died, his *sradh* ceremony should take place on the twelfth day after death, as with the Kshatriyas of Bengal, instead of on the tenth day as heretofore. The 17th session of the "all-India Kurmi-Kshatriya conference" was held at Muzaffarpur in the year 1929, and three delegates from Manbhum were present as representatives of the Chota Nagpur Kurmis. "There it was settled that there is no difference between the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and the Kurmis of Bihar proper. The three delegates returned home from the conference after taking the sacred thread." This was followed in the same year by another large *sabha* at Ghagarjuri in Manbhum, which was attended by a representative of the Kurmis of the United Provinces, and on this occasion "it was settled that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and Kurmis of U. P. and Behar are akin to each other and there will be inter-dining and inter-marriages among the said Kurmis"; also that "the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur would join closely with the *all-India Kurmi Kshatriya Association* and will be guided by the directions of it." At this gathering "it was explained that the Kurmis are Kshatriyas and they have right to wear sacred thread, and some fifty Kurmis wore the sacred thread in the conference with the help of genuine Brahman priests." The correspondent from whom the foregoing extracts are quoted, himself a Kurmi Mahto and a member of the legal profession, adds that "thereafter the Manbhum Kurmis began to take *jangupabit*, though less in number". His ingenuous narrative continues:—"The Kurmis' conference caused a great sensation among the Kurmis, and the caste got the courage of raising their status. And there was such wonder in the mind of the non-Kurmis of Manbhum that Panchet raja, having come up from the ancient Kshatriya royal family of the district, accepts the Kurmis as Kurmi Kshatriyas. The Panchet raja took great interest in the upliftment of the Kurmis. He advised the social leaders of this community to carry out the resolutions passed in the Ghagarjuri conference, and he gave them power in writing for the purpose, and the mass carried out the resolutions of the Ghagharjuri conference to a great extent". In 1931 the session of the all-India Kurmi Kshatriya conference was held in Manbhum, and was signalized by the

adoption of the sacred thread by more of the local Kurmis—the estimates vary from two hundred to a thousand. The same correspondent notes that "some orthodox Kurmis residing in Para and Barabhum P. S. made protest meetings against the use of sacred thread by Kurmis, but the use of sacred thread is increasing day by day in all parts of the district of Manbhum".

7. It may be questioned whether this movement is calculated to promote the best interests of the Kurmi Mahto community. As aboriginals, they receive the benefit of a special measure of protection from the revenue laws of Chota Nagpur; for instance, the transfer of their holdings to non-aboriginals is not permitted. It may be that the true position in this respect is not appreciated by many of them. On the other hand, they may be prepared to forego such privileges for the greater honour and glory which they believe will accrue to them in their new status; and it is quite true that, in view of their material prosperity, they do not stand in the same need of protection as the other aboriginal tribes of the locality. As already stated, it is not possible to give accurate statistics of the Kurmi Mahto community, but something over 660,000 "Kurmis" were enumerated on the Chota Nagpur plateau, and the overwhelming majority of these (about half of whom were found in Manbhum district) would undoubtedly be Kurmi Mahtos.

APPENDIX VI.—The Santals.

The number of Santals enumerated in Bihar and Orissa at the present census was 1,712,133. They are easily the largest of the primitive tribes found in the province, and they outnumber every Hindu caste except the Goalas and the Brahmans. They are of course most numerous in the district which bears their name; rather more than one person out of every three in the Santal Parganas is a member of this tribe. Over the province as a whole there has been an addition of 234,662 (or about 16 per cent) to the number of Santals enumerated at the last census.

2. The early history of the tribe is still wrapped in mystery. Some hold that they, along with other Munda peoples, entered India from the north-west, and have steadily moved in an eastward direction ever since. A later theory, which is perhaps more generally favoured by present-day investigators, holds that they came originally from the east and penetrated to a point a little beyond Benares before they began to turn back again. The views that have from time to time been advanced on this subject are reproduced more fully in the District Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas, which also contains a most interesting account of their traditions, tribal organization, religious beliefs, social customs and other characteristics. It is not proposed in this report to traverse again the ground which has already been covered in the Gazetteer and other standard books of reference, but simply to state the recent developments in the distribution and movement of this great aboriginal community, and to add one or two notes relative to their manners and customs which do not appear to have been placed on record hitherto.

3. There is no doubt that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Santals had established themselves on the plateau of Chota Nagpur. Hazaribagh, Palamau and Singhbhum appear to have been their especial strongholds at that time, but they were already beginning to make their way towards the district which is now known as the Santal Parganas. It was in the middle part of the century that their migration to this particular locality took place on a grand scale, and it has been suggested that many of the persons shown as immigrants into the district at the census of 1901 were the survivors of those who had taken part in that movement. But by that time they were already on the move again. "The Santals", wrote Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait in 1901, "are spreading north and east, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of *quasi*-laterite known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur plateau."

4. The table overleaf shows the strength and distribution of the Santal tribe in Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal at the time when the above words

were written, and the variations that have occurred at each subsequent census :—

Locality.	Actual number of Santals.				Percentage of total population.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bihar and Orissa	**1,712,133**	**1,477,471**	**1,407,346**	**1,298,347**	**4·0**	**3·9**	**3·7**	**3·6**
Santal Parganas	754,804	676,459	608,149	670,535	36·8	37·7	35·6	37·1
Purnea	45,995	34,995	21,072	6,843	2·1	1·7	1·1	0·4
Bhagalpur	30,799	33,503	35,249	26,632	1·4	1·6	1·2	1·3
Monghyr	26,742	23,080	20,479	19,758	1·2	1·1	1·0	1·0
Hazaribagh	129,103	98,738	93,269	78,379	8·5	7·7	7·2	6·7
Manbhum	282,315	238,747	232,293	195,400	15·6	15·4	15·0	15·6
Singhbhum	108,890	94,381	88,241	77,363	11·7	12·4	12·7	12·6
Feudatory States	309,504	261,791	247,264	211,937	6·7	6·6	6·3	6·4
Elsewhere	22,981	15,777	11,377	11,500	·09	·07	·05	·05
Bengal	**796,656**	**712,040**	**670,689**	**570,727**	**1·6**	**1·5**	**1·4**	**1·3**
Dinajpur	130,328	120,211	110,244	74,101	7·4	7·0	6·5	4·7
Malda	72,145	72,140	66,520	52,126	6·8	7·3	6·6	5·9
Bogra	5,351	7,182	5,823	4,533	·5	·7	·6	·5
Rajshahi	25,591	21,300	14,145	4,858	1·8	1·4	1·0	·3
Jalpaiguri	27,859	23,988	22,641	10,895	2·8	2·6	2·5	1·4
Birbhum	64,079	57,180	53,087	47,738	6·8	6·7	6·0	5·3
Burdwan	101,522	79,099	65,978	46,533	6·0	5·5	4·3	3·0
Bankura	114,577	104,912	115,017	105,722	10·3	10·3	10·1	9·5
Midnapur	169,750	152,751	161,532	148,391	6·1	5·7	5·7	5·3
Hooghly	38,013	24,963	22,902	9,966	3·4	3·2	3·1	·9
Murshidabad	22,725	18,401	14,393	12,856	1·7	1·5	1·0	·9
Elsewhere	24,716	19,913	15,314	23,308	·07	·06	·05	·08

During these thirty years the total strength of the tribe in the two provinces combined has increased from 1,869,074 to 2,508,789. This represents an increase of over 33 per cent in a single generation—a rate of growth just double that achieved by the population of this province as a whole, and a striking indication of the hardy, prolific character of the tribe.

5. The first decade of the century witnessed an acceleration of the outward stream of migration from the Santal Parganas. At the census of 1911 the number of persons born in that district and enumerated elsewhere was no less than 321,283, an increase of 95,000 over the figure recorded ten years earlier. Not all of this vast army of emigrants were Santals, but it is safe to say that the great majority of them were. For, although conditions during the decade had been generally favourable for a rapid increase of population (particularly on the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the average rate of growth was as much as 14 per cent), there was an actual decline in the number of Santals enumerated in their home district. The flow into the Barind was still strong, the districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi being the recipients of most of the fresh emigrants to this part of Bengal. Further to the north-east the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling absorbed a substantial overflow, while some 59,000 Santals were found still further afield in the province of Assam. But this decade saw also the beginning of a new movement into the purely alluvial tracts of Purnea and Hooghly districts. Moreover, the Santals were now showing signs of retracing their steps in a southerly and even in a westerly direction. The increase in their numbers during this period (1910-11) in Manbhum, Hazaribagh and the Orissa States is too great to be ascribed entirely to natural growth. In the two first-named districts the coalfields were the main attraction, and the partiality of the Santal for labour of this kind was responsible also for a marked rise in Burdwan district.

6. During the next decade the eastward current of migration was very much less pronounced. The total number of emigrants from the Santal Parganas in 1921 was less by about 23,000 than it had been at the previous census, and, despite the ill-health and economic distress of 1918—20 which prevented the population of the province as a whole from registering any progress, the number of Santals residing in the Santal Parganas was greater at the end of the decade than it had been at the beginning. This circumstance is the more remarkable because agricultural scarcity had compelled many who would not otherwise have left their homes to emigrate to the tea-gardens of Assam, and over 84,000 Santals were enumerated in that province in 1921, as compared with 59,000 in 1911. Very few fresh

emigrants found their way into the Barind, but the thrust into Purnea and Hooghly continued, and there was a temporary movement across the north-western border of the district into Bhagalpur.

7. The present census does not record the number of persons born in the Santal Parganas and enumerated outside the province. Emigrants from that district to other parts of Bihar and Orissa are almost, but not quite, as numerous as they were ten years ago, but there must have been a heavy decrease in emigration to Bengal and Assam. It is significant that in this province the strength of the tribe has increased since 1921 by 16 per cent, while in Bengal the rate is barely 12 per cent. In practically none of the Bengal districts, except the colliery areas of Burdwan, is the increase in numbers out of proportion to the natural growth of the tribe; and, although of course it is not suggested that all the Santals who were enumerated in Bengal in 1921 have remained there ever since and multiplied in the ordinary course of nature, the figures do indicate that there are nowadays very few fresh emigrants who are making a permanent home in that province. In Assam statistics of Santals were not compiled on the present occasion, but there has been a decline of just over 1,000 in the number of persons speaking Santali as their mother-tongue, and it is therefore probable that the number of Santals has fallen also. Within the province of Bihar and Orissa there has been a further development in the streams of migration to Purnea, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and the States. The present indications, therefore, are that the movement of this tribe to the north-east has been definitely checked for the time being, and that a great number of them are settling down in their own district as permanent rent-paying cultivators. Such migration as is now taking place is not governed by any fixed principle but is the result of ordinary economic pressure, and its direction is determined by the availability of land (whether laterite or alluvial) and the scope for labour of a kind which appeals to the Santals, such as work on tea-gardens or in coal-mines.

8. As already mentioned, the fragmentary notes that follow regarding certain beliefs and practices of the Santals are intended only to supplement the accounts available elsewhere. Almost all of the information reproduced here has been very kindly furnished by the Rev. P. O. Bodding, who has worked for many years as a missionary in the Santal Parganas and whose intimate knowledge of and affection for this people are unrivalled.

9. *Astrology.*—The sun, moon and stars are considered to be animate beings, the sun being the male, the moon the female, and the stars their children. A shooting-star is called a star-excrement, and a comet a tail-star. The four stars in the Great Bear constellation which form the rectangle of the plough are known as *budhi parkom* or the old woman's bedstead, while the other three stars are called *bursi kombroko*, the fire-pan thieves; the star furthest out from the bed is always kept so far away because he is laughing. The three stars of Orion's belt are *arar ipilko*, the yoke stars; and three others close by are *arar lalakko*, the yoke-cutters or dressers. The Pleiades are known as *sorenko*. "What *soren* means" writes Mr. Bodding, "I am not at present prepared to say, but it may be mentioned that one of the twelve Santal septs is called *Soren* and *soren sipahi* (the *soren* soldier) is a very frequent combination." Two small stars near Vega in Lyra are called *potam bela*, or the dove's eggs. For the Milky Way they have a name meaning the Way of the Market-place, but according to some it is also called the Elephant's Path. The "morning star" (whether Jupiter or Venus) is sometimes styled *corkheda*, or the thief-pursuing star, because it is believed that thieves, when they see this star appear, cease from their nefarious business and make their way home. The most favoured explanation of an eclipse is that once upon a time the sun or the moon (or both together) stood security for the human race when the latter were compelled to borrow food from a certain godling, called Dusad. The debt has never been repaid, and now and again the Dusad stretches out his hand to catch hold of the sun or the moon and exact his dues; this causes an eclipse. At such times the Santals beat their kettledrums

and bring out their stores of grain into the open, and with much shouting offer to liquidate the debt if the godling will but relinquish his hold. During the eclipse a fast is observed, and none may look upon a woman who is with child. To explain the phases of the moon they have a story that in olden days the sun and the moon had many children. The boys were living with their father the sun, and the girls with their mother the moon. By reason of the terrible heat of the sun and his children (the stars) it was feared that the earth would be burnt up; so the moon suggested to the sun that they should devour their children in order to avert the catastrophe. The sun bade his wife eat up her daughters in the first place; if that were insufficient, said he, he would also eat his sons. Then the moon—" a woman ", adds the narrator, " and we know their tricky ways "—put all her daughters under a large bamboo basket and hid them, after which she went to the sun and said that she had devoured all her girls but still the heat was as bad as ever, and if he did not now devour the boys too mankind would surely perish. The foolish husband believed her and ate up all his sons, the day-stars. But when it became night he saw that the daughters were still unharmed, and in great anger he took a sword and pursued his wife and overtaking her he cut her. He might indeed have destroyed her utterly, but when she gave up two of her daughters he relented and left her. These two stars are the planets Venus and Jupiter, which may be seen during the day-time. Yet every month the sun remembers his wife's deceit, and pursues and cuts her, so that the moon has very little rest except on two days in each month. Thunder and lightning, like all other natural phenomena, are believed by the Santals to be acts of the Supreme Being, so that they say " *he* rains " or " *he* blows " or " *he* thunders." They have various names for thunder, most of which appear to be onomatopœic. In common with other races, they think that stone implements found in the ground are thunderbolts and call them *ceter diri*, which means stroke-of-lightning stones. They have heard the tale of Rama's shooting, but it is doubtful whether they place any credence in it. Some Santals try to guard themselves against lightning by keeping an arrow on the bowstring in aim against the threatening cloud.

10. *Life after death.*—The belief of the Santals in a future life, where virtue meets with its due reward and the wicked are appropriately punished, is recorded elsewhere. But, says Mr. Bodding, one may sometimes hear a Santal speculate whether he will become a lizard or a grass-hopper after death, and there are tales extant among them which presuppose a belief that the soul of a living man may issue through his mouth in the shape of a small lizard. Notwithstanding such curious aberrations as these, Mr. Bodding is of the opinion that the Santals have no real belief in transmigration.

11. *Musical instruments.*—They are a musical people, one of their favourite instruments being a flute with six holes for stops and one for blowing. Nowadays these flutes are generally bought from low-caste Hindus, but some Santals still know how to make them. They have also some small pipes, made by themselves. Another instrument of their own manufacture is a one-stringed fiddle with a hollow " breast ", as they call it, covered with a piece of skin, often of an iguana or some large snake. When playing, the operator keeps it in front of him, with the string turned away. Other varieties of stringed instruments include a hollow piece of wood or a pumpkin, covered at one end with a bit of skin through which a double string is run. It is kept in the left armpit, and the left hand stretches the two strings with a small piece of wood tied to them. It is said to produce a marvellous sound, and its use is confined to the disciples of the *ojha* when they go begging. Similar in tone, and employed for the same purpose, is a bamboo instrument (often an old flute) to which pins are affixed, and to these again two strings. At the middle point of the bamboo an empty, hollowed-out piece of a pumpkin is tied. When this is played, the pumpkin is held against the stomach and the playing is done with a wooden pin. They have a dancing drum of earthenware, covered at the ends with skin and strengthened with leather thongs running round the body; this drum is

conical in shape. Their kettledrums are many and varied, and some of their other instruments appear to be designed for the sole purpose of producing noise as a means of giving vent to their high spirits. They have cymbals also and a number of wind instruments, including one made from the horn of a buffalo. An interesting point to note is that their flutes and horns are always made in pairs with the same pitch. This serves a double purpose, for if one instrument is lost or stolen the owner is able to identify it, while the distinctive note also serves to advertise the whereabouts of the player. Dancing drums, too, are made in pairs. Mr. Bodding considers that the flute, the horn and the fiddle are probably the original Santal instruments.

12. *Bows and arrows, etc.*—The Santal's bow is generally made of bamboo, but sometimes of some other resilient wood. As a rule, the string is of hemp, though bamboo is not infrequently used for the purpose. The string is always fixed permanently to one end of the bow; at the other (upper) end it is tied loosely. Here there is a loop, and when the bow is to be used this loop is slipped on to the end. Until this is done, the bow is more or less straight and could not be used. The Santals have a large assortment of arrows, suitable to special different purposes. They are mostly made of *sar* grass—*sar* being the Santali word for an arrow. Generally the arrow has cut feathers fixed to its end, which help to steady its flight; an arrow without feathers is called naked. To shoot birds and small animals a blunt arrow is used, with a piece of wood some three inches long fixed to the point. For other animals they employ arrows with iron heads, which vary greatly in size and shape. "I have seen", says Mr. Bodding, "some twenty different arrowheads." One variety, designed for shooting fish, has for its head a curved blade instead of a point. There is also a special kind of bow with which they shoot off, not arrows, but small stones. Of spears they had formerly several kinds, but these are no longer found. Battle-axes of different shapes are still to be seen in a few houses, but they are now used for sacrificial purposes only. The Santals have a number of other hunting implements, fishing nets, etc., all of which go to show that they have studied the nature and habits of wild animals, birds, and so forth, and have fashioned their implements accordingly. They indulge in a curious practice of keeping certain hairs, claws, etc., of tigers and leopards which they have killed, and even of eating their flesh, in the hope that they will thereby assimilate some of the qualities of these animals. They are not head-hunters, and no case is known in which they have resorted to this practice in their fights with other tribes and peoples.

13. *Agricultural implements.*—It is well-known that the Santals excel in the art of clearing jungles and otherwise reclaiming land for cultivation, but as agriculturists they are less expert and still have much to learn. The most primitive (certainly the oldest) of their implements is a wooden bar used for digging out roots, making holes in the ground, and so on. Formerly it was made of hard wood throughout, but nowadays a flat piece of iron is fixed at one end. Their plough is made of a log of bent wood, with an iron ploughshare fixed in a groove on the front upper portion. The handle may be one of several shapes, and there is a beam whereby the plough is attached to the yoke. They have also a hoe or pick-axe with one narrow and more or less pointed blade. The nearest approach to a spade among them is an implement called a *kudi*. The blade of this implement is slightly curved or concave, and an iron shaft some four inches high is fixed vertically in the middle of one end of it. Through the top of this shaft the handle runs parallel with the blade, being only a very little longer than it. The *kudi* is worked towards, not away from, the user. All these iron implements are made by semi-hinduized blacksmiths, but the use of more modern foreign-made implements is now being gradually introduced. To level and carry earth they have a kind of large wooden shovel, called a *karha*, drawn by bullocks. It consists of a piece of flat wood three to five feet in length, ten to fifteen inches broad, and some three inches thick, tapering towards an edge. A handle is fixed in the middle, and at (or near) each end of the *karha* a "comb" is cut, *i.e.* part of the wood is cut away, leaving big tooth-like

projections. The shaft is fixed to the *karha* at one end with a ring, and the other end terminates in the yoke. Sometimes chains are used in lieu of a shaft. When worked, a man keeps the shovel more or less upright by means of the handle, and the earth is thus dragged along. On reaching the place where the earth is to be deposited, he lets go the handle and the *karha* automatically turns over forwards, emptying out the earth, and the bullocks then drag the *karha* back to the starting point. There are several varieties of these "shovels", but the principle on which they are worked is the same. There is a similar implement, called a *raksa*, which is used for levelling the surface of a rice-field. This is longer and narrower, and two holes are cut through the wooden board, through which the yoke chains are passed. The *argom*, or clod-crusher, is an implement used for levelling the earth after ploughing or sowing. It is a piece of wood some six to nine feet long and six to eight inches broad and thick. Usually it has a beam to which the yoke is fixed, but sometimes there are two beams and sometimes none at all; in the latter case chains are run through holes in the wood.

APPENDIX VII.—Language, Caste and Race in Singhbhum district.

The report of the Indian Statutory Commission, published in 1930, contained a summary of the recommendations made by the sub-committee which had been appointed to investigate the claim of the Oriya-speaking peoples to a separate Orissa province. The sub-committee suggested *inter alia* that at the forthcoming census special precautions should be taken to ensure the reliability of the returns. So far as Bihar and Orissa is concerned, the main point at issue was whether, assuming the formation of such a separate province, the district of Singhbhum (or any part thereof) should be included in it. It was therefore of special importance to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible the number and distribution of Oriyas in that district.

2. The first question that presented itself in connexion with this enquiry was: *What is an " Oriya "?* Hitherto no attempt had ever been made to enumerate persons of Oriya *race* either in Singhbhum or elsewhere. The census schedules contain a column entitled " Nationality, race or caste ", but a person's nationality is not entered in this column unless he is a foreigner (*i.e.*, not an Indian), and his race is only entered if he belongs to some aboriginal tribe or other race in which caste does not exist. For Hindus the caste only is recorded, no matter whether they are Biharis, Bengalis, Oriyas or anything else. The number of *Oriya-speaking* persons is of course ascertained from the language returns, and in the past it has always been assumed that the number of " Oriyas " is identical with the number of persons by whom the Oriya language is spoken. But this assumption is not necessarily correct. In Singhbhum district, for instance, it is commonly agreed that the Oriya language is used very much less than it used to be, largely because it is not taught in the schools and is barred in the courts. Many Oriyas who still speak it in their homes (often in a corrupted form) do not know how to read or write it, while others cannot even speak it any longer. On the other hand there are certain parts of the district in which the Oriya language is spoken by aboriginals and others who would not ordinarily be regarded as Oriyas by race. It has been explained in Chapter X that at the present census for the first time two columns were provided in the schedule for recording a person's language. One column was reserved for his real mother-tongue, and the second for other languages (if any) in common every-day use. This innovation presumably went some way towards reconciling language with race, but it cannot have gone the whole distance, and it was therefore deemed advisable to make a special attempt on this occasion to ascertain separately the number of persons in Singhbhum district who claimed to be " Oriyas ", irrespective of the language spoken by them.

3. The method chosen to achieve this purpose was simply to enquire of each person whether he was, or was not, an Oriya. If he replied in the affirmative, the word *Oriya* was to be entered in the caste column of the schedule against his name—in addition, of course, to his caste; if he replied in the negative, no entry of race was to be made at all. It was obviously out of the question to expect the enumerators to conduct any enquiry into the correctness of the answer given. Even if their impartiality could have been taken for granted, they had not the necessary qualifications for arriving at a proper decision, and the application of various suggested tests (such as whether the person concerned was governed by the Mitakshara or the Dayabhag law) would only have led to confusion. It was *prima facie* unlikely that a person who was not an Oriya would claim to be one; the converse was not impossible, but in the face of deliberate denials of that

kind the census authorities would clearly be powerless. The enumerators were therefore told that they must accept and record without question the statement of the person enumerated, once they were satisfied that he understood what he was being asked. The supervising staff were instructed to pay special attention to the checking of these entries, and it was pointed out to them that in this they would often derive much assistance from the name and the caste of the person concerned. There are many distinctive Oriya names and titles, and, although sometimes these may have become corrupted to such an extent that it is difficult or impossible to recognize them, they would frequently serve as a useful guide. Similarly, most of the true Oriya castes (except Brahmans) are unmistakeable, though here again it is not uncommon for the caste name also to be disguised or modified. For instance, an Oriya *Gaura* living in Singhbhum will often call himself a *Goala;* a *Karan* may call himself a *Kayasth*, and so forth. Consequently such an entry as "Oriya Kayasth" in the census schedule would not necessarily be incorrect, but an entry of "Karan" without being preceded by the word "Oriya" must be wrong.

4. Unfortunately the attempt to ascertain the number of Oriyas by race on the lines indicated above proved to be a failure. This was due partly to the fact that the decision to conduct this special enquiry was reached at a somewhat late stage in the operations, and difficulty was experienced in making the enumerators understand fully the purport of the instructions. A careful scrutiny of the returns showed that not infrequently the word *Oriya* was entered against the head of a household only, with the result that the remaining Oriya inmates were not treated as such in the slip-copying and sorting processes. Some enumerators apparently thought that, when a man's caste clearly showed that he was an Oriya, it was unnecessary to specify the fact. In other cases the entry of race was made in the column for religion instead of in the caste column. Intensive propaganda on both sides was responsible also for sins of omission or commission in this matter on the part of certain enumerators. In addition to these various sources of error, the enquiry showed that many of the persons questioned really did not know whether they were Oriyas by race or not, and that many others did not care. It was therefore apparent that any statistics which might be compiled on the basis of these particular returns would not only be quite unreliable but would be definitely misleading; and it was decided to disregard them entirely. Language perforce must continue to be the main criterion of race, but a final effort was made to eliminate some of the more patent defects of that criterion by an exhaustive analysis of the caste and language returns in combination.

5. The new objective was to distribute the population of the district between the four racial categories given below :—

(1) Oriyas.

(2) Biharis or Bengalis.

(3) Doubtful races—*i.e.*, persons who might belong to either of the two first categories.

(4) Others, including primitive tribes.

The district was split up into 21 local units, a list of which is given in the margin. In all these units persons belonging to unmistakeable Oriya castes were placed in category (1) above. Persons belonging to all other Hindu castes were classified as (*a*) those speaking Oriya as mother-tongue, (*b*) those speaking Oriya as a subsidiary language, and (*c*) those who did not speak Oriya at all. The results thus obtained were scrutinized caste by caste and local unit by local unit. It was

Chakradharpur—

1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).
3. Kuldiha, Kainua and Goilkera pirs.
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.

Manoharpur—

5. Manoharpur proper.
6. Rela and Saranda pirs.

Kolhan—

7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).
8. Aola and Bar pirs.
9. Thai, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota pirs.
10. Gumra, Barkela and Rangra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).
11. Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai pirs.
12. Chaibasa municipality.
13. Gua and Noamundi mines.

Ghatsila—

14. Jugsalai p.s. and Gulmuri p.s. (excluding urban areas).
15. Swaspur p.s.
16. Kalikapur p.s.
17. Ghatsila p.s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).
18. Ghatsila p.s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).
19. Kokpara Taraf.
20. Baharagora p.s.
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).

found, e.g., that in unit no. 8 there were 2,270 Kumhars, out of whom 2,180 spoke Oriya as their mother-tongue and 10 others spoke it as a subsidiary language; consequently *all* Kumhars *in that particular unit* were treated as Oriyas by race. But in unit no. 15 only 5 Kumhars out of 1,111 spoke Oriya in any shape or form, with the result that in *that* unit *all* Kumhars were treated as non-Oriyas. In unit no. 18 again there were 546 Kumhars, Oriya being the mother-tongue of 252 and a subsidiary language of 20 others, while 274 did not speak Oriya at all; in these circumstances no safe deduction could be made with regard to the racial affinities of the Kumhars in that particular part of the district, and so they were all treated as "doubtful" and placed in category (3) above. The "Oriyas" and the "doubtfuls" were determined in this way by examining the statistics for each caste and locality in turn. Then the "others"—category (4) above—were extracted. These comprised (*a*) all primitive tribes, irrespective of the language spoken by them, and (*b*) all persons speaking as mother-tongue some language other than Hindustani, Bengali, Oriya or a tribal language. Many primitive tribes have been Hinduized to such an extent that they have lost most of their tribal characteristics, and persons belonging to these communities were freely claimed as Oriyas or Biharis by the rival parties. Not infrequently such claims derive some measure of support from the language criterion; for instance, there are some parts of Singhbhum in which practically all Bhuiyas speak Oriya as their "mother-tongue". But in general it was felt that in the interests of these semi-aboriginal peoples themselves they should be kept quite distinct from the Aryan races on both sides, and with three exceptions all the tribes mentioned in paragraph 2 of Appendix IV were included with the "other races", no matter what their language might be. The exceptions were the Bauris, Ghasis and Pans, who, though undoubtedly of aboriginal origin, are by now hardly distinguishable from low Hindu castes; they were accordingly treated as "doubtful" and placed in category (3). The first, third and fourth categories being thus determined, the residue of the population of the district was placed in the second category, *i.e.* Bihari or Bengali. Between these two races it was found to be quite impossible to distinguish. As a result of the method followed, it is probable that some Hindustani-speaking immigrants from the United Provinces and other parts of India were treated as Biharis; but this could not be avoided, and the number of such persons is in any case inconsiderable.

6. The results of the enquiries into language and race in Singhbhum are summarized in the two tables at the end of this appendix. Proportional figures for the district as a whole are given in the margin. It will be noticed that, by the criterion of language alone, the number of Oriyas and Bihari-*cum*-Bengalis in the district is considerably larger than by the criterion of race. This is partly because speakers of the Aryan languages include a good many aboriginals, but mainly because of the impossibility of allocating the "doubtful" races to their appropriate heads. Although the term "others" includes Europeans, immigrants from up-country and foreigners of every kind (except Bengalis),

		Mother-tongue.	*Race.*
Oriya	...	18.5	11.1
Bihari-Bengali	...	24.6	11.4
Others	...	56.9	63.2
Doubtful	...	...	14.3

for all practical purposes this term may be regarded as synonymous with the primitive tribes. The strength of some of the more important tribes is given in the margin. Even if the semi-aboriginal Bhumij and Bhuiyas be left out of account, the four remaining tribes (which are among the purest aboriginal stock in the province) account by themselves for 471,122 persons, or more than half the total population of the district.

Total population	**929,802**
Ho	301,158
Santal	108,890
Bhumij	53,058
Munda	50,963
Bhuiya	18,273
Oraon	10,111

7. As between the Oriya and the Bihari-*cum*-Bengali elements, there is a clear-cut division between the two subdivisions of the district. In the Sadr subdivision (where the number of Bengalis is negligible) the Oriyas are in a large majority over the Biharis. This preponderance is marked, not only in the subdivision as a whole, but in each one of the local units with the exception of no. 1 (in the extreme north-west corner of the district) and nos. 4 and 12 (the municipal areas of Chakradharpur and Chaibasa). Even if all the "doubtfuls" in this subdivision were treated as Biharis, the latter would still be in the minority.

SADR.	*Mother-tongue.*	*Race.*
Oriya ...	127,247	89,631
Bihari-Bengali ...	37,835	16,997
Doubtful ...	...	47,450

Conversely, in the Dhalbhum subdivision (where the number of Biharis outside Jamshedpur is very small) the Bengalis are in a large majority over the Oriyas. Here again the preponderance is to be found in each local unit except no. 18, which forms part of the Ghatsila police-station area.

DHALBHUM.	*Mother-tongue.*	*Race.*
Oriya ...	44,640	13,223
Bihari-Bengali ...	190,729	89,041
Doubtful ...	...	85,530

8. At the time when the census was being taken, feeling on the Oriya question ran high, and a great deal of propaganda was indulged in on both sides. After the operations were over, there were not wanting complaints to the effect that they had not been properly conducted, that the enumerating staff were prejudiced and had refused to record the answers actually given, that the local officers in charge of the operations were biassed and the returns had been tampered with, etc., etc. A careful enquiry was made into these allegations by the District Officer of Singhbhum, and I personally discussed the matter with him locally and examined a large number of the schedules mentioned specifically by the petitioners. The charges were found to be generally without any foundation, and many of the complaints were clearly due to misapprehension. For instance, a number of defective entries made by the enumerators in the schedules had been amended by the supervisor or other inspecting officer, and it was mistakenly supposed that these modifications were made with the deliberate object of damaging the just claims of the Oriyas. The vague charges of prejudice brought against certain enumerators were more difficult to investigate, but here again there was undoubtedly a lot of exaggeration and misunderstanding. It has already been mentioned that the entries of race in the caste column were unreliable for various reasons, one of which was that the enumerators were subjected to a great deal of pressure from both sides on this subject. But, as these entries were entirely discarded, the results are not affected by this circumstance. So far as entries of language and caste are concerned, I am definitely of the opinion that cases of deliberate misrecording were very rare. But it is probably true that in doubtful cases (which were plentiful) the language entry made by a Bengali enumerator might not be the one which would have been made by an Oriya enumerator. For instance, in localities such as Baharagora the language in common use is a mixed dialect of Oriya and Bengali, and the proper method of recording it will often give rise to genuine perplexity. In that part of the district most of the enumerators were Bengalis, and it is likely that they sometimes used their discretion in this matter in a way which did not commend itself to Oriya sentiment.

I.—LANGUAGE AND RACE IN SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.

Locality.	Population.	Language.						Race.			
		Oriya.		Hindustani and Bengali.		Others (including Tribal languages).		Oriya.	Bihari and Bengali.	Doubtful races.	Others (including primitive tribes).
		As mother tongue.	*As subsidiary language.*	*As mother tongue.*	*As subsidiary language.*	*As mother tongue.*	*As subsidiary language.*				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SINGHBHUM DISTRICT ...	***929,802***	***171,887***	***22,117***	***228,564***	***130,587***	***529,351***	***62,493***	***102,854***	***106,038***	***132,980***	***587,930***
Chakradharpur	**133,335**	**26,613**	**2,823**	**16,890**	**6,142**	**89,832**	**4,064**	**13,731**	**7,660**	**20,076**	**91,868**
1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	35,123	447	149	2,500	1,020	32,176	1,690	23	1,765	2,130	31,205
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	68,772	21,772	2,150	7,109	2,141	39,831	1,157	11,723	2,177	12,416	42,456
3. Kuldiha, Kainua and Goilkera pirs ...	18,249	2,299	67	604	285	15,346	1,181	490	174	2,149	15,437
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	11,191	2,095	457	6,617	2,696	2,479	36	1,486	3,544	3,381	2,780
Manoharpur	**66,228**	**19,334**	**4,880**	**6,588**	**7,158**	**40,306**	**1,475**	**7,687**	**588**	**14,073**	**43,880**
5. Manoharpur proper	43,998	10,004	3,336	5,246	4,830	28,748	869	4,539	304	9,078	30,077
6. Rela and Saranda pirs	22,230	9,330	1,544	1,342	2,328	11,558	606	3,148	284	4,995	13,803
Kolhan	**335,644**	**81,300**	**3,725**	**14,357**	**9,848**	**239,987**	**55,427**	**68,213**	**8,749**	**13,301**	**245,381**
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	31,348	8,294	248	609	566	22,445	7,725	6,766	230	738	23,614
8. Aola and Bar pirs	92,781	27,751	1,531	1,941	1,350	63,089	24,673	22,380	859	4,319	65,223
9. Thai, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota pirs.	81,027	20,549	145	1,245	919	59,233	10,646	18,690	229	2,146	59,962
10. Gumra, Barkela and Rangra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	68,485	14,203	949	1,273	3,996	53,009	6,367	11,687	123	3,465	53,210
11. Chainpur Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai pirs.	43,859	7,436	409	850	1,947	35,573	5,854	6,726	247	1,300	35,586
12. Chaibasa municipality	10,785	408	4	7,270	128	3,107	5	505	6,104	614	3,563
13. Gua and Noamundi mines ...	7,359	2,659	439	1,169	942	3,531	157	1,459	957	719	4,224
Ghatsila	**394,595**	**44,640**	**10,689**	**190,729**	**107,439**	**159,226**	**1,457**	**13,223**	**89,041**	**85,530**	**206,801**
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golmuri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	17,647	631	66	8,492	869	8,524	6	326	2,880	1,898	12,543
15. Swaspur p.-s.	30,089	433	92	19,696	5,546	9,950	33	157	11,467	2,050	16,415
16. Kalikapur p.-s.	64,687	5,663	700	25,185	28,944	33,836	28	1,165	11,715	8,940	42,867
17. Ghatsila p.-s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	60,633	4,774	2,138	25,999	13,712	28,860	219	496	7,557	18,337	34,243
18. Ghatsila p.-s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	33,673	7,799	1,756	5,468	7,277	19,400	744	2,812	2,197	2,904	24,760
19. Kokpara Taraf	23,776	5,241	2,092	6,708	7,002	11,837	134	635	3,530	6,268	13,343
20. Baharagora p.-s.	72,631	10,744	3,180	36,677	22,053	25,210	1	3,038	6,501	26,777	36,315
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	92,459	9,352	665	61,504	22,036	21,603	302	4,504	43,194	18,356	26,315

II.—MOTHER TONGUES AND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGES IN SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.

Locality.	Population.	Hindustani.					Bengali.				
		Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages. Oriya.	Bengali.	Tribal languages.	Others.	Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages. Oriya.	Hindustani.	Tribal languages.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SINGHBHUM DISTRICT ...	*929,802*	*81,047*	*3,947*	*3,041*	*6,037*	*132*	*147,517*	*2,987*	*7,486*	*1,762*	*89*
Chakradharpur	**133,335**	**14,236**	**1,235**	**72**	**1,999**	**14**	**2,654**	**292**	**327**	**170**	**2**
1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	35,123	2,492	73	...	1,452	8	8	1	6	...	...
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	68,772	5,657	707	48	328	...	1,512	278	43	162	2
3. Kuldiha, Kalnua and Gollkera pirs ...	18,249	555	24	...	219	...	49	7	3	8	...
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	11,191	5,532	431	24	...	6	1,085	6	275	...	...
Manoharpur	**66,228**	**6,117**	**1,112**	**174**	**483**	...	**471**	**65**	**214**	**1**	**1**
5. Manoharpur proper	43,998	4,883	894	169	300	...	363	64	174	...	...
6. Rela and Saranda pirs	22,230	1,234	218	5	183	...	108	1	40	1	1
Kolhan	**335,644**	**11,070**	**983**	**273**	**3,451**	**2**	**3,287**	**168**	**175**	**509**	...
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	31,348	552	38	37	327	...	57	4	14	11	...
8. Aola and Bar pirs	92,781	1,476	177	215	853	...	465	73	62	185	...
9. Thal, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota pirs	81,027	855	30	3	1,271	...	390	8	1	248	...
10. Gumta, Barkela and Rengra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	68,485	1,225	508	...	539	...	48	12	8	5	...
11. Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai pirs.	43,859	685	149	8	432	...	165	69	21	40	...
12. Chaibasa municipality	10,785	5,422	3	...	2	2	1,848	1	11	1	...
13. Gua and Noamundi mines	7,359	855	78	10	27	...	314	2	58	19	...
Ghatsila	**394,595**	**49,624**	**617**	**2,522**	**104**	**116**	**141,105**	**2,462**	**6,770**	**1,082**	**86**
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golmuri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	17,647	1,085	...	20	...	1	7,407	45	17	...	1
15. Swaspur p.-s.	30,089	496	10	104	...	...	19,200	17	36	29	...
16. Kalikapur p.-s.	64,687	635	28	430	1	...	24,550	93	256	21	2
17. Ghatsila p.-s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	60,633	2,161	7	506	...	25	24,838	1,301	350	188	...
18. Ghatsila p.-s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	33,073	864	124	344	...	13	4,604	442	356	716	...
19. Kokpara Taraf	23,770	460	9	172	...	...	6,248	307	108	114	10
20. Baharagora p.-s.	72,631	1,136	133	359	...	...	35,541	130	2	...	...
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	92,459	42,787	306	504	103	77	18,717	127	5,645	14	73

Locality.	Oriya.					Tribal Languages.					Others.				
	Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages. Bengali.	Hindustani.	Tribal languages.	Others.	Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages. Bengali.	Hindustani.	Oriya.	Others.	Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages. Bengali.	Hindustani.	Oriya.	Tribal languages.
1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
SINGHBHUM ...	*171,887*	*18,891*	*12,112*	*54,363*	*12*	*508,140*	*64,286*	*14,278*	*15,096*	*15*	*21,211*	*170*	*10,323*	*87*	*13*
Chakradharpur ...	**26,613**	**306**	**1,597**	**1,876**	**1**	**88,134**	**85**	**2,490**	**1,296**	...	**1,698**	**40**	**1,225**	...	**2**
1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	447	3	49	229	1	32,168	1	957	75	...	8	...	4	...	...
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	21,772	243	725	663	...	39,805	83	989	1,165	...	26	...	11	...	2
3. Kuldiha, Kalnua and Gollkera pirs.	2,299	...	164	954	...	15,344	...	117	36	...	2	...	1	...	...
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	2,095	60	659	30	...	817	2	427	20	...	1,662	40	1,209	...	...
Manoharpur ...	**19,334**	**520**	**1,072**	**987**	...	**40,241**	**1**	**5,129**	**3,702**	**3**	**65**	**2**	**46**	**1**	...
5. Manoharpur proper ...	10,004	446	597	569	...	28,716	1	3,421	2,377	...	32	2	20	1	...
6. Rela and Saranda pirs ...	9,330	74	475	418	...	11,525	...	1,708	1,325	3	33	...	26	...	...
Kolhan ...	**81,300**	**188**	**4,895**	**51,459**	...	**238,755**	**126**	**3,885**	**2,565**	...	**1,232**	**1**	**305**	**9**	**6**
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	8,294	81	149	7,382	...	22,408	12	253	205	...	37	...	20	1	5
8. Aola and Bar pirs ...	27,751	80	255	23,635	...	62,729	39	648	1,374	...	360	...	51	8	...
9. Thal, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota pirs.	20,549	...	134	9,127	...	58,956	...	781	107	...	277	...	...	...	...
10. Gumta, Barkela and Rengra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	14,203	...	2,853	5,823	...	53,007	2	1,133	429	...	2	...	...	...	...
11. Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai pirs.	7,436	...	1,164	5,382	...	35,559	...	752	191	...	14	...	2	...	...
12. Chaibasa municipality ...	408	4	...	...	...	2,839	3	63	...	...	268	1	46	...	...
13. Gua and Noamundi mines	2,659	23	340	110	...	3,257	70	255	359	...	274	...	186	...	1
Ghatsila ...	**44,640**	**17,877**	**4,548**	**41**	**11**	**141,010**	**64,074**	**2,774**	**7,533**	**12**	**18,216**	**127**	**8,747**	**77**	**5**
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golmuri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	631	50	4	4	...	8,493	760	17	21	...	31	...	1	...	...
15. Swaspur p.-s. ...	433	337	2	4	...	9,919	5,033	15	63	...	41	6	14	3	...
16. Kalikapur p.-s. ...	5,666	4,248	3	4	...	33,823	23,903	10	579	...	13	4	...	...	...
17. Ghatsila p.-s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	4,774	1,897	194	4	...	28,526	10,464	45	830	2	334	6	160	...	...
18. Ghatsila p.-s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	7,799	1,001	188	9	...	17,778	3,398	85	1,190	1	1,628	60	945	...	5
19. Kokpara Taraf ...	5,241	2,505	100	...	...	11,822	4,102	11	1,776	...	5	...	4	...	...
20. Baharagora p.-s. ...	10,744	5,886	8	1	...	25,205	15,801	3	2,917	...	5	1	...	...	...
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	9,352	1,053	4,049	15	11	5,444	524	2,588	158	9	16,159	50	7,623	74	...

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